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Lives of the Leaders of our
church universal

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LATER LEADERS.



AMERICA, ASIA, AFRICA, AND OCEANICA.

LIVES
OF
THE LEADERS
OF
OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL,

FROM THE DAYS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE
APOSTLES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE LIVES BY EUROPEAN WRITERS FROM THE GERMAN,

AS EDITED BY

DR. FERDINAND PIPER,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, AND EDITED, WITH ADDED
LIVES BY AMERICAN WRITERS,

BY

HENRY MITCHELL MACCRACKEN, D. D.

vol. 3

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PREFACE.

SOME three years since, while I was seeking in New York city material for a volume asked of me by a Western publisher, I was met by the suggestion that I should undertake the translation into English and the editing of the lives of Christian leaders for all the days of the year, recently published in Germany under the editorship of Dr. Ferdinand Piper, of the University of Berlin.

The fact that the suggestion was made by Dr. Charles A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, to whom the work had been transmitted by Dr. Piper, with a view to its publication in America, and that both he and Dr. Philip Schaff, in repeated conversations, recommended it to me as deserving a place in every Christian family, inclined me to take up the task suggested. After letters had been exchanged with the German editor, and his consent obtained to my bringing the work out in the English language, with such changes as might seem advantageous, I began to apply myself, as my other engagements permitted, to the labor of presenting these popular yet scholarly life-stories of Christian witnesses to English readers.

The task thus entered upon presented two parts. First, the translating and editing of the lives published in Germany. Second, the adding of the life-stories of leaders in the church in America, and in certain pagan lands, passed over by Dr. Piper. To make plain what I have done under the first head, I will state briefly the origin, scope, and form of the work in the German.

In the year 1850, Dr. Ferdinand Piper offered, in a church-diet at Stuttgart, the following thesis: "The whole evangelical church in German lands is interested in forming a common roll of lives for all the days of the year, to be settled on the foundation of our common history, and thus to be made a bond of union of the churches in all the countries."

In relation to the thesis, let it be noted that the Christians of Germany

did not, at the Reformation, cast away as many of the old usages as did reformers in other countries. They did not cast away organs; nor, although they utterly put aside prayers to saints, did they abolish the connection of the names of Christian worthies of past ages with the days of the year, but preserved it even as Americans maintain the association of the name of Washington with February 22d. The forming of the roll of Christian worthies was left, however, very largely to accident. Every little German land made its own calendar. There arose great diversity, and often names were inserted upon local or political grounds. Martin Luther's was the only name universally adopted in addition to the men of the early centuries. Thus, it may be seen, there was an opportunity and also a call for such a movement as that suggested in Dr. Piper's thesis, which should present German Christians a new roll of names for their almanacs, and also a new book of lives for their Christian households, thus stimulating them to fulfill the precept, "Remember them who have spoken unto you the Word of God."

A powerful argument for giving to Germany such a roll of lives was the necessity of meeting Romanist assertions that the honored fathers and leaders of early days were papists, in the present sense of the term papist, and not rather, with all their mistakes and superstitions, evangelical or Bible Christians.

The chief argument for the book, however, was that next to God's Word, Christians, for their own edification, ought to know (to use the words of Dr. Piper) "the doings of God in the history of his Church," and "the manifestations of his Spirit in the witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him ever since the day of Pentecost."

These and like considerations impelled Dr. Piper and other scholars to give to the German church the "improved" roll of names, and the new book of lives of church leaders. Their medium for this was at first a periodical established for this special end in 1850. This "Year Book," as it was called, presented new and correct lives of the leaders from the pens of able and eloquent writers. Dr. Neander, who died that same year, left several lives for the book, as will be seen by the present volume. The array of authors, as the table of contents will show, includes many of the most celebrated Christian scholars of Germany as well as some of France, Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. For twenty-one successive years the "Year Book" continued the presentation of the lives. Finally, the roll was ended. Dr. Piper then edited the

completed biographies, which were published by Tauchnitz (1875). The work has been met with great favor by the church. The roll of names contained in it has been officially published and commended by the German government.

The considerations which weigh with German Christians are, perhaps, to be equally regarded by men of English tongue. The call for combating a false definition of the Church comes to us also. Bewildered souls seeking a house of God on earth are too often guided to an edifice whose keys are kept in Rome by the chief of an ancient, self-perpetuated corporation. Knowing as we do that the true Church has been seen ever, where any body of men has risen, "a pillar and a stay of the truth" (1 Timothy iii. 15, marginal reading), ought we not to keep this visible form of all the centuries before men's eyes, and pointing to it say, Here is the Church, the true succession of "John and Cephas, who seemed to be pillars" in every circle of faithful upholders of essential Christianity?

Do we omit from the roll of church pillars since the Reformation the Roman Catholic, the Greek, the Copt, and the Nestorian? It is not that we would deny such a place in the Church Universal. Like the Ephesian wonder of the world (which, perhaps, rose before the mind of him who, in writing to his friend in Ephesus, gave us the simile just quoted), and like its forest of shafts, each a pillar and a stay of the sheltering roof of rock, this edifice, the Church of God, incloses uncounted varieties of pillars, and all of them are truly parts of it if so be they uphold the truth of the living God. Yet Greeks, Romanists, and the rest are hardly "leading" supports of truth, nowadays, contrasted with evangelical Christians. Nor will they become so till they are cleansed of the moss and decay of the centuries. The safe rule for all who will find the Church in any age is, Find men who uphold the truth as it is in Jesus, and who gather clustering groups of columnar Christians around them, supporting the same. Here is the Church, beyond controversy.

But the main object of our German brethren, namely, to familiarize Christians "with God's doings in the history of his Church," is the chief end for us also. It may be safely affirmed that by far the larger half of Christian families have in their libraries not a word as to their church or its leaders from the end of the Acts to the annals of the Reformation, unless perhaps in some such caricature of Christianity as the volumes of Dr. Gibbon. This ignorance respecting fifteen Christian centuries is not altogether a contented ignorance. This I have proven by the following

experiment. Setting up a third church service at an unusual hour upon the Sabbath afternoon, in which besides the usual devotions was offered a brief discourse presenting "God's doings in the history of his church," I have for forty successive Sabbaths in a year seen assembled out of a new and busily occupied city population more hearers than attend upon the average service of Sabbath evening. Moreover the themes presented were received with marked expressions of interest from Christians of various names, and even from those not Christians. I have thus been led fully into Dr. Piper's view that the edifying of the Church may be promoted by ministers speaking from time to time to their people of "the manifestations of God's Spirit in witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him all the way from Pentecost." Whatever commendations of our Divine cause may be found in the notable lives of each century the wise believer will not neglect to offer, especially in days when if the foundations be not destroyed it will not be because they are not assailed in every mode and from every quarter.

The editor does not present in his English work all the lives included in the German. He wished to keep the book of a popular size. He considered, too, that as we are better acquainted with the Church in the Acts of the Apostles from our introduction to but a few of its leaders, so it might be here. There have been omitted, therefore, first, all lives of leaders in Bible times, a large company; second, all those peculiarly local or German; third, other lives which, hardly less interesting or important than those now offered, have been left out to make room for lives in America, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica. These last it is hoped may one day be called for by readers, and along with them others, especially of English, Welsh, and Scotch leaders, in recent centuries, which many will be surprised to miss. They are not here because not in the German. Should the call arise, the editor will strive, with help from writers in Great Britain and Ireland, to present the Lives of the Leaders in a second series.

The life-stories offered are in every instance given entire. The following changes have, however, been made to render the book more attractive. (1.) For the numerous divisions of time in the German, five periods have been substituted by the editor, of his own choosing. (2.) Portions of the lives which seemed parenthetical or of secondary importance have been placed in footnotes. (3.) At the head of each life have been set the date of the birth and of the death of the person commemorated, and also a

word indicating his position in the church, clerical or lay, or his denomination.

The title of the book I have translated very freely, preferring the second word by which Isaiah describes the servant of God to the first word in the same verse (Isaiah lv. 5, "A witness . . . a leader . . . to the people"), and so calling the work the Lives of the Leaders rather than the Lives of the Witnesses, the last word being somewhat worn in English literature.

For the cut-in notes, which are not in the German, I alone am responsible. They promise aid to the reader as well as add attractiveness to the page.

It remains to say something concerning the second part of my task, the adding of life-stories of leaders in America, and of pioneers in other great regions passed by in the German, namely, Africa, China, and Burmah.

The suggestion that in adding American lives I should regard denominations was given me by Dr. Schaff, and was at once accepted. To establish a fair and good rule I laid down the following: (1.) In every denomination in the United States with five hundred parishes to find one "leader." In every denomination with over three thousand parishes to find "three mighty men," and if such denomination prevailed in colonial times, to add to the three, one, two, or three others. (2.) To take no account of the division of denominations into northern and southern, and yet when taking three mighty men, to apportion them between the East, and the West and South. These rules have been followed strictly, save that the Lutheran body is given but one leader on the ground that it is so largely represented in the German.¹ The Episcopal Church is given but one, because it did not reach three thousand parishes in the statistics

¹ At the time of sending the last manuscript to the press, I found myself disappointed in reference to an expected life-story of a United Presbyterian leader. To supply its place I prepared the story of Isabella Graham. After this had been stereotyped came unexpectedly, through the courtesy of the United Presbyterian Publication House, the life of John Taylor Pressly, by his long-time associate, Rev. Dr. David R. Kerr, a theologian whose labors in church history have received a recent recognition in his election to preside over the Historical Section of the First General Presbyterian Council in Edinburgh, 1877.

This life I gladly added, as supplying what was lacking. Further, it was proposed by the secretary of the house named, that Isabella Graham be inserted as a representative of the Associate Reformed body, now merged in the United Presbyterian. At risk of seeming to transgress my rule, I therefore retain this story, moved to its retention in part by a desire to recognize woman leadership in the Church in America, as the present work recognizes it in the other hemisphere.

of 1877, though now it reports more than that number. Four denominations are each given three or more leaders, while ten have each one leader. These fourteen bodies include, as will be seen by the Table of Statistics (Appendix III.), forty-nine fiftieths of the evangelical church in the United States.

In choosing American leaders I have followed less my own judgment than that of eminent men in the respective denominations, having had correspondence upon the subject with, perhaps, fifty distinguished scholars, exclusive of the many who appear as writers.

In choosing a leader in China and other lands I have in like manner sought competent tribunals of opinion. To the many eminent men who have lent me aid in this, I here express my very great obligations.

And now in closing what has been these three years a labor of love and a recreation from other toils, I find an especial source of pleasure in the thought that this book may prove a new bond of love in the church in America, the more from the fact that it will go out bearing the imprints, each on a distinct edition, of a large portion of the denominational publication houses of this continent. In agreeing to take a part in its simultaneous issue, each of these houses courteously introduces to its own communion the leaders of other churches not as "strangers and foreigners," but as dear brethren. "Such a work" (I quote the words of the venerable Dr. Whedon, in his letter to the Methodist house approving of the plan of this book) "will be a symbol of the Church's true spiritual unity."

H. M. M.

ORANGE PLACE STUDY, *Toledo, Ohio*, 1879.

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THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS

IN AMERICA, ASIA, AFRICA, AND OCEANICA.

PERIOD FIFTH. COMPRISING CENTURIES XVII.-XIX. (OR FROM THE END OF THE REFORMATION ERA TO THE PRESENT TIME). DIVISIONS OF THE PERIOD: CENTURIES XVII., XVIII., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH EXTENDED INSTRUCTION IN DOCTRINE AND THROUGH THE BUILDING UP OF DENOMINATIONS; CENTURY XIX., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH ENLARGED EFFORT IN MISSIONS, CHARITIES, SCHOOLS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS, AND EVANGELICAL UNIONS.

LIFE I. WILLIAM BREWSTER.

A. D. 1574—A. D. 1644. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

It is an old popular error in America that, while the first settlers in Virginia were persons of rather high social standing and culture, the New England colonists were somewhat low and underbred people. They have been described as sincere and pious in their way, but as belonging to the humbler class in society. The gentlemen colonists found homes in Virginia, with broader and more generous aspects of nature around them, suited to their finer natures; the bleak and narrow coast of Massachusetts received a comparatively poor and uncultured immigration.

The point would scarce be worth discussing, even if it were well taken. But opposite to this, the fact is that while the Plymouth colonists had what was far more valuable, and what the Southern planters too often lacked, namely, high principle, martyr heroism, and the fear of God, they were by no means lacking in the external advantages of good birth and liberal culture. As for Miles Standish, we know that

“He was a gentleman born, could trace his pedigree plainly
Back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall, in Lancashire, England,
Who was the son of Ralph, and the grandson of Thurston de Standish.”

Another of the Mayflower's crew was Stephen Hopkins, who brought over with him two “servants,” and who set the “gentlemanly” example of fighting the first duel on record in America. Isaac Johnson, of the Salem colony, was husband of “the Lady Arabella,” daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. Not to mention other cases, the subject of the

present sketch, William Brewster, the "Elder of Plymouth," was by birth and education a gentleman. The old manor-house where he spent his early days, at Scrooby, on the Lincolnshire Flat, was a stately mansion in its time, and not unfrequently received distinguished visitors. It stood near the high road from London to York; royal personages had rested there for a night on their journey, and Cardinal Wolsey, when dismissed, under the displeasure of the king, to his own diocese in the north, lingered some weeks at the manor of Scrooby. The father of William Brewster held some post under the queen's government, and lived in easy circumstances; and the son was sent at so early an age to pursue his studies at Cambridge that (1584) in his twenty-first year we find him already entered upon active life and a public career in London. He was employed by William Davidson, "the excellent and unlucky secretary" of Queen Elizabeth, and accompanied him on a mission to the Netherlands at the time the queen was tantalizing the suffering province with her ungracious and grudging assistance.

Brewster, while at the university, had entered on that experience of religion which was the element in which his whole remaining life moved; and it was probably not more the evidence of marked talent than of early piety that led the devout Davidson to select him for his confidential private secretary. The official career of both was terminated in an abrupt and, as to the queen, most disgracefully characteristic manner. Anxious to get rid of her chronic terror, the Queen of Scots, and failing to procure her taking off by secret assassination, Elizabeth at length ordered secretary Davidson to bring her the death-warrant, which had been for some time ready, and with a jesting remark on her lips affixed her signature. The council, who thought the death of Mary Stuart necessary to the safety of the realm, persuaded Davidson to send off the warrant at once, promising to stand between him and all harm.

When the object on which Elizabeth's heart had been so long set was accomplished, and her fears laid to rest by the axe of the executioner, she flew into one of her artificial paroxysms of grief: raved and wept; disavowed the act she had ordered; threw Davidson into prison and ruined him with a crushing fine of ten thousand pounds. Brewster returned to his home in the north, where he found himself in the midst of congenial associations.

Whether arising from the relation of physical conditions to the development of the religious sentiment, if it be possible that such exists, or from personal and historic influences alone, it is at all events true that there have often been associated with certain localities peculiar tendencies in religion. The Puritanical sentiment in England had gathered itself around three or four central points. It had little footing in either the extreme north or the extreme south. Outside the great city of London it had found acceptance chiefly in the midland counties.

Its strength lay in the heart of the kingdom, between the Humber and the Thames; among a people of more unmixed Anglo-Saxon race than was found in the coast shires, and speaking the English language with far greater purity than the Kentish or Devon men on the Channel, or the Cumbrian and Yorkshire boors on the border. It was in Scrooby and the neighboring towns of Lancashire that the Puritan movement found its most vigorous impulse. Here was the cradle of that infant emigration which was cast out to perish in the wild North Sea, and then gained strength to seek, of itself, a home beyond the still wilder Atlantic.

Let us understand who these Puritans were; for they are often misunderstood. They were Protestants of the intensest type; Calvinists in faith, Presbyterians in principle, but devout Who the Puritans were. and loving members of the Church of England. Brownism — separation from the church of their fathers — they abhorred, both name and thing. But they desired a perfected reformation, as many of the best members of the Anglican Church had done. They wanted a reasonable liberty in the use of indifferent things in worship, a relief for tender or perhaps morbid consciences in the matter of rings and robes and crosses. Could they but have had even moderate indulgence they would have wished to draw the sincere milk of the word from no other breasts than hers. They waited upon her altars on Sundays and festivals. But they asked the small privilege — small it might seem in itself, but precious to them — of meeting by themselves, from time to time, for the study of the Word and the worship of God in their own bare Puritanical fashion.

But this was more than Archbishop Whitgift and his like-minded clergy could allow them; they were watched, informed against, dogged by pursuivants, dragged before justices, fined, and thrown into prison for the crime of presuming to be more pious than their betters.

The first rendezvous and meeting-house of these "Protestant non-conformists" was the manor-house at Scrooby, whose spacious chambers gave them for a time sufficient accommodation. But new brethren flocked in, and they outgrew the dimensions of a single house. They were forced to colonize; a portion of them formed a second congregation at the neighboring town of Gainsboro'. Persecution had gradually opened their eyes, while it thrust them further and further out towards the border line of the establishment. At length they were driven across into actual separation; they organized churches of their own; elected their own officers, plain elders and deacons of the Scriptural type; and administered the ordinances with apostolic simplicity. Against their will they renounced the national church, and from Puritans became Brownists. Of the Scrooby church, William Brewster was made ruling elder, and — another name equally sacred to the history of religious liberty — John Robinson became teacher.

The church in
Brewster's
house.

By the year 1607, the bishops had made it so warm for them that they reconciled their minds to the sad alternative of exile. England was dear, but freedom to worship God was dearer; they looked about for an asylum. Just across the German Ocean, two days' sail or less distant, struggling for existence against nature and against man, lay the little confederation of Belgic provinces. Distracted by political and religious jealousies, cursed with an intolerant state-church establishment, and still facing, half in terror, half in fury, with sword unsheathed, the relentless and deadly hatred of Spain, the seven provinces offered the best port in the storm of religious persecution that beat upon the Puritans in their native land. With great difficulty and suffering two ship-loads of them made their escape and landed at Amsterdam; not long after they removed to Leyden.

Brewster in Holland.

It was an hour of great convulsions and great struggles in Europe. The twelve years' truce between Spain and her revolted provinces had just been signed; and the Netherlands were at this moment in the still centre of the cyclone, which was rapidly moving eastward to burst with such awful fury upon Germany. Henry the Fourth of France, their cool and selfish friend, had still three years more of broad political scheming and disgraceful private pleasures, before the dagger of Francis Ravallac should reach his heart. The Thirty Years' War, the last frantic attempt of the Romish powers to smother Protestantism in blood and ashes, was ready to break out; and "all Germany stood with hand on sword, frightened at the shaking of every leaf." Maurice of Nassau, with still and obstinate determination, was nursing his own plans of ambition or revenge. The bitter Arminian controversy was convulsing the Dutch churches. In the midst of the hurly-burly, this little colony of English exiles settled down almost unnoticed in the ancient city of Leyden. The snarling polemics who were battling for sublapsarian or supralapsarian Calvinism, the ambitious princes bent on their own private ends, even the wise and far-seeing statesmen of the day, might be excused for not perceiving that this feeble plant embodied the germs of a far mightier and more eventful revolution than any with which state or church had ever yet been called to grapple. They came with naked hands; having saved scarce anything from the harpy talons of the bishops' pursuivants. But they had among them education, professional knowledge, mechanical skill, and a thrift and industry that knew how to make a little go a great way. They betook themselves to their various possibilities. Brewster's university education now served him well as a means of earning bread for his eight children. He taught school; he published a Latin grammar and other books. He set up a printing office and sent out various works, polemical and practical. Some of them came to the knowledge of the crowned pedant who was making England contemptible and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe; and orders were sent to Sir Dudley Carleton to

effect his arrest and surrender for suitable punishment. Various things concurred to make the colonists uneasy in Holland; they had been twelve years there as exiles and strangers. At length they made up their minds to seek a home in the New World, where meddling despotism and usurping church authorities could not reach them. Companies had already been formed in England for the promotion of settlements in Virginia. The James River colony was still struggling with its early disasters. The Virginia company laid claim to all the coast from the Spanish possessions in Florida to the mouth of the Hudson. Another company, formed at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, procured a charter for the district lying north of the forty-first parallel, which Captain John Smith had in 1614 baptized "New England."

At length, after much unsatisfactory negotiation with the jealous and grasping "merchant adventurers," the Mayflower put out to sea from Plymouth harbor, and, passing Land's End, The Mayflower. began forcing her way against the strong western gales across the Atlantic. She started with one hundred passengers; and on the 21st of November, 1620 (one death and one birth having occurred on the voyage), she dropped her anchor in the sheltered hook of Provincetown harbor.

A month later the exhausted and half starved colonists landed in a body on the wild and wintry solitude of Plymouth.

It was while coasting along the low shores of Cape Cod, and in the immediate prospect of setting up as a "civil body politic" by themselves, that this little company of tempest-tost exiles, in the cabin of their shattered bark, subscribed that immortal document, the first written compact the world ever saw for the organization of a self-governed community. The fourth name signed to this agreement is that of "Mr. William Brewster."

The venerable teaching elder, or pastor, of the church had been left behind at Leyden, unable from family and personal circumstances to embark with the colonists. He gave them his parting charge and benediction, and remained to care for the remnant of the flock, and to die five years after at Leyden. The only pastor and spiritual guide of the Pilgrim church was Brewster, who, being merely a ruling elder, was incompetent in the judgment of Robinson to administer church ordinances. They had been accustomed at Leyden to attend weekly on the Lord's Supper; but they now went for years without a sacrament. A feeble and, as it turned out, unprincipled Puritan minister named Lyford — one of the kind that still looked back to the flesh-pots of a state church establishment — had joined them; but the Pilgrims distrusted him, and refused to recognize his episcopal orders. They had by this time developed into thorough separatists, and had learned Brewster's great work. that the right to minister among the people must proceed from the people themselves. Elder Brewster therefore continued to be their sole

religious teacher, preaching to them regularly on the Lord's day. While he expressly disclaimed the authority of an ordained teacher, he watched over them in respect to life and doctrine. He healed their dissensions, and encouraged them in their sore trials. When the first dreadful winter swept off half their little company, and nearly all the rest were prostrate from disease and starvation, he was one of the handful who went from house to house nursing the sick, comforting the dying, and carrying out the dead for burial. Wise, humble, hopeful, strong in faith, never losing courage even in the darkest of the many dark days that lowered on the suffering colony, he was the great type of that heroic and unquenchable religious sentiment that inspired and sustained the whole enterprise.

"In teaching he was very stirring, and moving the affections; also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God, in the humble confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon thereof. He thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers, than to be long and tedious in the same," — in which sentiment we cordially concur.

So the elder of Plymouth labored and suffered on, thinking affliction with the people of God greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. Some of his puritanically baptized children, Jonathan, Love, Fear, Patience, Wrestling, came over to cheer his old age, and stand by his death-bed. His pilgrimage had been long and weary. Of his eighty years of life, nearly half had been spent in suffering and exile for conscience' sake. His release came on the 16th of April, 1644.¹ Giving up everything for Christ, storm-tost and buffeted by sea and land, stripped of his worldly goods and hunted like a felon, he saw the community he had done so much to found safely past the period of its feeble infancy, and entering on its irresistible march across the continent; and he died in a vigorous old age, calm and peaceful, amid the tears and benedictions of his fellow-citizens.

"To a youth of ease and affluence, familiar with ambassadors and statesmen, and not unknown to courts, succeeded a mature age of obscurity, deep study, and poverty. No human creature would have heard of him had his career ended with his official life. Two centuries and a half have passed away, and the name of the outlawed Puritan of Scrooby and Leyden is still familiar to millions of the English race."² — S. H.

¹ Although in the space between the end of Life I. and the beginning of Life II. more than half a century is comprised, no person of that period seems to claim a place when three Congregational leaders are called for out of colonial times. Cotton Mather (1662-1728) was "honorable," but "attained not unto the first three." John Eliot (1604-1690) deserves to be termed Leader, for his work in the field of Indian missions, but (since only one such can have place in this volume) he must yield to David Zeisberger, the Moravian. — H. M. M.

² *John of Barneveldt*, ii. 289.

LIFE II. JONATHAN EDWARDS.

A. D. 1703—A. D. 1758. CONGREGATIONAL,—AMERICA.

AMERICA is indebted to New England for many of its greatest names. A few of these names belong to the colonial period of our history. Among these few, none is more conspicuous than that of Jonathan Edwards. Of all the religious thinkers of modern times, he is one of the best known on both sides of the Atlantic. He was born in a century fruitful in men of philosophical genius, but he was the peer of each of his contemporaries. One would have scarcely expected so great a man to rise in a British colony as yet but imperfectly developed. “Emigration,” said Dr. Horace Bushnell, “tends to barbarism.” In a colony which is still young, one looks for a vigorous but crude civilization. He is not surprised to find there men of unusual powers, but he expects to see those powers applied to trade, to politics, to husbandry, to the mechanical arts, rather than to scholarly reflection. Or if a leader of thought rise in a new people, it is presumed that he will exhaust his energies in resisting downward tendencies rather than in drawing men to lofty ranges of thought and to new explorations.

Colonial disadvantages.

The life of Edwards we shall find in some sense exceptional. There was indeed far less of “barbarism” in New England, when he was born, than the aphorism just quoted would suggest. Many a wide tract of wilderness was there, but also many a town and city, where the best culture of Great Britain found a congenial home. Nevertheless, the New England student of that day was required to pursue his studies at a distance from great libraries, and without contact with the most of the great minds of the period. He was obliged also, if he would make his influence felt upon the society by which he was surrounded, to expend much of his force upon questions of local and temporary interest. Jonathan Edwards must be studied in the shadow of the outward conditions of his life, as well as in the light of his natural genius and of the grace of God.

He was born in Windsor, Connecticut, October 5, 1703. Windsor, which has never risen above the rank of a village, was, at the date named, a settlement of farmers attracted to the valley of the Connecticut by its fertile soil. The pivotal point of the community was the church, which was presided over by a man of eminent abilities; Timothy Edwards, a graduate of Harvard, who had enjoyed the singular honor of receiving the two degrees of Bachelor and of Master of Arts in the same day, in testimony of his “extraordinary proficiency in learning.” The wife of this pastor was a daughter of Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, Massachusetts, one of the most cultured and influential clergymen in the land.

Edwards's parents.

Jonathan Edwards, therefore, had no mean parentage. He was an only son, but the brother of ten sisters, some of whom became the wives of distinguished men. As may be supposed, the influences which surrounded him in his boyhood were both pure and powerful. He was remarkably precocious. He blossomed long before most of the children of his age were in the bud. He began to study Latin under the direction of his father when he was six years of age, and became a proficient in that language whilst some of his companions were droning over their lessons in the spelling-book. At the same time other branches of study, equally advanced, were eagerly pursued. He very early showed a tendency to philosophical speculation. What is the soul, and what are its relations to the body? This was a question which interested him whilst other boys were feasting their imaginations with the "Arabian Nights." When he was ten years of age, one of his acquaintances advanced the idea that the soul is material, and remains with the body until the resurrection. Young Edwards at once wrote him a letter, which though without date or punctuation, or even division into sentences, runs the theory to the *reductio ad absurdum*. At twelve years of age he composed some remarkable papers upon questions in science. Just before he was thirteen he entered Yale College, and during the next year, his favorite recreation was the study of Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding," in the reading of which, he afterward declared, he "had more satisfaction and pleasure than the most greedy miser in gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some new-discovered treasure." Here was no common stuff out of which to make a student. The college was then in its infancy, and presented few of the advantages which as a great university it now holds forth, but the student was produced, nevertheless. Edwards was graduated in 1720, with the first honors of his class, and with a reputation for deportment as high as for scholarship. His religious development, indeed, was as early and as remarkable as his mental. When he was about seven years of age, one of those powerful revivals, so many of which are recorded in the history of New England, occurred in his father's parish. He was not at that time a stranger to serious questions as to the state of his soul, or to habits of devotion. But now he was filled with anxiety, and was "abundant in religious duties." He resorted to secret prayer five times a day. He spent much time with his companions in religious conversation. He united with some of his school-mates in the erection of a booth in a very secluded part of a swamp. This they made their oratory. Besides this, he had his favorite spots in the woods, to which he was accustomed to retire for solitary prayer and thought. "My affections," he says, "seemed to be lively and easily moved, and I seemed to be in my element when I engaged in religious duties." Yet in maturer days he looked with doubt upon this early religious experience, as

His religious development.

neither genuine nor deep. "I am ready to think many are deceived with such affections, and such a kind of delight as I then had in religion, and mistake it for grace." This shows the severe self-examination to which he accustomed himself from the first, yet perhaps his verdict in this case was warranted, since he goes on to record, "In the progress of time, my convictions and affections wore off, and I entirely lost all those affections and delights, and left off secret prayer, at least as to any constant preference of it, and returned like a dog to his vomit, and went on in the ways of sin." It is noteworthy, as showing the thoughtful turn of his mind, that even in these tender years of childhood, he revolted against "the doctrine of God's sovereignty, in choosing whom He would to eternal life, and rejecting whom He pleased." He was still a mere boy when this difficulty vanished, as he believed under the influences of the Holy Spirit. Then the character of God assumed to him a new aspect. Even the works of God seemed to his nature-loving eyes suffused by a new glory. It was like the change we often notice in connection with a summer sunset. The clouds which just now were black and frowning are lighted with splendor, not merely bathed with radiance, but seemingly transfigured, filled with rosy light from centre to surface. "The appearance of everything was altered: there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory in almost everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in everything: in the sun, moon, and stars, in the clouds and blue sky, in the grass, flowers, trees, in the water and all nature, which used greatly to fix my mind." All this shows the vividness of his imagination, as his previous doubts showed the unfolding of his reasoning faculties. The grace of God is doubtless to be recognized in these experiences, but as the workings of grace are individual, we get glimpses of the constitution of the soul through its spiritual experiences.

After graduation, he spent two years at Yale as resident, pursuing his theological studies. He was then licensed to preach. This ^{Begins to} was several months before he was nineteen. He next spent ^{preach.} about eight months in preaching to a small Presbyterian church in New York city. It was no small compliment to the young preacher that his hearers became so fascinated by his eloquence, and by the deep sincerity of his life, that he was urgently invited to become their pastor. He declined, however, and returned to Yale to accept a tutorship, the duties of which he discharged for two years. Whilst at New York, his habits of solitary thought continued. He used often to walk alone on the banks of the Hudson, looking sometimes into and through the sky; sometimes into and through his own heart; discovering God above and sin within. In the solitary hours at home, he studied himself again. As the result of these studies we have a series of seventy resolutions for the government of heart and life; which, afterward published, have be-

come a sacred heritage of the world. The spiritual and ethical character of these resolutions is of the most exalted type. The ideal of holiness which they disclose is poetically expressed by himself in these terms : "The soul of a true Christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year, low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory ; rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture ; diffusing around a sweet fragraney ; standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun."

His tutorship at Yale ended, he accepted an invitation to the pastorate in Northampton, Massachusetts, and was there ordained in February, 1727, as colleague of his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard. No pastorate in New England could have been more attractive to him. Northampton was a beautiful town, whose environing meadows, conforming themselves to the windings of the Connecticut River, were fertile enough for a modern Eden. If Edwards was tempted by his love of nature to frequent wanderings on the shore of the Hudson at New York, he must have been gratified by the carpeted floors of these meadows, furnished then, as now, by the lordly elms whose grace and dignity have made them famous. Standing beneath one of these elms, he could see the river at his feet, and the wooded heights of Mount Holyoke and of its sister hills before him, holding up the sapphire dome above ; whilst in place of the "little white flower" of the Hudson he would see in the waving grass the "lily of the field," reminding him at once of the Saviour's teaching and of the Father's care. Northampton was also the home of many cultured families. It was no place in which to find illustrations of the tendency of emigration to barbarism. As the grandson of an honored and justly celebrated pastor, Edwards was received with the more interest, and his great abilities made the more profound impression because of the favor with which he was regarded.

Before his ordination, he had already found in New Haven a young lady of great personal beauty, of superior mind, of unusual accomplishments, and of devoted piety ; towards whom his heart went out so warmly that he asked her to become his wife. Her name was Sarah Pierrepont. This is a part of his characteristic description of her, written on a blank leaf in 1723 : "They say there is a young lady in New Haven, who is loved of that Great Being who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which this Great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight. . . . She has a strange sweetness in her mind, and singular purity in her affections ; is most just and conscientious in all her conduct ; and you could not persuade her to do anything wrong or sinful, if you would give her all the world. . . . She

Marries Sarah
Pierrepont.

loves to be alone, walking in the fields and groves, and seems to have some one invisible always conversing with her." In this sketch, his description sets forth one of soul so kindred to his own, that both color and outline seem to be taken from his own heart. He was married to her in July, 1727, and found in her all that his hopes had promised, not only as a companion, but also as an assistant. After the fashion of the day she took upon herself the oversight of everything connected with his pecuniary expenditures, leaving him wholly unembarrassed in the prosecution of his professional work. She was the mother of eleven children — three sons and eight daughters — of whose names several occupy distinguished places in New England history.

Soon after his ordination, Edwards obtained a wide celebrity as a preacher. Many of his sermons were carefully written and somewhat closely read. He sometimes preached without manuscript; yet even then he seldom made a gesture, and the tones of his voice were not commanding. But his thought and language were so powerful, and his words were sometimes so surcharged with feeling, that eloquence has seldom accomplished more than when it poured from his lips. He was especially powerful in presenting the divine law, the sovereignty of God, the sinfulness of man, and justification by faith. By the prevailing theology of his day, a "law-work" in the conscience producing deep conviction of sin, and leading the sinner to cast himself upon the sovereign mercies of God, was one of the prominent ends of preaching. In promoting this "law-work," much use was made of the doctrine of future endless punishment. This doctrine was perhaps never more powerfully brought to bear than by Edwards in a sermon celebrated in ^{His noted sermons.} homiletic annals, upon the text, "Their foot shall slide in due time" (Deuteronomy xxxii. 35). This sermon was preached at Enfield, Connecticut. Tradition says that such was its effect that men grasped the railings of the pews as if about to sink into perdition. One says, "There was such a breathing of distress and weeping that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence that he might be heard." It was on this or on some similar occasion, that a brother minister, sitting behind Edwards in the pulpit, appalled by his eloquence, grasped the coat of the preacher and cried, "Mr. Edwards! Mr. Edwards! Is not God merciful?"

Edwards had been the colleague of his grandfather about two years, when the latter died. The new burdens thus devolved upon the young pastor proved for a time too much for his strength; but a brief period of repose restored him, and he resumed his work with his wonted energy. His ministry was characterized by several revivals. During 1734 and 1735, in fact, a wave of religious interest swept over all New England. In Northampton its results were most beneficent. Edwards promoted the prevailing interest in all safe ways. His preaching at this time, as

always, was eminently doctrinal, and is described as "of the most pungent, heart-searching, and often terrific character." The whole community wore a new aspect, presenting the appearance of a moral renovation. In many places, however, where weaker minds were in control, extravagance and fanaticism prevailed. But as in the Reformation Luther, who had fed the fires of reform, broke out of the Wartburg to check the fanatics of Zwickau, so also Edwards, "terrific" at Northampton, became conservative among the radical revivalists abroad. He opposed erratic movements with all his might. He talked, wrote, and preached against them; striving to guard against a spurious religion as earnestly as he strove to promote that which was genuine. The permanent issue of the controversy was his work on "The Religious Affections," which, long after his day, was widely used as a standard test of piety.

For sixteen years, that is, until 1744, the ministry of Edwards was eminently successful. During this period he gave a number of sermons and treatises to the press, and began to be known and honored even across the sea. But now a change came, which, whilst it drew a shadow over his life, made that life more useful than ever. His fidelity to the truth was so great that he could bear nothing which seemed to compromise it. He was prudent; but his courage was equal to any emergency in which a selfish prudence would suggest taking counsel of fear. He discovered that immoral practices were prevailing among some of the young people of his congregation. Before he came to Northampton his grandfather Stoddard had "witnessed a far more degenerate time among his people than ever before. The young became addicted to habits of dissipation and licentiousness; family government too generally failed," etc. Great improvement took place under the preaching of Edwards; but when he saw the signs of a relapse toward old habits, he at once raised the alarm. He preached a most impressive sermon on the subject, and then, stating the facts which had come to his knowledge, requested an investigation. His request was complied with; but the investigation implicated so many belonging to influential families, and, justly or unjustly, cast suspicion upon so many more, that the discipline proposed wholly broke down, and in its fall Edwards's influence among the young was greatly weakened. A few years afterward, when a more serious difficulty arose, he was himself broken down by the storm.

This difficulty, like the other, grew out of his fearless conscientiousness. The church at Northampton had, during his grandfather's ministry, adopted the practice known as that of the "Halfway Covenant." This practice was then common in New England. To understand it we must turn a leaf of history. The Puritan colonies were distinguished, from their earliest period, by a peculiar union of church and state. The theory was not, as in England, that the state should rule the church, but

rather that the state should be the supporter of the church, and carry out its principles by legislation. It was a modified theocracy. Hence every citizen was required to contribute to the support of the church. Each township inclosed a parish, and was incorporated with a view to convenience in attending public worship and to the support of the ordinances of religion. A regular tax was imposed upon each resident of a township for the support of its minister and for the other expenses of the sanctuary, which was styled a "meeting-house," in true Puritan parlance. It was, moreover, enacted by the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1631, that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." In other words, no one should hold civil office, or vote at the ordinary elections, unless a church member. This provision was later adopted by the Connecticut colonies, and throughout Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire. The result was an expedient by which persons not considering themselves Christians, in the higher sense of that term, might be counted as members of the church, and thus be enfranchised. This expedient, adopted by a synod in Massachusetts in 1662, was styled the Halfway Covenant. It was provided that all baptized persons might publicly "own the covenant" without entering into full communion, and thus be enrolled in the church, promising to pass the other half way on their spiritual regeneration. This filled the churches, but brought into them many persons of ungodly character. The standard of piety became thereby gradually but surely depressed. Stoddard had pressed the theory to a conclusion never designed by those who framed it. In 1704 he openly avowed the opinion that those who had taken the Halfway Covenant might be admitted to *full communion*; "that unconverted persons, considered as such, had a right, in the sight of God, or by his appointment, to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that thereby it was their *duty* to come to that ordinance, though they knew they had no true goodness or evangelical holiness." This principle, though at first opposed, was finally adopted in Northampton, and by degrees spread through various parts of New England. Edwards, when first settled at Northampton, doubted the soundness of this principle, but did not then feel prepared to oppose it. As time passed on, his doubts increased, and finally settled into the conviction that the principle was wholly wrong. It was not his habit to conceal his convictions when they were fully matured. In the spring of 1749, it became generally known in his parish that he was opposed to a practice which, by its long continuance, had become dear to his parishioners. A great excitement followed. His dismissal was loudly demanded. He held his ground. He preached and published upon the subject. A minority of the people were convinced that he was right. The cogency of his arguments affected in his favor the minds of most spiritual Chris-

tians far and wide. But the local opposition was too strong for him. He was obliged to relinquish his pastorate. He preached a farewell sermon which for solemnity, pathos, and fidelity has rarely been equaled. He retired with dignity to private life, occasionally preaching for his former people, when they had no other supply, until even that became intolerable to the majority, and they formally voted that he should not again be permitted to enter the pulpit. The minority wished to form a new church and install him as pastor, but he magnanimously declined to favor their plan. Without income, with a large family, being then forty-six years of age, and considering a resettlement as pastor improbable, he cheerfully faced the future, looking upward. His friends rallied for his support. His wants became known in Scotland, where he was already revered for his talents and piety. His friends there sent him a liberal donation. Yet this did not save him from hardship and privation. Joseph Cook, in one of his Boston lectures of 1877, thus spoke of him at this period:—

“I know where in Massachusetts I can put my hand on little irregular scraps of brown paper, stitched together as note-books, and closely covered all over with Jonathan Edwards’s handwriting. Why did he use such coarse material in his studies? Why was he within sight of starvation? Because he had opposed the Halfway Covenant. Why did that man need to accept from Scotland funds with which to maintain his family? Because he opposed the Halfway Covenant. Why did his wife and daughters make fans and sell them to buy bread? Because he opposed the Halfway Covenant; because he defended with vigor, as Whitefield did, the idea that a man should not be a minister unless converted, or a church member unless converted, and so set himself against the whole trend of this huge, turbid, hungry, haughty wave of secularization that had been rising since 1631. Of course, he was abandoned by the fashionable. Of course, his life was in some sense a martyrdom. His note-books were made from the refuse of brown paper left from the fans. There is nothing Massachusetts so little likes to be fanned with as those fans Jonathan Edwards’s wife and daughters made and sold for bread.”

To him, looking upward, the future soon opened; but not as man would have chosen to have it open. No large church was ready to give him a pulpit and a competent salary. But in 1751 a little congregation in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, invited Edwards to become its pastor. At the same time a missionary society in London offered to appoint him missionary to the Housatonic Indians, then residing at Stockbridge and in its vicinity. The field to which he was called was literally in the wilderness. There, as man would say, this mind of gigantic powers, this heart of exalted sanctification, were to be buried. The grandest theologian of New England was to spend his days in preaching to a handful of settlers, and in expounding the gospel through an interpreter

to an Indian tribe. Edwards did not hesitate. This was to him the call of Providence. He obeyed; and the world has long acknowledged that this "exile" was, under Providence, for the flowering of his genius, and for the consummation of that work which could have been done only in the solitudes. Edwards was led into the wilderness that he might thence send out his influences round the earth and down the centuries.

He remained in Stockbridge about six years. During those years he composed his treatises upon "The Freedom of the Will," "The Christian Doctrine of Original Sin," "The End for which God created the World," "The Nature of True Virtue," and "The History of Redemption." These works were not compilations of other men's thoughts; they were original. He had but few books. The room in which he wrote was a mere closet, opening out of one of the apartments of his dwelling. At each end of the closet were a few narrow shelves for his library. Between them was a window. Beside this window was a desk, leaving room only for the chair on which the writer sat. The house still stands, and visitors still resort to this closet and wonder over what came out of it. Of his outer life in Stockbridge there is little to record. Of his pastorate and his mission labors there is nothing to be written which might not have been written had he been but an ordinary man. Possibly an ordinary man would have effected more as merely pastor and missionary during these six years.

The great work of Edwards's life had already been accomplished when, in 1757, he was elected president of the College of New Jersey at Princeton. His predecessor was his own son-in-law, Aaron Burr, who died two days before Commencement, in 1757. The trustees met on Commencement day, and made choice of Edwards as his successor. His reply to their communication was not favorable. With great modesty, and with the simplicity of a boy, he gave his reasons for believing himself unfitted for the office. He had an "unhappy constitution, attended with flaccid solids, vapid, sizzly, and scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits." He was often afflicted with a "childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence, and demeanor." He was dull and stiff in conversation, and thought he could not, in his dyspeptic moods, govern a college. His friends, however, thought otherwise. He yielded to their judgment, was dismissed from his pastorate in January, 1758, and immediately removed to Princeton. Very soon after his inauguration, in consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox, he adopted the protective measure of the day, was inoculated with the disease, recovered from the first effects of the inoculation, was then attacked by a secondary fever, and died March 22d, having resided in Princeton about nine weeks. His age was fifty-four years, five months, and seventeen days.

Notwithstanding his brief term of office, he has passed into history as President Edwards, in distinction from his son Jonathan, who became

famous as a theologian, and bears the title of "Dr. Edwards" among the students of theology.

Our limits will not permit us to describe in detail the great works of President Edwards, the titles of which have been already given. The most important of these works is the treatise on the Freedom of the Will. Its occasion was the pressure brought to bear upon Calvinism in England, by such writers as Dr. Samuel Clark and Dr. Whitby, who held that Calvinism logically denies human freedom. This objection was considered so formidable in Great Britain that to meet it some of the most spiritual of the Calvinists, such as Dr. Isaac Watts and Dr. Philip Doddridge, felt themselves obliged to affirm that the will is self-determined. President Edwards regarded this position as fatal to the doctrine of divine sovereignty, since it limited God's power; and to the doctrine of grace in conversion, since it made conversion dependent on the will of man. Interpreters vary as to the precise manner in which he met the difficulty. His radical principles may be stated as these: The faculty of the will is that power of the mind which renders it capable of choosing; the choice of the will is invariably determined by "that motive which as it stands in the view of the mind is the strongest," the connection between the greatest apparent good and the act of the will being fixed. God foreknows and can predetermine all human acts; the will in choosing is free,—that is, the mind in choosing has the physical ability or natural capacity to choose otherwise; its inability to choose in a holy manner is therefore *moral* only. "The thing wanting is not a being *able*, but a being *willing*." Out of these principles is evolved the conclusion that man is perfectly free and responsible, yet God is absolutely sovereign in his control. Whatever may be said in criticism of this work for or against it, no one denies that it moulded the thinking of many generations. President Edwards was the founder of what has, ever since his day, been distinguished as New England theology. His son, Dr. Edwards, and his pupils, Bellamy and Hopkins, doubtless modified his system; but they professed to get the materials with which they wrought largely out of his quarry. The estimate of him made by the profoundest thinkers abroad is, if possible, higher than that of the thinkers of his native land. Dugald Stewart spoke of him as equal "in logical acuteness and subtlety" to any writer of his day. It will be affirmed by none of his admirers that he reached the utmost limits of human philosophy; but if to take hold of the greatest questions of philosophy with a master hand and to hold them with the grasp of a giant, to draw with him along the track of his inquiry the strongest minds of his time, and to color all theology for a century is to win a title to greatness, that title belongs to him. Of his intercourse with such men as Whitefield and Brainerd, the missionary, we have said nothing. To his influence in promoting and

directing the wonderful revivals of his day we have only alluded. Hundreds of thousands have been assisted by him in the divine life. His work on the Religious Affections is now less used as a test of piety than it was a generation since. His theory of Original Sin is generally abandoned by theologians; indeed, it was never very widely adopted. But he will long be regarded as in many respects first among the religious thinkers of America. Very few have ever put so much into a mortal life as did he; very few have ever brought so much out of a half century of mortal existence. Always feeble in body, his soul had the wing and the eye of an eagle. We can only guess what it must be now that it has more than the wing and the eye of an angel. — Z. M. H.

LIFE III. SAMUEL HOPKINS, OF NEWPORT.

A. D. 1721—A. D. 1803. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

It may justly be regarded as a characteristic fact, illustrating the all-subduing and subsidizing power of Christianity, that wherever it is intelligently and heartily received it lays under contribution the entire nature of its disciples; not their intellect alone, nor their sensibilities alone, but the whole force and potency of their being. The great Christian doctors of past ages were not mere closet theologians, but laborious and enthusiastic preachers, bold reformers, zealous philanthropists. The eminent Christian fathers, the mediæval divines, the modern scientific theologians, have been, many of them, as distinguished for active benevolence as for the successful prosecution of sacred lore; making good in the sphere of Christianity the old adage, *Abeunt studia in mores*.

The popular idea of a Christian polemic is a man of narrow mind and perverted sensibilities, who sets the propagation of his dogma above all human interests, and is quite willing to burn men here and damn them hereafter for presuming to dispute it. But a polemic, or Christian theologian, is usually a man of profound beliefs and intense loyalty to the truth, whose enthusiasm is kindled by the conviction that the acceptance of his dogma is essential to human happiness and welfare. He may be blinded by mere love of disputation or eagerness for victory; his zeal may degenerate into dark fanaticism; he may be led to employ most unhappy and mistaken methods; his views themselves may be utterly destitute of foundation in philosophy or in Scripture; but in the great majority of cases they have been maintained under the persuasion that they were intimately linked with *glory to God in the highest, with peace on earth, and with good-will to men*. Many are the instances in which a life of self-sacrificing benevolence has been the direct outgrowth of philosophical or theological systems elaborated in the closet.

Near the close of the fourteenth century, a gentleman resident in the household of the king of the Balearic Islands, a gay and dissipated courtier, was brought under the power of religious truth, and led to enter on a life of earnest piety. Abandoning his career of pleasure, he devoted himself to the service of God and humanity. The object on which his heart became fixed was the conversion of the Mohammedans; and he set about preparing for this work in the most deliberate and judicious manner. Wiser than many modern missionaries, he did not propose to throw himself among a people to whose language and manners he was an utter stranger, trusting to some vague and unpromised divine assistance for success. He proceeded, in the first place, to make himself familiar with the Arabic language and literature. He purchased in the Majorcan slave-market a Moorish captive, and adopted him as his teacher. With him he read and studied the Koran until he had thoroughly mastered its contents. His next step was to prepare an elaborate refutation of it: and then, satisfied that the Mollahs could teach him nothing concerning their own Scriptures that he did not already know, he began to build up what he regarded as an absolutely irrefragable demonstration of the truth of Christianity. This was the famous "Ars Generalis," by which Raimund Lull flattered himself that he should overcome all the possible resistance of unbelief; and backing up his logic with his life, he went single-handed, again and again, to the coast of Africa, preaching the gospel to the Moors, till he was at length called to receive the crown of martyrdom as the reward of his disinterested benevolence.

Not unlike Raimund Lull in his spirit of mystical devotion and practical philanthropy was the humble yet illustrious American divine of Hopkins's early life. whom we are now to speak. Samuel Hopkins was born at Waterbury, Connecticut, September 17, 1721, of a Puritan family in which, from the first immigration, the Scriptural names of Samuel, Stephen, Mark, etc., had been perpetuated. He graduated at Yale College in 1741. Hopkins had been educated in a home of simple piety, and imbued from the cradle with the principles of religion. While in college he passed through that religious crisis common to a large portion of those who have composed the evangelical ministry of America, in which he became impressed with a sense of sinfulness, and after a somewhat protracted period of struggle and doubt was brought to the experience of a clear and solid hope in Christ. He devoted himself to the ministry, and after graduating proceeded to Northampton, where he was domesticated in the house of President Edwards, and enjoyed the instructions and friendship of that preëminent theologian. It cannot be said, however, that his education, whether academical or theological, was of a high order. He passed only respectably through college at a time when the standard of scholarship in Yale College was not high, and his reading in theology was brief and interrupted. Of any

knowledge of rhetoric and elocution he was utterly destitute. He had a great and brawny frame, a monotonous voice, a dull and ponderous manner. With these qualifications he began his ministry in a little village of thirty families, called afterwards Great Barrington, and at a salary of less than one hundred and twenty dollars a year. Here he was ordained the 28th of December, 1743.

In this humble parish Mr. Hopkins continued for a quarter of a century; studying, preaching, elaborating his theology, even publishing tracts and sermons, but making almost no impression on the community. In a quarter of a century he received less than three persons a year to the church. The state of morals in the place was bad, and became worse. He had a wife and eight children, and his salary was no better than when he began. It was agreed on all hands that it was wise for him to resign his charge; and he was dismissed by a council in January, 1769.

This step proved happily introductory to his removal to the far more important and promising field of Newport, Rhode Island, where he was installed pastor of the First Congregational Church in April, 1770. Newport was at the time a flourishing little city of about ten thousand inhabitants, composed of Jews and Gentiles, politicians and people of fashion, Quakers and slave-dealers. It had a large mercantile marine, engaged chiefly in the African trade. Out of two hundred slave-ships bringing their human cargoes to the American continent, Newport fitted out more than a quarter; the merchant princes of the city had made their fortunes by this legalized man-stealing, and there was no respectable family in the place but owned at the least one slave. Christians, church officers, and ministers of the gospel were involved in the iniquity. The reasons for the traffic found in the demand for labor, especially in the Southern colonies, in the unceasing intertribal wars in Africa attended with the massacre of prisoners, in the missionary character of the enterprise, since it brought the blacks within the influence of Christianity, etc., reconciled the people of England and America in a body to the slave-trade, notwithstanding its admitted cruelties in every stage of the process. The most eminent Christian ministers held slaves, then and long after, without one twinge of conscience, or a suspicion of its inconsistency with the law of God or the principles of the gospel. The subject of this story, while residing at Great Barrington, had himself owned a slave; and his teacher in the faith, Jonathan Edwards, left one by will as a part of his "quick" or live stock, at a valuation of one hundred dollars.

Up to the time of Mr. Hopkins's removal to Newport hardly any public or influential protest had been made in any quarter against the slave-trade, and still less against the unrighteousness of slavery itself. The Quakers had indeed long before lifted up a feeble note of remonstrance against the former; and Anthony Benezet in Philadelphia, and Granville Sharp in England, had published tracts against it as early as 1769. In

1772 the latter secured, in the famous Somerset case, the memorable decision that "the moment a slave touches the sacred soil of Britain, that moment he is free."

It is not claimed for Samuel Hopkins that he was the first to protest in the name of humanity and religion against the traffic in human flesh. All honor to those kindly drab-coated enthusiasts in England and in America who had already exerted themselves to rouse the sentiment of Christendom against the inhuman business! His just praise is that with little or no knowledge of what had been or what was being attempted by others, single-handed and alone, in the midst of a community deeply involved in slavery and the slave-trade, he put everything at hazard, and stood forth as the champion of the oppressed and the pioneer of African evangelization. A very brief sketch of his labors in this direction is all our limits will allow. Slavery in the rural districts of New England was a mild and harmless institution. Little or no distinction of caste was known. The slave wrought by the side of his master in the field, ate with him at the same board, and worshiped and communed with him in the same sanctuary. None of the cruel incidents connected with that system of labor in the Southern colonies, such as the slave-coffle, the driver, or the auction block, were ever known in New England. It was in Newport that Hopkins first witnessed the traffic in men reduced to a system. He saw the miserable remnants of the "middle passage" disgorged from the fetid hold of the slaver, and the wild-eyed barbarians distributed among their various purchasers. He knew that ships fitted out by Christian men, by members of his own congregation, were carrying thousands of such victims to the far worse bondage of the rice and cotton plantations of the South. He lost no time in unburdening his conscience in the matter. It was in April, 1770, that he was installed pastor at Newport. Before the close of the year he stood up in his pulpit and, to the amazement of his hearers, denounced in unsparing terms the business of kidnaping, buying, or holding slaves. All the circumstances taken into consideration, it was the most heroic protest against this iniquity ever uttered. He ventured the loss of all things, of friends, of living, of home; but he reaped the reward of his fidelity.

The conscience of his hearers sided with the truth; his congregation stood by him, and he went deeper into the battle for humanity. He corresponded with Granville Sharp and other friends of the slave at home and abroad. He preached again and again on the subject. In 1776, he published his "Dialogue on the Slavery of the Africans." Its entire title is, "A Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, showing it to be the Duty and Interest of the American Colonies to emancipate all the African Slaves! Dedicated to the Honorable Continental Congress."

The boldness, force, and thoroughness of this treatise, together with

its popular method, gave it great currency and influence. Nothing containing any material advance on the argument here presented has ever been brought forward in the whole course of this controversy. Every plea in favor of the system was anticipated and refuted: the pretense of necessity and of humanity, the arguments from Scripture and expediency, were all of them thoroughly exploded.

The colonists were just entering on their struggle with the mother country for their rights and liberties as British subjects. Dr. Hopkins exposed with great severity the monstrous inconsistency of rising up in arms against British oppression, and continuing to hold thousands of our fellow-men in a far more intolerable bondage. He predicted that the frown of God must rest on such hypocrisy; and when the cause of the colonists continued to be signally prospered he was obliged to resort to the explanation that it was due to God's blessing on the incipient measures they had already taken for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Directly after the establishment of American independence, a manumission society was established in the city of New York, of which several eminent patriots were members, among them Alexander Hamilton and John Jay; they published a large edition (for the times) of this pamphlet, and presented a copy to each member of Congress. Other emancipation societies were formed in different parts of the country; and while slavery strengthened itself in the Southern States, a strong sentiment began to be formed throughout the North in favor of its early and entire abrogation.

But this was only a part of the work which Dr. Hopkins undertook in behalf of the African race. His plans reached much beyond the emancipation of the slaves in this country. If not in ^{He projects Li-}beria. advance of all others, yet contemporaneously with the foremost, and unprompted by any, he conceived the idea of extinguishing the slave-trade in its source by evangelizing the African continent, — the same idea that animated the labors of the heroic Livingstone in recent times. He began by securing the freedom of two native Africans of hopeful piety and promise, contributing for this object liberally from his own scanty means. He provided also for their education. As early as 1773 he succeeded in organizing a missionary and colonization society for the establishment of Christianity in Africa. His scheme was to achieve the freedom of as many blacks, especially native Africans, as possible, and to plant them at some point on the slave coast, with competent white men as their guides and helpers, until they should be sufficiently advanced to take their affairs entirely into their own hands; in short, it was precisely the germ from which the American Colonization Society was subsequently developed.

No great reform, any more than any great invention, is wrought out at a blow. There is that general, unconscious sympathy of mind with

mind, even across broad tracts of sea or land; there is that common and simultaneous advance of thought among enlightened nations that leads many persons to be occupied, unknown to each other, at the same time with the same problems. When at length brought into communication each adds something to the other; difficulties are got rid of; conditions necessary to success are supplied; the mass of material out of which the perfect contrivance must be wrought is gradually accumulated. Then there is lacking only the providential crisis and the organizing mind to select and combine the proper elements, and the plan is perfected. So it was that while Hopkins in Rhode Island was busy elaborating his scheme for introducing Christian civilization into Africa, Granville Sharp in England and Thornton in Virginia were working at the same problem.

The English philanthropist, aided by larger pecuniary resources and greater commercial facilities, was first in the field. The colony of Sierra Leone was established in 1787. Dr. Hopkins organized his society in 1773, collected funds, and had his first native missionaries in a course of training; but the country was poor and distracted with the convulsion of the Revolutionary War. Of the two candidates for the African mission who were sent to Princeton to be educated under Dr. Witherspoon, one, Bristol Yamma, died; the other, John Quamine, entering on board a privateer, both from motives of patriotism and in the hope of securing means to purchase the freedom of his wife, was slain in the first battle.

Dr. Hopkins further proved his faith by his works. In 1793 he published in two volumes his system of theology. For the copyright of this work, which had cost him ten years of labor, he received the sum of nine hundred dollars; he gave eight hundred of this on the instant in aid of the African mission, with other considerable sums at other times. But it was not till he had been nearly twenty years in his grave that his benevolent scheme for the evangelization of Africa was successfully carried out. On the 4th of January, 1826, a colony of Christian blacks, — all from Rhode Island, — led by two native Africans, Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia, who, under Dr. Hopkins's influence, had gained liberty and education, sailed for the Liberian colony.

The immediate impulse to the modern missionary work is also unquestionably due to him. The father of Samuel J. Mills, the first missionary sent by an American society to foreign shores, was the friend and correspondent of the Newport reformer. Young Mills's attention was first of all directed to a mission among the Africans; and his earliest public employment after entering the ministry was an agency for the American Colonization Society.

I close this sketch of Dr. Hopkins as a philanthropist with a single anecdote, which, though often published, will bear repetition. Being once on a visit at the house of his distinguished theological friend, Dr.

Leader in American foreign missions.

Bellamy, who then owned a slave, Hopkins pressed upon him the objections against that relation. Bellamy defended the system with the usual arguments. Hopkins refuted them, and then called on him to free his slave at once. Bellamy replied that the slave was a most faithful and judicious servant; that in the management of the farm he could be trusted with everything, and was so happy in his servitude that he would refuse his freedom were it offered him. "Will you consent to his liberation," inquired Hopkins. "if he really desires it?" "Undoubtedly," replied Bellamy, "I will." The slave was then at work in the field. "Call him," said Hopkins, "and let us try." The man came at the summons. "Have you a good master?" said Hopkins, addressing him. What could the man answer but "yes"? "Are you happy in your present condition?" How could the slave deny that he was? "Would you be more happy if you were free?" "Oh, yes, massa, me be much more happy." "You have your wish," said Bellamy; "from this moment you are free."

This consistent and enthusiastic zeal for humanity in the subject of the present sketch may be traced in him, as in other good men, to the influence of his religious character. Loving God, he could not fail to love his brother also; and he recognized a brother in every suffering fellow-being. But it may also be traced to the principles of his theology; and although we have, in this brief monograph, placed his philanthropy first in order, it is as the author of a theological system that he is far best known to the world. Multitudes who have not heard, unless, perhaps, in some page of fiction, that Dr. Hopkins was ever brought into contact with slavery have heard that he was the author of a theological system which taught that "men ought to be willing to be damned for the glory of God."

It is necessary, therefore, to expound in a few words the principles of his theology. He was a Calvinist, and, as he believed, ^{Hopkinsian the-} one of the few consistent and unflinching disciples of that ^{ology.} school. He held that all sin consists in selfishness, and all virtue in disinterested benevolence. Disinterested benevolence teaches us to love the whole more than a part, to love the aggregate of being more than an individual, even though that individual be ourself; and since God in his infinitude exceeds the whole mass of created being, whatever may tend to the glory of God is to be sought, no matter what results it may involve to rational or irrational creatures. The happiness of the greatest sum is to be desired by every virtuous being; and since the sum of happiness in God is greater than in all that is not God, if it were for God's happiness or glory that the entire human race should perish in hell forever, this ought to be joyfully acquiesced in by every loyal subject of God's government.

The happiness of any individual is, according to this doctrine, a matter

relatively of very little consequence. A race, a nation, a state, even a family, may have claims greatly transcending those of any one person; and for a single man to set his own happiness against the happiness of a greater mass of being would be of the essence of selfishness. Self-sacrifice, therefore, for the good of others is essentially virtuous. It was under the impulse of this principle that Dr. Hopkins stood forth at Newport alone, in the presence of a slave-holding and slave-trading community, and ventured the loss of every worldly interest to plead the cause of the friendless and oppressed. He was merely making his own welfare subordinate to that of a greater sum of being.

In no conscious inconsistency with this principle, Dr. Hopkins held another which might well have tended to chill his philanthropy by reconciling him to the existence of any and every form of evil. He held that this is the best possible among all supposable worlds, and has been ordained as such by the benevolence of God. Sin, though in itself an evil, is, relative to the entire system of the universe, good, — better than virtue would be in its place. God chose it and ordained it, because He saw that by means of sin He could produce a higher degree of happiness to being in general. The existence, therefore, of sin, with all that it involves of suffering here and of retribution hereafter, is on the whole well pleasing to God. There is then no absolute evil in the universe. Evil, as taught by Mr. Emerson, is “only good in the making;” an epigrammatic dictum which precisely expresses the spirit of Hopkins’s theology on this point; or as earlier set forth by Alexander Pope,

“All discord’s harmony not understood, all partial evil universal good.”

This tender-hearted, benevolent man had schooled his intellect to the conclusion that the infinite torment of untold millions in hell was to be rejoiced in, as a necessary means to the happiness of “being in general.” Dr. Hopkins taught the doctrine of the absolute, unconditional decrees of God in its most rigid form, and carried it out to its last results with remorseless logic. The sins of all men, with all their circumstances, are expressly decreed by God as better and more pleasing to Him than virtue in their place; and yet men are absolutely free in sinning, and will be eternally punished for the very sins God so decreed. Dr. Hopkins was a rigid Calvinist, but regarded himself, together with Edwards, Belamy, and a few others, as a reformer and improver of the Calvinistic theology. Holding the doctrine of total depravity, he denied the imputation of Adam’s sin to his posterity. Teaching the election and salvation of only a select portion of the human race, he denied the dogma of a limited atonement. Maintaining that the unregenerate ought to use the means of grace in order to their conversion, he yet held that their using these means while unconverted is an aggravation of their guilt, and peculiarly hateful to God. He taught that every child of Adam is born

loaded with the guilt of damning sin, and yet that all sin consists in voluntary rebellion against God. Those modifications of the Calvinistic system which were introduced by Edwards, and elaborated by the Newport divine, are known by the name of "Hopkinsianism."

Dr. Hopkins died at Newport December 20, 1803, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was an indefatigable student, writer, and preacher to the last. Samuel Hopkins deserves to be held in lasting memory as a profound thinker, a great theological writer, a generous and self-sacrificing friend of mankind. — S. H.

LIFE IV. FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

A. D. ?—A. D. 1708. PRESBYTERIAN,—AMERICA.

To be the right man in the right place was the happy lot of Francis Makemie. He was needed by the Presbyterian families who had been settling in the American colonies during forty years. They were widely scattered through the provinces from Boston Bay to the Savannah River. They had their well-read Bibles, and their oft-sung psalms; their elders holding fast to the Westminster Confession of Faith; their healthful children, whose souls were girded with the catechism, and their morning and evening worship at home. But they were long without a ministry and a church.

In 1636, the Eagle Wing sailed from a harbor near Belfast, having on board about one hundred and forty Presbyterians. Their leaders were a band of Scots who had preached a few years in Ireland, been persecuted, and some of them deposed by a bishop for non-conformity. Two of them were the famous Robert Blair and John Livingstone, so eminent in the great revivals of their day. These pilgrims had built the little ship, thinking of Him who said to the Hebrews, "I bare you on eagles' wings." They now looked to New England for a refuge and field of labor. But the mid-sea storms drove them back. In Latin verses a bishop derided the return of "the Puritanical Argos without the golden fleece." These ministers recovered courage, privately taught in Irish neighborhoods, or openly preached in Scottish pulpits, and thus helped to rear a church which would send many of her sons hither as the founders of Presbyterianism in America. One of these was young Makemie, evidently a "Scotch-Irishman," born (we know not when) at Rathmelton in Donegal. A devout school-master led him to a personal belief in Christ. While a student at a university in Scotland, he must have listened often for the news from the battle-fields of faith. In 1669 he must have felt an interest in the organization of the presbyteries in Ireland. But there was no peace yet granted anywhere in Western Eu-

rope to men who thought as he did. It was the critical age of Presbyterianism. Its spirit of liberty was offensive to tyrants. Under the later Stuarts and Louis the Fourteenth were Covenanters and Huguenots who scarcely found a door of escape. Ship-loads of them were landed in America, where they were sold into servitude for a few years to pay for their passage. A few noblemen sent over freer bands. They built their cabins in the forests. There were small communities, but no strong colony of Presbyterians in this country. About 1680 one little flock, near Norfolk, Virginia, had its pastor, who was soon in his grave. A few ministers came and went, or died in lonely settlements. The efficient organizer had not yet come.

In 1680 the Irish presbytery of Laggan heard a renewed voice from America. It received a letter from Judge William Stevens, a member of Lord Baltimore's council, entreating that ministers be sent to Maryland and Virginia. The next year it licensed Francis Makemie, and probably ordained him soon afterwards as an evangelist for the distant colonies. He preached for a time in Barbadoes. About 1684 he began his labors on the continent. In the south-east corner of Maryland there were three or four "meeting-houses," and in the one at Snow Hill he organized a church. The brogue of his kindred was there. An elder and merchant, Adam Spence, had probably signed the Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland, and a descendant of his, reciting the traditions of a hundred and thirty years, thus writes of Makemie: "One generation has uttered his praises in the ears of its successor, and you may even yet hear their echo. Parents made his surname the Christian name of their children, until in the neighborhood of Snow Hill it has become a common one." This hill was his base of missionary operations.

Maryland was remarkably tolerant so long as Lord Baltimore governed it. Makemie was free to go wherever he might find the dispersed Presbyterians and organize churches. For six years he seems to have had no fixed home. He resided chiefly on horseback, in the cabins where he lodged, and in rude pulpits. Among his hearers at Rehoboth must have been Judge Stevens, whose letter had brought him into the far West. Meanwhile he had ventured down the peninsula into Virginia, whose laws and rulers were far from tolerant. Lord Berkeley was usually severe upon all dissenters from the established church of England. He admitted the pressing need of a clergy, sound, earnest, and pure, but he did not favor public schools, nor the press. Makemie found "a poor, desolate people," and comforted them. Beverly wrote thus: "It is observed that those counties where the Presbyterians are produce very mean tobacco, and for that reason can't get an orthodox [Episcopal] minister to stay amongst them." Better tobacco elsewhere brought larger salaries. But there was a soil for spiritual harvests, and the unselfish Makemie sowed and reaped.

Reaches America, 1684.

There were restraints upon his liberty of preaching. Relief came from two sources. One was his marriage with Naomi Anderson, who brought him a share in her father's wealth and extensive lands. He seems to have resided thenceforth at Accomac, Virginia. He had other dwellings, and had store-houses in which he preached. Of salaries to him we hear nothing. He was now a prosperous ship-merchant supporting himself as a missionary. He prepared and published a catechism, which led to a controversy with the erratic George Keith. His other source of relief was the Toleration Act (1689) of King William Third, the eminent champion of religious liberty. But it was ignored in Virginia for ten years. If Makemie caused its recognition, his noble service deserves high praise. The tradition is that he was arraigned for preaching, and that his powerful defense before the governor prompted the legislature to enter the act as a law of the province. He obtained his license as a dissenter, and two of his dwelling-houses were registered as the places of "his constant and ordinary preaching."

Labors for religious liberty.

He was gathering more flocks than he could feed. Failing to secure help from Boston he went to England in 1704, and there published "A Plain and Loving Persuasion to the Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland," in behalf of a higher civilization. It was full of good sense. He notes as "an unaccountable humour and singular to most rationals, that in those provinces no attempt was made to build up towns." He urges that towns would benefit lands and trade, give employment to the poor, and be of great advantage to religion, education, and the general welfare: they would not promote drunkenness, for "if there were towns, there would be stocks, and sots would be placed in them." A London society granted him funds to support two missionaries, but Ireland furnished the men. In 1705 John Hampton and George Macnish began their work in Maryland.

Philadelphia had become a new centre of Presbyterianism. In 1698 Jedediah Andrews, a native of Massachusetts, had there collected the elements of a church. He went on preaching tours in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He and Makemie were kindred spirits. They knew how to advance the cause they loved. They saw the need of further organization in a presbytery. They wisely chose the place. In 1705 Talbot, an Episcopal clergyman, wrote, "There is a new meeting-house built for Andrews, and almost finished, which I am afraid will draw away great part of the church, if there be not the greatest care taken of it." We infer that the first presbytery in America met in that house. The first leaf of the records is lost, but the second page shows that the presbytery was sitting in October, 1706, with Makemie as moderator. In it were eight ministers, and the elders of a larger number of churches.

In 1707 Makemie and Hampton were in the city of New York, where

Lord Cornbury had no respect for the Act of Toleration. He forbade the use of the Dutch church to Makemie, whose friends secured him a private house. There he preached "in as public a manner as possible, with open doors." Hampton was granted a church by the people of Newtown, on Long Island. They were arrested. In the presence of Lord Cornbury, Makemie argued that the Toleration Act extended to all the colonies, and that the license taken in Virginia was good in New York. The answer was, "You are strolling preachers; you shall not spread your pernicious doctrines here." "As to our doctrines," said Makemie, with admirable dignity, "we have our confession of faith, which is known to the Christian world; and I challenge all the clergy of York to show us any false or pernicious doctrines therein. We are able to prove that its doctrinal articles agree with those of the Church of England." But all argument was in vain. The accused were sent to jail. After a long trial they were acquitted by a jury, four of whom were Huguenots. But Makemie was not released until he paid the costs, amounting to eighty-three pounds! This injustice was soon denounced by the legislature. Makemie preached in the French church, and narrowly escaped arrest in New Jersey. At Boston he published the sermon which had caused his imprisonment. One of the texts was, "We ought to obey God rather than men." The Latin motto meant that "Prayers and tears are the weapons of the church." Cornbury described him as a man of all trades. "He is a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counsellor-at-law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments." The truth is, Makemie had genius and versatility of talent. In his valuable library there were many works on law, and by his study of them he contributed no little to religious freedom.

He died in 1708 at his own home. After the death of his two daughters he was without a descendant on earth. Much of his property went to churches which he had nurtured, and to the relief of the poor. The cause for which he had zealously labored was not widely extended in Virginia until the spirit of toleration grew stronger, new emigrants settled in the valleys, and the work of Samuel Blair (1740), and that "prince of preachers," Samuel Davies, was blessed with a wondrous revival. We cannot record any marked successes in the Carolinas, which he visited. But in that peninsula where he was most at home, we still find "Makemie's churches." They are his eulogy. If he had traveled up the Chesapeake Bay and the Susquehanna River to Harrisburg, thence to New York, and thence along the coast back to his house, he would have measured the triangle in which Presbyterianism was then flourishing. Within those limits the pioneer was soon followed by the educator and the theologian, for whom he had prepared the way with his zeal, diligence, wisdom, piety, and generous spirit.

In prison in New York city.

Makemie's title to fame.

Without sectarianism he loved his church. Dr. Sprague says, "His grand distinction is, that he was undoubtedly the first regular and thorough Presbyterian minister in this country; and he may justly be regarded as the father of the (American) Presbyterian Church."—W. M. B.

LIFE V. JONATHAN DICKINSON.

A. D. 1688—A. D. 1747. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THE year in which Makemie ceased from his labors there came into New Jersey a young man who fairly represents the New England element, the positive theology, the vigorous intellect, the independent thought, and the educational forces in the early Presbyterianism of America. He was Jonathan Dickinson, born in 1688, in Hatfield, Massachusetts, and reared in the traditions of his Puritan ancestors. At the age of eighteen he received the diploma of Yale College. He studied theology, and in 1708 went to Elizabeth, New Jersey, with a license to preach. There he married Joanna Melyen, and reared a large family. There he taught young men, sometimes practiced medicine, and ceased not to labor as a preacher and pastor until he died in the sixtieth year of his age.

He began his ministry as a Congregationalist, ordained in Connecticut, and favorable to the doctrine and polity of the Westminster Confession. He had charge of six churches in and near Elizabeth. They seem to have been independent in government. Nearly all the early churches of northern New Jersey and Long Island, except the Dutch, were colonies from New England. Dickinson was soon well known among them and their pastors. Most of them went with him into the Presbyterian Church. Thus were Scots, Irish, and Puritans harmoniously joined in brotherhood.

Ten years of growth had so enlarged the original presbytery that it was divided into four, and in 1716 a higher organization was effected under the name of the Synod of Philadelphia. "It was the opening germ of one of the goodliest growths of Christendom. Its branches, high and strong, reach now from ocean to ocean, scattering more and more the seeds of piety, learning, freedom, and social order." In 1717 Dickinson united with the presbytery of Philadelphia. He was subsequently included in the presbytery of New York, and no man did more to unify its various elements. In the synod he was a leader, highly esteemed for his manliness, spirituality, powerful mind, uncommon wisdom, and calm judgment. He was firm in his beliefs and convictions, yet forbearing amid differences of opinion. His pen was sometimes in controversy, his heart was always full of charity, and he seeded the

model of a Christian gentleman. In him were combined strong thought, warm devotion, and strict integrity. If the wicked trembled in his presence, it was because they respected his apostolic character and bearing. His varied talents met the needs of his place and time. His successes refuted the notion that a man of versatile powers and many employments cannot be efficient. He maintained honorably and quite contemporaneously the several characters of a profound theologian, a mighty preacher, a diligent pastor, an active and wise churchman, the warm advocate of missions and revivals, an eminent educator, and an earnest peace-maker.

The synod had its controversies. It saw the need of a constitution to preserve the unity of the church, of which it was the highest court. For this purpose the members generally were willing to adopt the Westminster standards, except the articles which related to the civil power. But the question rose, whether the synod should require a personal adoption of the Confession of Faith. Many were unwilling to subscribe to the very words of every doctrinal article. Dickinson led the opposition, but went to an extreme. He yielded to none in his thorough Calvinism; he zealously advocated the doctrines of the confession; yet he opposed all creeds drawn up by uninspired men, lest they should become a substitute for the Word of God. He thought that a general acknowledgment of a doctrinal system was a sufficient bond of union; that the church had her true defense against laxity and error in other means; that she should carefully examine candidates for the ministry in Scripture truth and piety, revive the ancient discipline, and diligently set forth the pure gospel; and that subscription would cause disunion. On this path he had few followers then, and he has none now, in the church that he loved. But his conciliatory spirit was manifest five months later, in 1729, when he served on the committee which reported the Adopting Act. It was harmoniously passed. It disclaimed all "authority of imposing our faith upon other men's consciences." It required every candidate and every minister to declare "his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said confession." It provided for the honest scruples and the mistakes which did not pertain to articles "essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government." Thus the constitution was adopted, and Dickinson cordially adhered to it.

He was not the man to cherish lax views upon any important subject. He had no sympathy with "the latitude-men" of England and Ireland, who held positions in the Presbyterian Church and drew their salaries, while they rejected her essential principles and met in coffee-houses to talk flippantly against all tests of personal faith and piety. The same mental disorder, in the guise of moderatism, was entering the church of Scotland. It took the vitality from Christian faith, regeneration and holy living. Personal religion melted away under its breath. The

epidemic threatened America. Dickinson was one of the most earnest men in resisting it. While pleading for the "Reasonableness of Christianity," in a timely volume, and for the right use of human reason in the study of divine revelation, he was strongly averse to rationalism. He would not divorce liberality from truth, for in holy truth genuine charity has her greatest power and highest joy.

In his scientific mind he carried a definite system of theology and church polity. He believed them to be thoroughly Scriptural. He defended them in published sermons, pamphlets, ^{Dickinson's} "Five Points," and small volumes, whose terse style and compact arguments adapted them to popular use. The best of them were republished in Edinburgh, Scotland, where Dr. John Erskine said that the British Isles had produced no writers on divinity, in the eighteenth century, equal to Dickinson and Jonathan Edwards. The little book, often reprinted, with the title of "Dickinson on the Five Points of Calvinism," is but one of several treatises on the subjects involved in that system of theology.

The ministers of that time did not forget the heathen at home. Since the days of John Eliot the gospel had won triumphs among the red men of the forests. In New England there were more than thirty Indian churches. Why not labor for the conversion and civilization of the Indians between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers? The tribes were friendly. Dickinson was one of three Presbyterian ministers who wrote in their behalf to the society in Scotland for propagating the gospel in foreign lands. The reply authorized them to employ missionaries. But where find the men? David Brainerd had been a shining light among his fellow-students at Yale College, during the great revival of 1741, and had lamented the coldness of certain teachers. For saying privately of a tutor, "He has no more grace than this chair," he was required to do more than freely admit the fault and promise to refrain from improper censures. He must make public confession of a private remark. This he refused to do, and he was expelled. The pleas of the Hartford ministers could not secure his restoration, but they directed his studies in theology and were active in his licensure to preach the gospel. In November, 1742, he was engaged for the work among the Indians. During his remaining five years of earthly life he labored among them as an apostle, often seeking rest and health in the house of Dickinson. His toils, travels, endurances, successes, and journal of spiritual experiences form one of the brightest chapters in missionary enterprise. His biography by Jonathan Edwards, to whose daughter he was betrothed, was read in the British Isles, and it contributed greatly to the Christ-like spirit which ushered in the grand era of Protestant missions throughout the world.

Three schools added powerfully to the extension and vigor of early Presbyterianism in this country. In his academy at New London, Ches-

ter County, Pennsylvania, the accomplished scholar, Dr. Francis Alison, won high distinction as an educator. In the wilds of Neshaminy, about twenty miles north of Philadelphia, William Tennent built "that eagle's nest, the Log College." Out of it went those two famous Samuels, Blair and Finley, to establish other schools; and those ardent preachers, the younger

"Tennents, four worthies of immortal fame,
Brothers in office, birth, and heart, and name."

At Elizabeth was Dickinson, instructing young men in the classics, natural sciences, and theology. The expulsion of David Brainerd from Yale caused a general indignation, which was favorable to his enterprise. The Rev. Aaron Burr and other Presbyterian ministers felt convinced that they must have a college for their own denomination. In 1746 a charter was obtained for "Nassau Hall," the original of the College of New Jersey. It was Dickinson's school, endowed with new privileges. He was its first president. He lived but one year longer to impress his character upon it. Then it wandered, like Israel's ark, until it rested permanently at Princeton. To be the founder of such an institution, with its national glory, is an enduring honor.

The great revival which moved the whole realm of Protestantism was an unspeakable blessing to the American colonies. It brought out the vitality of religion. It gave fresh life to all churches. To them it added thousands of converts. It gave evangelical Christianity the force of a common law. It prepared the people for the Christian independence in which they afterwards asserted and won their free nationality. But with the good results there were some evils. A strife arose concerning means and methods. Whitefield and the Tennents employed a few measures which history has not justified. The eminence of Jonathan Edwards in promoting the revival gave him a public right to protest against undue excitements. He sent forth his book on the "Religious Affections" to correct those emotional fervors which came not from the Spirit of God. Thus a controversy ran through the whole land. It was not limited to any one body of Christians. Certain ministers preached against the revival; others replied with burning censures upon Meroz and all who came not up, in their way, to the work of the Lord. Thus fell the hot rebukes of Gilbert Tennent in his famous Nottingham sermon.

Dickinson kept his soul in patience and moderation. He agreed with Edwards, and also gave welcome to Whitefield, for both were "laborers together with God." It pained him to see two parties in the synod, divided upon questions which calmer times would settle. They differed mainly in regard to revival measures, the classical education and examination of candidates for the gospel ministry, the right of one minister to

preach uninvited in the parish of another, and the constitutional authority of the synod. The new side, or the New Brunswick men, among whom were the Tennents, asserted too extremely their freedom. The old side, in which were Andrews and Alison, was charged with an anti-revival spirit. The New York presbytery took conciliatory ground; in it Dickinson stood as a peace-maker. But di-^{A leader of union.}vision seemed inevitable. In 1741 the new side withdrew from the synod. Dickinson still labored earnestly to restore harmony. He and his presbytery remained in the synod of Philadelphia until 1745, when they withdrew in a fraternal spirit, joined the new side, and with them formed the synod of New York on the basis of the Adopting Act. They were certainly true Presbyterians. The extreme leaders of the new side virtually admitted some of their previous mistakes. Their zeal became purified, their charity expanded, their extreme views modified, and they were as earnest as Dickinson for a thorough education of ministers. When the venerable founder of the Log College was in his grave (William Tennent died in 1746), they brought its spiritual coals to glow afresh on the new hearthstone of Nassau Hall.

During the seventeen years of separation the old synod declined from twenty-six ministers to twenty-two; the new synod increased from about twenty to seventy ministers. But the proper spirit was not rivalry: it was reunion. For this Dickinson was earnest so long as he lived. No one had more friends in both bodies. No one did more to loosen the bonds of past controversies, and fix the minds of men upon the vital principles of Presbyterianism. Each side discovered the merits of the other to be far greater than its mistakes. Gilbert Tennent preached no more censorious and fiery Nottingham sermons. Robert Cross no longer was regarded as unfriendly to revivals. The two men had parted as battling cavaliers in the disunion: they came to be neighbors when Tennent was a pastor in the city of brotherly love. "Its civilization captured and tamed the lion." When the old synod sent Dr. Alison and others to herd the scattered flocks in Virginia and North Carolina, they were urged to promote peace and unity, to avoid all party spirit, "and to treat every minister of the gospel from the presbytery of New York, of the like principles and peaceful temper, in a brotherly manner; as we desire to promote true religion, and not party designs." Thus time, grace, good sense, and work in new fields were effecting wonders. Controversies about measures must die; it is the greater truth that lives.

Both synods were moving towards the path of reunion which Dickinson was earnest to make straight, when he was called to the eternal home (upon the 7th of October, 1747). Nearly half of the ministers of 1741 were in heaven; others were near its gate. In 1755 the old side proposed that the two bodies should unite "as though they had never been concerned with one another before, nor had any differences; which

is the truth as to a great part of both synods." And thus they did unite in 1758, in Gilbert Tennent's church, and with him as moderator, joining their two names in one, and combining their forces to advance the kingdom of Christ. One of the last acts of these fathers in this joyful session was the appointment of a day when all the churches of the reunited synod should pray for God's blessing on the armies which were to decide whether their land was to be an English or a French domain. It was decided the next year by the British conquest of the Canadas. Men have thought that a divine Providence then assigned to Protestantism and to Christian liberty the best part of the New World. Men now think that if it shall be thus retained, there must be more union in heart and effort among all the Christians who value freedom, law, literature, the public schools, and the Protestant churches. — W. M. B.

LIFE VI. JOHN WITHERSPOON.

A. D. 1722—A. D. 1794. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THIS star was shining in a distant sky when first seen by an American. That prince of preachers, Samuel Davies, was appealing to the British churches in behalf of the college at Princeton, New Jersey. He was seeking golden sovereigns and not a president. In 1754, when resting at a Scottish town, he made this entry in his journal: "The nobility and gentry, who are lay-elders, are generally high-flyers; and have encroached upon the rights of the people, especially as to the choice of their own ministers. . . . There is a piece published under the title of the Ecclesiastical Characteristics, ascribed to one Mr. Weatherspoon, a young minister. It is a burlesque upon the high-flyers under the name of *moderate men*; and I think the humour is nothing inferior to Dean Swift."

In 1759, Davies, whose eleven years of brilliant successes began the flourishing era of Presbyterianism in Virginia, removed to Princeton as the fourth president of the college. He lived to preside over it but six months. The chair was ably filled by Dr. Samuel Finley until his death in 1766, when the trustees looked to Old Scotia for a successor.

John Witherspoon was born in 1722, at Yester, about fourteen miles east of Edinburgh. His father was an accurate scholar and influential pastor. His mother traced her lineage, through an unbroken succession of ministers, to John Knox. She had much of his spirit, firmness of opinion, and love of fatherland. She takes rank with the devoted mothers of Timothy, Augustine, Anselm, and the Wesleys. It was largely through her faithfulness that her son John, probably the youngest child, became a steadfast Christian in his youth. In the public school of Haddington, he evinced a powerful grasp of mind.

Descended from
John Knox.

At the age of fourteen he entered the University of Edinburgh, and in his twenty-first year he was licensed to preach the gospel. There he was the associate of William Robertson, the later historian and leader of moderatism; also of John Erskine, the later theologian who heard speeches in the general assembly of 1796 against foreign missions, and rose indignantly, saying, "Moderator, rax [reach] me that Bible," and then proved that the gospel was intended to be sent to all nations.

With an independence of thought and action he declined to be the assistant of his honored father, and away in the west of Scotland he settled in the large parish of Beith. He married Elizabeth Montgomery, of Ayrshire. In a time of great excitement he went to Falkirk to see the battle there, in 1746, when the young pretender, Charles Stuart, won a victory over the royal army, and hoped to gain the British throne, which his grandfather, James Second, had lost by an unpatriotic devotion to Rome. The young pastor was captured by the rebels and held in prison for two weeks. He must have remembered what his ancestors, such as John Welsh and his brave wife (the daughter of Knox), had endured from the Stuarts. When released he duly appreciated the civil and religious liberties established by William Third, maintained by his royal successors, and still guaranteed by the utter defeat of the rebels.

But he saw another danger to religious liberty. In its rankness it was growing into an extreme liberality of doctrine. It was reducing personal faith to mere opinion. Too many pastors, and even professors of divinity, were not pronounced in their views; they glossed their laxity with the name of moderation. They were moderate in their theology, their preaching, their piety, and their efforts to check the skepticism of David Hume. Pleas for orthodoxy were ridiculed. To meet all this Witherspoon published anonymously, in 1753, the "Ecclesiastical Characteristics, or the Arcana of Church Polity." It made a great sensation. It was universally popular. In ten years At thirty-one stirs Scotland. it reached a fifth edition. Men were as eager to find out the name of this Pascal of the north, as more admiring Scots of the next century were to identify the author of Waverley.

While suspicion was still clutching at him he was invited in 1757 to a church in Paisley. But the presbytery objected to his settlement, although his recent essay on justification gave him high rank as a practical theologian. The people brought their complaint to the synod. He supported them. Without denying or admitting the authorship of the scathing and irrepressible book, he employed his fine humor in showing that the writer of it was doing good service to truth and moral honesty, and his masterly speech forced his opposers either to confess their laxity, or avow their soundness in doctrine. They yielded, placed the call in his hands, and installed him at Paisley. The next year he was chosen moderator of the synod. In due time he put forth his "Serious Apology"

for the offensive book, avowing the authorship and still defending it. Assailing the evils of his age, he raised another commotion. When the "Tragedy of Douglas," written by Rev. John Home, was filling the Edinburgh theatre, he sent forth his exposure of the "Nature and Effects of the Stage." One result was that the clerical tragedian retired from the ministry and devoted himself to literature.

In his fidelity to the pastoral office Witherspoon laid bare a reported evil in his own parish. Certain young men of the socially higher ranks, thinking that infidelity was the newest fashion, imitated the London clubs. On the night preceding an administration of the Lord's Supper in the church, they met and turned their festivity into a profane travesty of that sacred ordinance. A rumor of it soon spread through the town. The people talked with abhorrence of "the mock sacrament." Perhaps the reports made to Witherspoon were too highly colored. Laudably zealous for good order, moral decency, and the honor of the Redeemer, and sufficiently prudent to wait a fortnight, he preached a sermon on "Sinners sitting in the Seat of the Scornful." The pointed allusions were clearly understood. His discourse went out from the printer's hand in an Address to the Public, and with the names of the young men accused. They prosecuted him and won the case, subjecting him to a fine and to expenses which greatly embarrassed him until he was relieved by generous friends. Aiming to act rightly he had incautiously stepped into a costly school wherein he was taught a lesson against rashness.

There were in him practical abilities, scholarship, fortitude, and increasing greatness of soul which all thoughtful and magnanimous minds recognized. The University of Aberdeen in 1764 conferred on him the degree of doctor of divinity. Among his publications of that year was his celebrated Treatise on Regeneration. It broadened his reputation. He soon had calls from a church in Dundee, and two foreign churches in Dublin and in Rotterdam. He declined them all.

Scarcely were his parishioners assured of retaining him, when a voice across the ocean reached his ear. The College of New Jersey had elected him to fill the chair made vacant by the death of Dr. Finley. The patriotic Richard Stockton, Esq., of Princeton, who was then in London, visited him and thus wrote in March, 1767: "It is a matter absolutely certain, that if I had not gone in person to Scotland, Dr. Witherspoon would not have had a serious thought of accepting the office, because neither he, nor any of his friends with whom he would have consulted, had any tolerable idea of the place to which he was invited, had no adequate notions of the importance of the College of New Jersey, and, more than all, would have been entirely discouraged of thinking of an acceptance, by an artful, plausible, yet wickedly contrived letter sent from Philadelphia to a gentleman of Edinburgh. . . . I certainly have succeeded in removing all

Chosen by
Princeton.

the objections which have originated in his own mind. Those of Mrs. Witherspoon I could not remove, because she would not give me an opportunity of conversing with her, although I went from Edinburgh to Paisley, fifty miles, on purpose." Still further he wrote quite amusingly of his earnest diplomacy: "I have taken most effectual measures to make her refusal very troublesome to her. I have engaged all the eminent clergymen in Edinburgh and Glasgow to attack her in her intrenchments, and they are determined to take her by storm, if nothing else will do. This has a favorable aspect, and is, at the same time, surprising, because they were, upon my first coming, so unwilling to part with her husband, but the light in which I have set the affairs of the college has made them perfect proselytes."

Nevertheless the good woman held her fortress against this array of clerical forces. She did not yet surrender. The doctor's admirable affection overcame his usually indomitable will. The college trustees despaired of conquest. They chose the Rev. Samuel Blair as president. But while he was considering the acceptance of such an honorable position, he learned that Mrs. Witherspoon had quite repented of her triumph, and attained the heroism to leave her native land for a distant home. Perhaps her heart had been attached to the graves of five children; perhaps she now looked forward to the welfare of the remaining three sons and two daughters. She was just the woman America needed. With a magnanimity that touched the doctor's heart, Mr. Blair cleared the way for the reelection of Witherspoon, who accepted the office. Twenty-four years of pastoral faithfulness entitled him to publish his farewell sermon on "Ministerial Fidelity in Declaring the whole Counsel of God."

Thus he "relinquished home, relatives, friends, and the advantages and comforts of advanced cultured surroundings, to come over to this new land, where Presbyterianism was yet in its infancy, and institutions of learning were struggling for support. He came to accept the presidency of Princeton College and to promote the cause of learning and religion here. Such was his purpose alone, but unconsciously to him, the Almighty intended to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness, and make him a founder of the republic."

On an evening in May, 1768, all Princeton was in a fervor of delight. Nassau Hall was brilliantly illuminated. The residents were not more happy than were the people who rode in from the surrounding farms and villages. If a stranger got out of the stage-coach to look about in wonder, it was enough to say that Dr. Witherspoon had arrived.¹ The whole province shared in the joy. Already had he begun his work, for in London he had collected some funds and three hundred choice books for the college. At his inauguration, in the next August, he delivered

¹ In 1868, Dr. James McCosh, as genuine a Scot, was honored with a similar welcome to the same presidency.

an address in Latin on the "Union of Piety and Science." To promote that union was his steady effort during the twenty-six years of his presidency. He looked upon every student as having, not only an intellect, but an immortal soul. He trained young men, not only to advance truth, but to serve their country and live for God. He was an educator of all the human powers.

Ever willing to render praise for all the wise measures of his predecessors, he was earnest for progress. He made no violent changes in the college. He sought improvement rather than innovation. He quietly introduced such measures as would more fully qualify his pupils for active life. The American colleges seem to be indebted largely to him for the method of teaching by lectures. With such a wide range of subjects, he could hardly be a specialist in his very profitable lectures on rhetoric, taste and criticism, moral philosophy, history, and divinity. Advantages were offered for the study of the Hebrew and French languages, in which he was an adept. When he assumed, in addition to his other duties, the chair of theology, his salary was increased to four hundred pounds. He visited New England, and the churches, particularly those of Boston, contributed about one thousand pounds to the college. Other funds were donated by the southern colonies.

To these various engagements were added the duties of a pastorate. The Presbyterian church of Princeton was under his care for about twenty-six years. It was blessed with a remarkable revival of religion, in which many students were converted and prepared by divine grace for the coming "times that tried men's souls." It is worthy of notice that great spiritual revivals preceded the great political Revolution.

The mighty movement of that period did not spring from one creed His zeal for independence. alone, nor one form of church polity. No writer can justly claim for any religious denomination a monopoly of patriotism. Let all lovers of freedom be duly honored. The historian, George Bancroft, affirms that the first voice publicly raised for the complete independence of the colonies came from the Presbyterians. As soon as they heard of the Puritan blood shed at Lexington, they were willing to make their resistance a revolt. The month of May, 1775, was remarkable for their assemblies and utterances. Those who met in the counties of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, and Mecklenburg, North Carolina, committed themselves fearlessly to the cause of liberty. That same month the synod—then the highest court of their church—sent forth a pastoral letter drawn up by a committee, of which Drs. Witherspoon and Rodgers were leading members. It was wisely adapted to "this important crisis." It brought the practical truths of the gospel to remembrance. It urged loyalty to the king, but the union of the colonies; mutual esteem and charity among all religious denominations; vigilance in social government and morals; a careful maintenance of the rights of

conscience; humanity and mercy, especially among all who should be called into the field of war. "That man will fight most bravely who never fights till it is necessary, and who ceases to fight as soon as the necessity is over." Thus the synod stood abreast of the Continental Congress in the advance to a higher freedom. At that date even Washington "abhorred the idea of independence." But the greatest men grew rapidly in those days.

During the long struggle Witherspoon said, "When I first came into this country, nothing was farther from my expectation than the contest that has now taken place between Great Britain and the colonies." In his view revolution was a last resort, but not then a repulsive crime. He was of a blood that loved freedom. His heart beat warm for humanity. Against the "divine right of kings" he placed the diviner rights of honest people and of enlightened conscience. In an age when republics were limited to Switzerland and the Netherlands, he dared to be a republican. He valued all the relations of a common language and blood, a common religion and life, between the old country and the new. But these only made the British injustice more glaring and the oppression more intolerable. With his strong convictions of right, "he soon comprehended the nature of the dispute and its blessings, and not only ardently espoused the cause of the colonies, but early believed and urged that they should unite for defense and declare for independence. Naturally he found himself an advocate of the rights of the colonies, and the people of his adopted State, seeing in him the qualities necessary for the times, called him for a leader."

He was not a politician in any other sense than that of a high-toned, honest, unselfish, Christian statesman. The first time that he ever carried a political subject into the pulpit was May 17, 1776, the day appointed for a public fast by the Continental Congress. He then preached a sermon which helped to make the history of a critical period. It was upon the "Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men." All patriots saw marvelous wisdom in it, for therein he affirmed that the cause in which America was then in arms was the cause of justice, of liberty, and of human nature, and earnestly exhorted the people to union, firmness and patience, industry and economy. Among the gems that sparkle in it are these: "He is the best friend of American liberty who is most sincere and active in promoting true and undefiled religion. An avowed enemy to God I do not scruple to call an enemy to his country. I do not wish you to oppose any man's religion, but everybody's wickedness. The cause is sacred, and its champions should be holy."

In this country the sermon was received from the press with marked approval and great effect. Its author was known to be "as high a son of liberty as any in America." It was republished in Glasgow, and carefully guarded with notes by editors who wished to expose the preacher

as a traitor, rebel, and "a chief promoter of the American revolt." They wrote that "the scheme of independence, it is said, was first planned by him, and success to the independent States of America, we are told, was a favorite toast at the doctor's table when entertaining a number of delegates before it was resolved on by the Congress." They were glad to publish rumors that might disgrace him in Scotland; we are glad that the rumors grew from the simple fact of his being one of the most advanced patriots. Heroes like him took their place at the front, as if responding to the call of the hour: —

" God give us men! A time like this demands
 Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands :
 Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
 Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
 Men who possess opinions and a will;
 Men who have honor; men who will not lie."

In a few days he was elected a delegate to the Congress of New Jersey, at Burlington. In it he sat but ten days, yet this was His work in Congress. time enough for him to take a zealous part in the expulsion of the royal governor as an enemy to the country, in ending the rule of King George Third over that province, and in the formation of a new government. It was not a time to discuss the right, but to achieve the fact, of a revolution. If he did not assist in framing the original constitution of that State, "he was a master spirit in giving it an impetus, and in securing the independence of the colony."

This provincial body sent Dr. Witherspoon, Richard Stockton, and three other delegates to the Continental Congress, then in session at Philadelphia. They took their seats during the warm debate on the question of American independence. They found that many members doubted whether any delegates were empowered to vote for such an extreme measure. But these five Jersey men had been fully authorized to assume this moral courage. They were already accomplished revolutionists. On July 2d, Witherspoon insisted that the country was not only ripe for independence, but was in danger of decay for the want of it. In one of his eloquent speeches he said, "For my own part, of property I have some, of reputation more; that reputation is staked, that property is pledged, on the issue of this contest. And although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather that they should descend thither by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country."

Among the signatures to the Declaration of Independence is the name of one minister of the gospel. It is that of John Witherspoon, the only clergyman in the general Congress. The weight of his opinions, expressed by voice and pen, was acknowledged in every session during four years. Near the close of 1779 he resigned his seat, lest its reten-

tion should involve him in debts which he could never cancel, but chiefly because the college at Princeton was in desolation.

The students very generally had enlisted in the war. The college had been captured and held by British troops as a barrack. Washington had regained it, and made it the temporary home and hospital of patriotic soldiers. The library and philosophical apparatus, which Dr. Witherspoon had been so diligent in collecting, were sadly injured. "The church where he preached was also rifled of its pews for firewood, and his farm was plundered of its stock. It cost something to be a patriot in those days, and he paid for it dearly. During the dispersion of the college the trustees met once in May, 1777, at Cooper's Ferry, opposite Philadelphia, and authorized Dr. Witherspoon, if the enemy removed out of the State, to call the students together at Princeton, and proceed with their education in the best manner he could, considering the state of public affairs, and, if more students could be collected than he could instruct himself, to obtain such assistance as might be necessary. As soon as circumstances allowed, but gradually, the college buildings were cleansed and repaired, and by his efforts, with the assistance of Professors Stanhope Smith and Houston, the institution struggled along with a feeble existence."

In 1781 he was reelected to Congress, for his constituents felt that his wisdom and energy were needed in the hall of national councils. His dress showed that he was there as a "minister of God," in both a sacred and a civil sense. The calls for the public observance of days of fasting and prayer were usually, if not always, written by him. Many of the most important papers on national affairs and measures came from his hand. Neither his courage in the strife nor his confidence in God ever faltered in the darkest day. He was six years in Congress. When he returned, in 1782, to his more professional duties in college and church, the sky was brightening with victory and the promise of advantageous peace. The next year the United States were recognized by Great Britain as an independent nation. His visit to his native isle, on a commission to solicit donations for the college, was not favored by a people who were still sore over defeat and loss. Some of them could not forget the Scotch edition of his sermon on the Dominion of Providence, and they could not yet believe its doctrine of national liberty. It is not known that he was invited to preach, except at Paisley. On the voyage one eye was so injured that it became sightless. He toiled on, leading the college to a national reputation, reuniting the ties between the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain and America, and adding to his publications. After his death his works were collected in six or more volumes, and published at Philadelphia and Edinburgh. Not then was he stigmatized by the notes of an editor. There were admirers abroad to read an American book.

Dr. Witherspoon was conspicuous in the circle of eminent men who elevated the Synod into the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and adjusted its constitution to the state of affairs in the republic. The federal constitution was adopted almost contemporaneously with it. He opened the first assembly, in May, 1789, with a sermon, and was glad to see Dr. John Rodgers as the first moderator. He was the chairman of a committee to draft an address to President Washington. In it were these golden sentences, worthy of a thousand repetitions: "Public virtue is the most certain means of public felicity, and religion the surest basis of virtue. We therefore esteem it a peculiar happiness to behold in our chief magistrate a steady, uniform, and avowed friend of the Christian religion. . . . We shall consider ourselves as doing an acceptable service to God, in our profession, when we contribute to render men sober, honest, and industrious citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government. In these pious labors we hope to imitate the most worthy of our brethren of other Christian denominations, and to be imitated by them." The reply of Washington showed his high appreciation of these sentiments, and of the prayers offered for the country and for himself.

When the next autumn leaves were falling, the excellent Mrs. Witherspoon passed into the better world. The doctor was left quite alone. One son of great promise had given his life to the cause of liberty; the other two had homes in the South. One daughter was the wife of Prof. Stanhope Smith, who would be the next college president; the other married Dr. David Ramsay, the historian. In 1791 Dr. Witherspoon wedded Mrs. Dill, who was more than forty years his junior. Soon after this event he was riding through Vermont in search of lands which had sadly reduced his finances; his horse fell, and the remaining sound eye was so injured that he became totally blind. Yet with a secretary he did a vast amount of work. He still preached every third Sabbath until his days were almost ended. His descent to the grave was that of a patriarch who was leaving a tribe of spiritual sons to heed his noble example, and who had sublime views of the heavenly land. His spirit crossed the border in November, 1794, and he was beyond the reach of sin and blindness.

Men who knew and loved Dr. Witherspoon as a teacher, associate, or counselor thought him worthy of full description. What the brush of the elder Peale did for his manly features the pen of Ashbel Green attempted for his character. He was of medium height, rather corpulent, with a presence almost as majestic as that of Washington. He assumed nothing; his noble bearing was natural. He did not think about it, and yet he never forgot it. He tried no arts of Chesterfield. The plain man in dress was seen to manage his Tusculum farm with dignity. His fondness for agriculture was quite equal to his failure in it. He jocosely

Opens the first
American gen-
eral assembly.

said that scientific farmers could generally assign good reasons for their want of success. In his garden he won richer triumphs.

Until he was blind he usually traveled in the saddle. The students admired his dignified horsemanship. He said that in Scotland it was very indecorous to put a horse on the gallop. He never did it there, and only once in America: it was when the British army was marching on Philadelphia, and Congress adjourned to Lancaster, riding thither post-haste to escape seizure by the enemy's cavalry. Like Washington, he regarded punctuality as a cardinal virtue. On the man who failed to keep an engagement at the hour he rarely wasted any more time or confidence.

When he was roused by injustice, his indignation was that of gentle natures, honest and tremendous, but not many sins went down upon his wrath. His temper may have been naturally high, and flaming at times against wrong, but it came to be subdued by reason, grace, and vigilance. His keen satire usually fell only on those who deserved it, and then to scourge arrogance or vice. His wit, fine humor, and aptness in telling a good story were kept for his more intimate friends in the social circle, and for those who enjoyed his hospitality. They did not appear in his sermons.

Prayer was an element in his daily life. He sought to walk with God and to commend the gospel by a solid example. Scholar as he was, he was "more a man of genius than of learning." He read choice books and digested them. He was a deep thinker, a close investigator of important subjects, a treasurer of valuable knowledge. He paid the drafts upon his information at sight, and had no mental panics. He wrote his discourses, and delivered them from memory with such grace that he seemed to speak extemporaneously. He cared little for the merely external forms of oratory; he manifested the heart and reality of it. When it was known that he was to preach, he had large and attentive audiences. His object was to set forth the word of God, to make plain the way of eternal life, that the hearers might be saved and glorified together with Christ.

It was peculiarly fitting that his name should be prominent in the literature and honors of the centennial year, and that the Church, whose spirit he so ably represented in his civil career, and citizens, whose rights he advocated, should erect to him a monument. His statue of bronze, colossal in size, was reared in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. There he appears in the picturesque costume of that olden time, — the ample coat and vest, the neat cambric neckerchief, the short clothes and low shoes, and the Geneva gown in exceedingly graceful folds hanging from the shoulder. There the magnificent statue, for years we cannot number, will attract the gaze and evoke the admiration of the millions who will pass along the beautiful Lansdowne drive. — W. M. B.

LIFE VII. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

A. D. 1711—A. D. 1787. LUTHERAN, — AMERICA.

IN common with other Protestants, the first Lutherans who emigrated to this country came to escape persecution at home. In the central and southern portions of Germany, the influence of the Reformation failed to rise superior to the Roman Catholic power; so that whatever cities or districts within that territory had received Protestant doctrines became the objects of Catholic vengeance. Many and severe were the hardships and sufferings which their inhabitants had to endure for conscience' sake. Their towns and provinces were depopulated, their property was confiscated or laid waste. England, Holland, and the northern states of Germany offered homes to the fugitives; and the New World, which was just opening, became an asylum for these unfortunate people.

The first Lutherans who settled in this country were from Holland. They came in 1626, and settled in New York. While this territory remained under the control of Holland, they were compelled to worship in private, being forbidden by the laws of the mother country to hold public services. When, in 1664, it became a province of England, permission was obtained from James, duke of York, for the conducting of worship in public. They were also granted the privilege of sending to Germany for a pastor who should minister to them in religion.

In the year 1644, the first Lutherans from Germany arrived. Various detachments came during the remainder of this century, to which large numbers were added in the first half of the next. They were generally from the Palatinate and other states in which intolerance did not allow any mode of worship contrary to the established religion. These early emigrants, who were fully consecrated to a holy and pious life, could not be driven into submission against their convictions.

In 1733, the Salzburgers, a body of Lutherans called after Salzburg, their native country, came to Georgia, settling about twenty miles above Savannah. Thirty thousand of these people had been driven from their homes by persecution. Georgia had just been chartered as a colony, and it had been stipulated that it should become the asylum of "distressed Salzburgers and other Protestants." The "trustees" of the colony and "The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge," one of the noble institutions of England, took a deep interest in the wandering Salzburgers. They invited them to find homes in the New World, and furnished them with passage money; and upon the arrival of the emigrants they gave to each one a certain amount of land, with the privileges of English citizenship. These people were under the spiritual

guidance of several devoted pastors, and they became noted for their piety, faithfulness, and prosperity.

Numerous detachments of Lutherans came, in like manner, to nearly every colony from Maine to Georgia. Pennsylvania, however, was the province which attracted the largest number. Lutherans in Pennsylvania. Its climate was genial; so was the welcome extended by William Penn. He threw wide open the doors of his colony, and invited all men "who believed in God and lived peaceably with their neighbors, to come and find a home."

Many years intervened between the arrival of the first Lutheran emigrants and that of the first Lutheran ministers, except in the Swedish settlement in New Jersey. The Holland Lutherans were in this country nearly fifty years before they had among them any one authorized to exercise the functions of the ministerial office. Jacob Fabricius, who arrived and began his labors in 1669, was their first pastor. Previous to his coming, they had depended altogether on lay supervision and instruction.

The time between the arrival of Lutherans in Pennsylvania and the coming of Muhlenberg, the first minister, was almost a hundred years. As his training and his coming grew out of one of the most important movements that ever affected the Protestant church in Germany, it will be profitable to revert to it.

Spener and Francke produced in their country a genuine revival of piety.¹ They saw the dead formalism into which the church of the seventeenth century had fallen, and labored to arouse her from her lethargy. They urged the necessity of regeneration, and of true piety in both the ministry and the laity. They insisted on the better observance of the Sabbath day and the duty of all Christians to labor for the kingdom of God.

Spener based his theology on the Bible as confirmed and explained by personal experience, while the orthodox party based its theology on the Bible as explained by the symbolical books. Orthodoxy regarded the observance of the Word and of the sacraments as the basis of the church, while Pietism, as the views of Spener were called, declared the church to exist in its true believers.

The methods of church work which Spener and Francke practiced were revolutionary. The former instituted classes for instructing the young; he established prayer-meetings and conventicles for the study of the Scriptures. The latter became a professor in the University of Halle, where he began to lecture to his students in theology on the different books of the Bible, instead of the various forms of philosophy, that he might prepare them to make practical expositions of divine truth. Both preached against worldly dissipation and amusements, against dancing,

¹ See pp. 400-420.

against the theatre, and against card-playing. Under their preaching and influence missions were established. The University of Halle sent missionaries to every part of the world. Out of such a spirit was the American Lutheran Church born, for its founder, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was a disciple of Francke, and was trained under his influence.

Muhlenberg was born in 1711. His parents were poor. The father died when his son was but twelve years of age. The boy ^{Muhlenberg} _{guided for work.} early studied the German and Latin languages, and was diligently instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion. After the death of his father, he was compelled to engage in manual labor until he reached his twenty-first year. He now applied himself to the study of Latin, Greek, French, and Hebrew. He attended the University of Göttingen at twenty-four. Though confirmed at twelve, his real religious experience did not commence until this period. When awakened and converted he at once gave himself up to the solemn duties of a Christian life. In connection with some fellow-students he gathered together the poor, neglected children about the streets, and taught them the elementary branches of learning and religion. This was regarded as an irregularity by some of the clergy and school-masters, and the young men were brought to trial. Being ably defended they were acquitted.

In 1738, Muhlenberg was sent to Halle, where he "had committed to him the instruction of the primary classes, whence he was regularly transferred, until he had passed through all the departments successively, and was finally placed in charge of the classes in theology, Hebrew, and Greek." At the University of Halle he became fully imbued with the spirit and devotion of the Pietists.

In 1741, Dr. Francke was requested by the Germans in Pennsylvania to send them a minister. The mission was proposed to Muhlenberg, who, after due consideration, accepted it. At the close of the year 1741, he resigned his position at home, and by the 13th of June, 1742, he was ^{Reaches Amer-} _{ica.} on his way to the Western World. He sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of examining the condition of the Lutheran church in Georgia, for he had been made the overseer of all the German Lutheran settlements in this country, and it was part of his mission to report year by year the welfare and progress of the church to the University of Halle. He spent a month with the Salzburger, and then set out in a sloop for Philadelphia, where he arrived in the latter part of November, 1742.

His coming was most opportune. There were none to minister to the religious wants of the people, except several self-constituted pastors, who were men without education and without piety. Though the first Germans in America were men of earnest devotion, they could not, without religious advisers, retain their piety, or transmit it to their children. They consequently declined rapidly in spirituality. When Muhlenberg came

he found their religious condition most deplorable. There were no churches and no school-houses, save one building in New Hanover, and that too poor for occupancy. He at once undertook to build churches and school-houses for the religious and secular instruction of both old and young. Very few of the young could read, and teachers of suitable character and qualifications could not be procured. So Muhlenberg became both pastor and teacher. "Necessity," he says, "has compelled me to become a teacher of children. One week I keep school in Philadelphia, the next in Providence, and the third in New Hanover; and I think God's grace is visiting us. It was, however, high time that I should come. If affairs had remained a few years longer in the same state in which I found them, our poor Lutherans would have been scattered, or turned over to heathenism." Describing the religious condition of the country, he says, "Atheists, deists, and natu- His picture of America. ralists are to be met with everywhere. I think that there is not a sect in the Christian world that has not followers here. You meet with persons from almost every nation in the world. God and his Word are openly blasphemed. Here are thousands who by birth, education, and confirmation ought to belong to our church, but they are scattered to the four winds of heaven. The spiritual state of our people is so wretched as to cause us to shed tears in abundance. The young people are grown up without instruction and without knowledge of religion, and are turning to heathenism." This sad condition did not appal the heart of our noble missionary, or make him sigh for the more desirable field he had left, but he set about energetically to supplant this moral desolation with spiritual life and activity.

He was elected pastor of three churches, one at Philadelphia, one at New Hanover, and one at New Providence. These were almost forty miles distant from each other. For two and a half years pastor Muhlenberg was alone in his work in Pennsylvania, but in 1745 other ministers arrived from Halle, who came at the earnest request of the missionary and the people. New congregations were at once organized, the circle was enlarged, and efforts were made to reach every German community. Muhlenberg was the leading spirit in every movement; his eye was on every church; his counsel was sought in every difficulty. The congregation at New York having become divided, he was sent for to bring about a reconciliation. He made them a visit, proposed a solution of their troubles, and succeeded in restoring peace and harmony.

The work of bringing the scattered Germans under religious training was so well carried on that at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, eight years after the arrival of the first missionary, there were eight ministers laboring in Pennsylvania, having twenty-three organized churches under their charge.

Muhlenberg never consulted his own ease in his work. As soon as he

was relieved at one point he sought another. He traveled far and wide, responding to the call of duty among the churches from New York to Georgia. He preached in churches, in private houses, in the open air, and carried the gospel from house to house in pastoral visitation. He adapted himself to the wants and tastes of the people. He was able to preach in either the German, Dutch, or English language, sometimes using all three the same day. Had his wise policy been pursued by his immediate successors, so much of the work performed by him and his co-laborers would not have been lost to the church of which they were members; but those coming after them, confining their ministrations to the German language, were not able to hold those who were growing up under the influence and training of the English language and customs.

Every means by which piety could be cultivated was practiced by pastor Muhlenberg. Immediately on his arrival in this country he organized prayer-meetings for the edification of the church; these he could seldom attend. They were held often, three times each week, some pious laymen presiding. Prayers were offered, the Bible and books of religious value were read. So marked were these meetings that wicked men sometimes made it an object to disturb them by casting stones against the door, and by reviling the worshippers as pietists and hypocrites. He was a promoter of revivals of religion. He and Dr. Helmuth speak of "protracted meetings" with great satisfaction. The interest which the people took in their preaching during such efforts was manifested by the "audible weeping of the congregation, and the advice sought in private concerning the salvation of their souls."

Muhlenberg had no stated forms by which worship should be invariably conducted. When he used a liturgical service it was short and simple, but he believed that a minister should be bound to no system. In all his services his object was to lead men to Christ, so he adopted any method that would bring about the desired end. His preaching was plain and simple; he used both the formal discourse and the more practical method of question and answer. Sometimes, immediately after the sermon, the congregation was questioned on the leading points presented in it; they were requested to find the proof texts, which led them to bring their Bibles to church. The afternoon hour was frequently employed in question and answer, the subject being either the morning sermon or some other portion of the Bible, or the catechism. He expressed his notion of preaching as follows: "In our discourses we ought to make no ostentatious display of learning, but study simplicity. We should neither strike into the air, nor employ low and vulgar expressions; not introduce too much matter into a sermon, but discuss the subject fully, and apply it to the heart. Our sermons should not be dry, but practical. Religion should be presented not as a burden, but as a pleasure. Let us

show with tears, let us aim at the edification of each individual soul, and give heed to ourselves and to our doctrines."

Muhlenberg, with his co-workers, was never satisfied until he had brought those under his instruction into full Christian experience. He everywhere insisted on rigid discipline. His strict views concerning the sanctity of the Sabbath in many places brought him into trouble with those who looked upon it as a day for general recreation and amusement. Of the general results of their labors he and his associates in the ministry declare that with the middle-aged, who had grown up without instruction, they were unsuccessful, but that from the young they derived great encouragement.

A serious difficulty had arisen among the pastors who labored amid the Lutherans of Georgia. Muhlenberg made a journey to that province in 1774, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. He met pastors and people, and exhorted them to mutual forbearance and forgiveness. He finally obtained an agreement that they would bury all former contentions and offenses. On his return from this meeting he wrote the following words: "I was so tortured and worried in body and spirit that I had to lie down. O Lord, how much has not the enemy of man already won, if he can effect a breach between ministers and colleagues in a church! What hateful mischief he does to the sheep when he has disarmed the shepherds! How despised is the holy office and its dignity in the sight of Hamites and Canaanites, when they have seen the nakedness of the fathers, and scoff at it!"

In 1748 was held the first conference of Lutheran ministers in Pennsylvania. Six were present, with a corresponding number of laymen. As the leading spirit, Muhlenberg was made president. At this meeting, John V. Kurtz was set apart to the gospel ministry, being the first Lutheran minister ordained in this country.

Presides over
the first con-
ference.

Conferences or synodical meetings continued to be held with more or less regularity by the fathers of the Lutheran Church. These meetings were turned to great profit. Muhlenberg speaks of one in this language: "After the close of public worship all the ministers convened at my house, and held a Biblical colloquy on the essential characteristics of genuine repentance, faith, and godliness, in which they endeavored to benefit each other, according to the grace given them, by communicating the results of their own experience and self-examination, so that it was a cheering and a delightful season. The residue of the evening was spent in singing spiritual hymns and psalms, and in conversation about the spiritual condition of our churches; and so short did the time appear that it was three o'clock in the morning before we retired to rest. Oh, how delightful it is when ministers, standing aloof from all political and party contests, seek to please their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and

have at heart the welfare of their churches and the souls intrusted to their care, and are willing rather to suffer reproach with the people of God than choose the treasures of Egypt!"

During the Revolutionary War, the Germans generally were strong supporters of the colonies. Though thousands of them had taken the oath of allegiance to England, they still felt that for their own sake and for that of their children they must sustain the colonial cause. Consequently many of them were among the proscribed. A patriotic old man. Muhlenberg was included in that number. He retired from Philadelphia during its occupancy by the British troops. Some of his friends crossed the lines into the city, and when they returned he said, "They report that the name of Muhlenberg is made very suspicious among the Hessian and English officers in Philadelphia, who threaten bitterly with prison, torture, and death, if they can catch the old fellow." One of his sons, a Lutheran minister, left the pulpit for the camp, and after the organization of the government he was elected speaker of the first three houses of Congress.

In 1782 Dr. Muhlenberg was compelled to retire from the active ministry. He died in 1787, in the full triumph of an inspiring faith. His life was one of pure devotion to the cause of Christianity. He was practical and direct in all his teachings; he taught a religion that touched not only the head, but also the heart. He fraternized with all Christians, no matter what name they bore, for with them he recognized but one Lord, one faith, one baptism. His mind was born to command and inspire; while his piety and exemplary character made him in his advanced years an object of veneration to all with whom he came in contact. Those who came immediately after him did not adopt his method and spirit, which however have been taken up and pursued by later leaders of the Lutheran Church in the United States. — B. F. P.

LIFE VIII. MICHAEL SCHLATTER.

A. D. 1716—A. D. 1790. REFORMED (GERMAN),—AMERICA.

ALL know the story of the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England: how that in order to carry out in peace their conscientious views in respect to church order they crossed the ocean and founded here new commonwealths, that have been so favored by Providence as to grow far beyond their original expectations. The story of the first settlement of the Germans in large numbers in the colony of William Penn is not less interesting than the well-known story of the Pilgrims. They left their beautiful homes in consequence of religious persecutions, and many of them found a welcome refuge first in England before coming to America.

They were more severely persecuted than were the non-conformists of England. Not only were they not allowed to worship in peace, according to their reformed faith, but active, violent, and persevering efforts were made to compel them again to become Romanists. In 1686 the great Augsburg league was formed by the emperor and many princes, which undertook to defend the borders of the empire, in pursuance of which the western frontier of Germany was sorely oppressed. In 1689 the Palatinate was given over to pillage and plunder by the French. The commander, Melac, laid a great portion of the city of Heidelberg in ashes. Cities and villages shared a similar fate. Many of the inhabitants perished in the cold, and many others who tried to rescue their goods were slain. In consequence of a long-continued series of persecutions, there now followed such an exodus as is without a parallel in the history of Europe, excepting the ancient migration of the Germanic peoples, and the Saxon invasion of England in the fifth century. We are told "that the traveler who to-day visits the Palatinate will often hear the farmer call his dog 'Melac,' 'Melac,' in detestation of the memory of the inhuman butcher who nearly two hundred years ago made the castellated Rhine run red with innocent blood."

Nothing in history is more beautiful than the warm sympathy and love that existed in the post-Reformation age between the different branches of the reformed churches in the different parts of Europe. When the Palatines were driven out of their homes, thousands of them fled to England, where they were kindly received, protected, and aided, as John de Laski and his brethren from Friesland had been previously. When Knox and thousands of the best men of Scotland and England were compelled for a time to flee to the Continent, they found a safe refuge and a Christian reception in Frankfort (Germany) and in Geneva (Switzerland). When, in the days of the infamous Alba, more than two hundred thousand families fled in terror from Holland, they were received with open arms by the neighboring German provinces (now included in Westphalia) and in the distant Palatinate. When the Huguenots were driven in such great numbers from France, they found brethren of the same reformed faith ready to help them in Germany and England. And it was the powerful voice of Cromwell speaking from England that stayed for a time the persecutions of the Waldenses.

The original emigration from Germany, which forms the root of the two denominations in America known as the Reformed and the Lutherans, came from that province in Germany then known as the Palatinate. It is the most fertile and most beautiful part of Germany, lying on its frontiers over against France, through which contending armies have for ages passed and repassed. It has long since ceased to be a separate kingdom. A portion of it (Rhenish Bavaria) belongs now to Bavaria; another portion, with the ancient

The home of the
German Re-
formed.

capital, Heidelberg, forms the southern part of Baden; and a third portion has recently been annexed to Prussia.

Soon after the territory of Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn by the king of England (on the 4th of March, 1681), the Germans commenced to settle in this new colony. As early as 1730 a report made to the synod of South Holland states, "Not long after the first settlement many of the oppressed inhabitants of Germany, and particularly out of the Palatinate, and the districts of Nassau, Waldeck, Witgenstein, and Wetterau, emigrated to Pennsylvania, with their wives and children. . . . At this time the Reformed, holding to the old Reformed Confession, constitute more than one half of the whole number, being about fifteen thousand." From this time on German emigration increased, so that in a single year more than thirty thousand left the Palatinate alone, to seek a Patmos in the New World. They settled at first near Philadelphia, but later mainly in the fertile valleys of Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland; thence along these same valleys into Virginia, North and South Carolina. Those Palatines who had first gone to England at the invitation of Queen Anne, numbering about seven thousand, presented a petition whose opening words will best describe their condition: "We, of the distressed Palatinate, whose utter ruin was occasioned by the merciless cruelty of a bloody enemy, the French, whose prevailing powers some years ago, rushing like a torrent into our country, overwhelmed us at once, and who, not being content with money and with food necessary for their occasions, not only dispossessed us of all support, but inhumanly burnt our homes to the ground, — we, being deprived of both shelter and food, were turned into the open fields, and driven with our families to seek what shelter we could find, being obliged to make the frozen earth our lodging, and the clouds our covering." These settled first in Schoharie, New York, where they were ill treated by the authorities, so that about the year 1712, under the leadership of Conrad Weiser, they constructed rafts, floated down the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Swatara, and took up their abodes near the waters of the Tulpehocken, in Berks County, Pennsylvania.

The German Reformed in America.

These Germans formed in many instances the outposts of civilization, and served to protect not a few English communities from the incursions of the Indians. But the people were mostly poor. They were not able to bring ministers of the gospel with them, but they brought over their Bibles, catechisms, hymn books, and devotional works. In many settlements they had pious and excellent schoolmasters. In most cases they formed congregations, built churches, and by their side at once planted school-houses, each with a dwelling and land for the occupancy of the schoolmaster. These often, when there was no minister, conducted a religious service by the reading of sermons and prayers, and the people sought and found spiritual edification in these services, and in singing the grand

old hymns and chorals of the fatherland. As early as 1726 a log church was built in Skippack, Pennsylvania. A few ministers came from Germany, and extended their labors with considerable success over the various German settlements. The man who was to organize these congregations into a compact whole, and thus to lay a stable foundation for future growth, was the Rev. Michael Schlatter, the story of whose life and labors we are now to tell.

Michael Schlatter was born in Switzerland (the cradle of the Reformed Church), in St. Gall, then a large city, lying in a beautiful valley on the bank of the Steinach, on July 14, ^{Schlatter's early life.} 1716. His parents were pious members of the Reformed faith, and he was early consecrated to God in the covenant of baptism. He grew up under the ministrations of a devoted pastor, Rev. Christopher Stähelin. He made a public profession of religion at the age of fourteen, received a superior education at the university, made a tour through Holland and Northwestern Germany, and as a candidate for the ministry spent some years in Holland, where he was also ordained. Returning to Switzerland, he became a vicar in 1745, assistant pastor in St. Gall for a time; and then on January 9, 1746, he again went to Amsterdam, in order to offer his services to the synods of Holland for supplying the destitute German churches in Pennsylvania, whose cry for help had been for some years heard, especially in Holland. "In 1731, while the Holland synod was in session in Dortrecht, eight hundred exiled Palatines passed through the place to take ships at Rotterdam for America. They were visited by the whole synod in a body, and were furnished by them with provisions and medicines. After exhortation, prayer, and singing, they were dismissed, with the assurance that they might rely upon the church of Holland for support in their new homes." There is extant a letter from Rev. Jedidiah Andrews (Presbyterian), of Philadelphia, to Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, dated 1730, in which he says, "There is besides in this province a vast number of Palatines, and they come in still every year. Those that have come in of late years are mostly Presbyterians, or, as they call themselves, Reformed, from the Palatinate, about three fifths being of that sort of people. They did use to come to me for the baptism of their children, and many have joined with us in the other sacrament." In another letter he says, "There is lately come over a Palatine candidate of the ministry, who has applied to us at the synod for ordination. The matter is left to three ministers. He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. We gave him a question to discuss about justification, and he has answered it in a whole sheet of paper in a very notable manner. His name is John Peter Millen: he speaks Latin as well as we do our vernacular tongues, and so does another, Mr. Weiss."

Mr. Schlatter's services were accepted; on the 23d of May, 1746, his

instructions were made out, and on the 1st of June he sailed for the New World. His work was to include the following: (1) to visit Reformed settlements, to organize congregations, to preach to them, to baptize their children, and to prepare proper church records; (2) to ascertain what each congregation would pledge itself for toward the support of a minister, and to unite weak congregations under one pastorate; (3) to enlist the coöperation of the ministers already in America, and to form a synod; (4) to visit the ministers annually; and (5) after this work had been accomplished to preach as the other ministers.

After a voyage of two months he landed at Boston, and by the 6th of September arrived overland at Philadelphia, where he was most affectionately welcomed by the elders of the Reformed church. He found Philadelphia to be a city of ten thousand inhabitants (being next largest in size to Boston). It had, at this time, the following churches: (1) the English (or Episcopal) church; (2) the Swedish church; (3) the German Evangelical (or Lutheran) church; (4) the Old Presbyterian church; (5) the German Reformed church. Besides these, there were two Quaker meeting-houses, one Baptist, one Roman Catholic, and one Moravian church. At once he commenced his work, and in the brief space of ten days accomplished what would have required most men almost as many weeks. With intense activity he prosecuted his missionary journeys among the new settlements in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, preaching, administering the sacraments, encouraging ministers and people, organizing congregations and forming them into suitable fields of labor. He found four regular German Reformed ministers laboring in Pennsylvania (Boehm, Weiss, Reiger, and Dorstius), and upon his invitation they, for the first time, met together in Philadelphia, on the 12th of October, 1746, to prepare the way for a formal organization of the synod. This took place the next year, September 29, 1747, in Philadelphia, at which time thirty-one ministers and elders were present. Rev. J. B. Reiger opened the synod by a sermon based on Psalm cxxxiii., a very appropriate text for such an occasion.

Besides acting as superintendent, Schlatter labored as pastor in the churches in Philadelphia and Germantown. A few incidents from this early period of his labors will interest the reader. On the 6th of December, 1747, the new church in Philadelphia was used for religious service, although it had as yet neither windows nor pulpit. The reason was that the number of hearers had so far increased that the old church could contain only one half of those who attended. A crowd of people worshiping in the dead of winter in a building without windows manifests stern earnestness in the worship of Almighty God. In August, 1748, Schlatter was greatly encouraged by the arrival of three ministers sent out by the Holland synod. In October he was deeply saddened to hear

from his home that one of them had there accidentally lost his life by the discharge of a gun in his own hands. After laboring for nearly two years, Schlatter says in one of his reports, "I cannot refrain from referring briefly to the fact that these three congregations [in New Jersey], from gratitude for the services I have rendered them, handed me a pecuniary reward; and this is the first money which, since my arrival in America up to this time, I have received from any congregation for my labor and pains. Also in my own congregations, up to the present time, I have drawn no salary. I must state, however, that different congregations have offered me some money, but I declined receiving it, in order to convince them that I did not seek theirs, but them; while in the mean time God has provided for me in a way that calls for devout praise, and has also enabled me to be content with little."

After laboring thus, with most intense activity, for five years, Schlatter, at the request of the synod, made a visit to Europe, in 1751, In Europe for America's sake. a mission from which flowed vast results for good to the churches in America. He had arranged sixteen fields of labor (or charges), including forty-six congregations; but of these only six, composed of fourteen congregations, were supplied with ministers. Making a final visitation to the churches, attending the sessions of the synod, and partaking of the Lord's Supper once more with his people on Christmas day, Schlatter embarked on the 5th of February, 1751, at New Castle, and on the 12th of April landed in Holland. He at once attended the meeting of the Classis of Amsterdam, and in conjunction with a committee of the same drew up and printed an "Appeal" in behalf of the American churches. This was soon after translated and printed in German, and also in English. The synod of North Holland appointed him to visit Switzerland and Germany, to secure ministers for the American field. He spent four months in this work. This Appeal bore good fruit in each of these countries. The immediate result of his labors was that he was enabled to sail from Holland, on his return way, March, 1752, with six newly-ordained, learned, and pious ministers, together with substantial aid in money and seven hundred German Bibles, five hundred of which were in folio, which were presented to him by members of the churches of Amsterdam. After a protracted voyage of four months he arrived again in the midst of his brethren in Pennsylvania. We will here introduce some interesting extracts from this Appeal of Schlatter.

In the introduction, the committee of classis say, "This man, worthy, learned, and gifted of God with many talents, after he became acquainted with one and another of the members of our classis . . . was recommended to the deputies of both synods. . . . These saw in him so many evidences of firm and correct judgment, peculiar fitness, and glowing zeal to serve the church of God also in those distant regions, that they regarded it good and proper, not only to send him into this field as

a regular shepherd and teacher, but also, with the full consent of both synods, to invest him with one of the most important commissions."

"As regards the condition of the churches in Pennsylvania, we have received so much light from the extensive diary in which Mr. Schlatter has given an account not only of his frequent journeys to many congregations, near and remote, but also of his acts and labors in them, that we were in the highest degree surprised at the unwearied and almost incredible labors which this faithful servant of God — whom in this respect we may call an apostolical man — has devoted to the churches in Pennsylvania, and rejoiced in view of the divine support which he has experienced in them."

Schlatter himself says, "During the winter months [of 1747], when I for the most part remained at home, I received many soul-stirring letters, from large and small congregations in remote regions. Besides this, delegates came to my house daily, among whom were some who had come two hundred, yea, three hundred miles. Among others, there were two men who came from Virginia, three hundred miles from here, bearing a most urgent and moving letter from the destitute congregations in those parts. . . . The recollection of this scene even now again affects me in the tenderest manner, and it seems to me that a heart of stone would have been moved to sympathy in witnessing the many tears, and in reading and hearing the touching petitions, with which they so humbly presented their case. Oh, that the church in the blessed Netherlands, where the chief Shepherd, by the hand of a host of faithful undershepherds, makes his people feed in green pastures, could have before them a full picture of the true condition of so many congregations in a widely-extended country!" "My intercession is not for a handful of people, for one or another poor family, for a little flock that has fled from popery, but for more than thirty thousand of the Reformed household of faith, living in the land of their pilgrimage, — in a land that is large and wide-spread, yea, fully twice as large as the United Netherlands."

"I reject with disgust all ill-odored self-praise, and I cannot glory save in my infirmities; but if it may serve to the awakening of others who may be able to come to our aid, I will, in all lowliness, and to the praise of that God who supported me and gave me the will and the power to labor, say that from the year 1747 till the beginning of the year 1751 I have traveled in this part of America, in the service of the lost sheep, to collect them together, to bring them into order and edify them, a distance of more than eight thousand miles, — not reckoning my passage across the ocean; and this, for the most part, on my own horse, by day and by night, without respect to heat or cold, which is often alike severe in this country, — yea, without avoiding danger, as not counting my life dear unto myself. . . . Amid all this traveling about, I preached six hundred and thirty-five times, and through all these la-

bors God has spared my health and strength, and has not suffered my desire and zeal to serve the churches to be extinguished, but rather to be increased."

An address to the Swiss cantons by Rev. H. B. Hudmaker, minister at the Hague, and one of the deputies of the synod, says: "Mr. Schlatter, who in the past years was sent thither from hence, has laid before our synod the fact that there are thirty thousand Reformed scattered far and wide through that region; that they have hardly six ministers, and need at least six more, besides an annual addition to the salary of all; and that there is most of all a great need of school-masters and support for them. . . . Our synods resolved to lend them assistance, but, burdened as we are with the care of more than one hundred oppressed churches in Europe, we felt that we were not in a condition to bear this burden ourselves, and found it necessary not only to apply to our civil authorities, but also to call in the aid of foreign civil and ecclesiastical help, especially from those who externally stand in a nearer relation to the Pennsylvania brethren than we ourselves. . . . We hope that you also will cheerfully lend your aid by a general collection in money, which you will send to us for them, that thus our hands may be made strong and effective by your state and church contributions, so that we may firmly erect and sustain the standard of the gospel in those regions. To this end we have also invited the brethren in England to make common cause with us, and not without the hope of a happy result. *So that . . . there may be found in that land a pleasant place of refuge for the oppressed Reformed who fly thither from Europe. . . .* And may the mutual coöperation of the Reformed Swiss, Germans, Hollanders, and English, in the establishment of the American church, and the fraternal correspondence occasioned thereby, *be a testimony that we are one, and, at the same time, prove a blessed means and incentive to a still more inward brotherly union.*"

H. M. Muhlenberg (Lutheran) wrote to Halle: "Yea, when this representation of Mr. Schlatter, first published in Dutch, had been translated into English by an English preacher in Holland, it made such an impression upon the English nation that even his majesty, the king of Great Britain, and the royal family were graciously moved to contribute a large sum, who were followed by rich assistance, also, from the principal lords and dignitaries. These gifts, which, it is said, amounted to twenty thousand pounds sterling, were, by order of his majesty, placed in the hands of certain trustees, constituting 'A Society for Propagating the Knowledge of God among the Germans,' from the interest of which free schools are here to be established and sustained under the inspection of Mr. Schlatter."

From 1752 to 1755 Schlatter continued his labors as pastor and as superintendent of the work of missions among the German churches of

the Reformed faith. Immediately after this he was appointed agent and superintendent of the London Society for the Establishment of Schools in Pennsylvania. He accepted the office, because the position would require him to travel through the country, and, as the synod affirmed, he could still maintain a certain supervision over the scattered congregations, and labor for the advancement of the church. He continued in this work from 1755 to 1757. In the latter year the French war broke out, and, as a portion of the royal army was composed of Germans, he accepted the post of chaplain in the fourth battery, which was operating in Nova Scotia. As such he was present at the siege of Halifax, and the seven weeks' siege of Louisburg. After 1755 his residence was on Chestnut Hill, ten miles from Philadelphia, where he had a small farm which he named "Sweetland." Here, after the war, he dwelt in comparative quiet and retirement, respected by the whole community and the public men of the state, preaching frequently at Barren Hill and other places. A quaint anecdote, illustrating his patriarchal character, comes down to us from this period: "It was customary in those days for the female worshipers at Barren Hill to wear short gowns and neat aprons. On occasions when he preached there, as he proceeded up the aisle toward the pulpit, — which he always did in a very hurried manner, — he would suddenly stop, and without saying a word would seize hold of one of these clean aprons to wipe the dust from his glasses, which he usually carried in his hands when not in use."

Dr. Harbaugh speaks of one trait in his character as follows: "Prominent amid every other trait in Mr. Schlatter's character is his extraordinary industry and perseverance. He was a man of astonishing energy of character. In a review of his life, nothing strikes us so forcibly as this. It seems as if no obstacles in the path of duty could make him hesitate. No difficulties discouraged him; no trials disheartened him; no failures could break down his courage, or take away his elasticity. Whatever he believed ought to be done he was willing to undertake. A true Swiss, he was not to be subdued; nor would he cease pursuing his path, though difficulties rose before him, like hills on hills, and Alps on Alps, in the land of his birth."

He retained his mental and bodily vigor in a remarkable degree in his old age. His death took place in the month of November, 1790, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, at his home on Chestnut Hill. His remains were taken to Philadelphia, and now lie buried in the beautiful Franklin Square of that city. — J. H. G.

LIFE IX. PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.

A. D. 1726—A. D. 1813. UNITED BRETHREN, — AMERICA.

THE history of past ages, and especially that which relates to the church of God, most clearly indicates that when God wants a man for a certain purpose He will raise him up. The very circumstances with which such a man may be surrounded will be so controlled by an ever-present and ever-working Providence that each and all will assist in preparing him for his work. The history of Luther, Calvin, Wesley, and their coadjutors will verify this. So will the life of William Otterbein, founder of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, who, when God wanted a man to awake the Germans in America, was made his honored instrument in accomplishing that work.

In studying Otterbein and his times, it will be well to note here and there the clear manifestations of the hand of God. When we study the lives of men, we are prone to seek clear conceptions of their characters. This is as it should be. We do not err in that we find too much in the men whom we study, but in that we see in their lives too little of the hand of Him who is everywhere at work. Whatever, therefore, may be said of the learning, eloquence, zeal, and success of Otterbein as a reformer, he deserves no credit save in that he submitted himself to the will of God. It was God in him that gave him whatever success he had. He alone is able to raise up men for his work. "Foreseeing what will be needed at a particular juncture, He selects and prepares the means He designs to use. His plans and purposes for the most part are hidden from the world; even they whom He intends to use are not aware of the part they are to perform."

Philip William Otterbein was born in Dillenberg, in the duchy of Nassau, in Germany, on the 4th day of June, 1726. His father, John Daniel Otterbein, was rector of a Latin school in Herborn, and subsequently pastor of a congregation in Fronhausen and Wissenbach. He was a minister in the Reformed Church, and was noted for his learning, piety, and zeal. His son, Philip William, was educated for the ministry, and solemnly ordained at Herborn in 1749. He was well instructed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, and divinity. Soon after his consecration to the office of the ministry he commenced his pastoral work in Dillenberg. He was then about twenty-four years of age. It certainly speaks well for him that he was so soon chosen as pastor in his native town.

Although Otterbein was well instructed in theology, he had not at this time experienced a change of heart. But withal he was a man of conscience, and earnestly desired to enter into the possession of all there was

in the gospel for him to enjoy. With him there was nothing of such importance as the Word of God. What he believed to be the truth he would expound and enforce with great earnestness. His sermons were remarkable for their plainness, spirit, and evangelical power; and God owned the truth, for the truth's sake. And whilst nothing could be said against the character of Otterbein, nor against the truths he taught, yet some of his friends advised him to use greater caution in his exhortations and reproofs. But, even as Daniel, when he knew that the writing was sealed, went to his chamber and prayed as aforetime, so Otterbein went to his pulpit and preached as aforetime. Owing to this plain and earnest manner of preaching the truth, both the clergy and the magistrates were turned against him, and the authorities were privately solicited to arrest his preaching. When his pious mother learned that there was such opposition to his preaching she said to him, "Ah, William, I expected this, and give you joy. This place is too narrow for you, my son; they will not receive you here; you will find your work elsewhere." She did not think that she was uttering a prophecy which would be fulfilled in the manner it was. She seemed only to realize that her son was eminently fitted for the work of the ministry, and her faith in God was to the effect that a way would be opened for him.

While Otterbein was undergoing this severe ordeal in his native town word came to him from what was then called the New His call to America. World, that the people were perishing for want of the bread of life. This turned his attention to America. Here we see the hand of God. If he would have adopted the policy the clergy and magistrates desired, he would have found a lucrative and easy field at home. But God wanted a man to come to America to break the bread of life to the famishing Germans, and the very opposition that was raised against him in his native town was made the means of thrusting him out over the wide sea, to become one of the standard-bearers of the cross of Christ in a foreign land.

In the year 1751, Michael Schlatter returned from America, after having spent several years as an exploring missionary. He represented the wants of the people as being very great; in council with the synods of North and South Holland, he made a call for six young ministers to go to America as missionaries. Otterbein immediately responded to the call, and was accepted. He at once set about making the necessary arrangements for his departure. His separation from his mother was a severe trial to both. She had given her son to the Lord, yet when the hour drew near for him to depart it was a greater trial than she had anticipated. She retired to her closet, and there importuned God for courage and strength to bear up under the ordeal. Returning from her devotions, she took her son by the hand, and said, "Go, my son; the Lord bless thee, and much grace direct thy steps. On earth I may not see thy

face again, but go." "With what strange and beautiful courage and grace can a mother's love bind its sacrifice upon the altar!" "*On earth I may not see thy face again, but go.*" It was even so: on earth she saw his face no more. Upon the evening of July 27, 1752, he landed in New York.

In August, 1752, Otterbein entered upon his labors at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He gave himself wholly to the pastoral work, for he believed that it could engage all his powers. He was a man of order, and, finding almost everything out of order, he resolved to bring order out of confusion. It is but just to state that at this time (1752), both in Germany and in America, the doctrine of the new birth was well-nigh covered up with forms and ceremonies. But few of the clergy knew anything about it experimentally. Otterbein himself, though regularly ordained, had never been a subject of this change.

There was a remarkable coincidence in John Wesley's experience and that of Otterbein. In his journal Wesley says, "I went to America to convert the Indians, but oh, who shall convert me!" Otterbein came to America to convert the Germans, and was not himself converted. He had studied the Word of God, and obtained a pretty clear idea of the nature of conversion. Its power he was led to feel in the following manner: On a certain Sabbath he preached one of his pointed sermons on the necessity of a new heart and life. At the close of the sermon one of his congregation, who had been touched by the power of truth, came to him in tears, and asked what he must do to be saved. The question was brought to Otterbein as it had never been before. Paul could tell the jailer in a few words what to do, but here was a learned, eloquent minister who could not tell a poor penitent soul what he must do to be saved. He looked upon the man, and with deep emotion said, "My friend, advice is scarce with me to-day." This incident brought him to a crisis. He had for a long time felt the necessity of a new heart, but had not sought it with full faith. He had often preached it to others, and now another preached it to him. He immediately repaired to his study, and there remained in earnest prayer until God in mercy gave him a new heart. If his preaching up to this time had been plain and logical, it was none the less so now, and, besides, was accompanied with an unction which neither he nor his people had felt before. Having now entered into a new life, he was eminently fitted for a leader. He was calm, dignified, humble, and devout.

Otterbein remained six years in Lancaster, during which time he experienced no small degree of trouble. His people were disorderly, not willing to endure the restraints which the gospel imposed. The majority of them knew nothing about a change of heart. They relied upon forms and ceremonies. This grieved the pastor, for he most earnestly desired to lead them into a higher and better life. Those acquainted

with the history of the churches in America a hundred and twenty-five years ago, especially among the Germans, will understand how difficult it must have been to lead them away from the mere forms of religion into a life of faith, purity, and love. Still his work at Lancaster was by no means a failure. His name by tradition is to this day in honorable mention by many in that city. The author of the "Fathers of the Reformed Church" thus speaks of Otterbein: "Under his [Otterbein's] ministry the old small wooden church which stood in the back part of the grave-yard was superseded by a massive stone church on the street, which was built in 1753, and was not taken down till 1852, having stood almost a century. Internally the congregation greatly prospered. Evidences of his order and zeal look out upon us from the records in many ways, and enterprises started in his time have extended their results in the permanent features of the congregation down to this day."

Like many earnest and faithful servants of God, he could not accomplish what he desired, because he preached and insisted upon a change of heart. Many of his brethren in the ministry, as well as in the laity, were turned against him. But he was not to be diverted from his purpose. Jesus Christ and Him crucified was his all-absorbing theme. He had launched his vessel, and would not put into port until the Master bade him. Near the end of the year 1758 he resigned his charge with a view of entering a field where he hoped to find a people more willing to receive the Word of Life.

From Lancaster he went to Tulpelocken, where he took charge temporarily of two congregations. Here he found less opposition and more freedom. His purpose was not only to fill the pulpit on the Sabbath, but to win souls to Christ. To accomplish this he went from house to house, like a true pastor. It was a new measure, and the people were surprised to see a man so in earnest. Here for the first time he introduced evening meetings, at which he would read portions of Scripture, sing, pray, and exhort the people. This was another new measure, and the people were not a little astonished at it. For one to be so concerned about the souls of others was new and strange. At this time there was not a Methodist society in America. Those who were church members, especially among the Germans, were mere nominal Christians. Otterbein understood the situation, and, like Isaiah, would not rest nor hold his peace until the people were aroused. "What does this mean?" said some; "the minister and men and women kneel and pray and weep, and call upon God, for Jesus' sake, to have mercy upon them. Who ever heard of such procedure?" These prayer-meetings afforded important aid to the blessed work of reformation.

While Otterbein was scattering the precious seed in and around Tulpelocken, another link was being formed, which, under the hand of God, was to be welded into the chain which was being wrought out. It was

not by accident or chance; God did it in his own way. It is wonderful how God will sometimes bring together elements which in their nature are altogether dissimilar. Otterbein was well educated and regularly ordained to the office of a minister, and if it had been left to men to select a co-laborer no doubt the choice would have been from among men of high culture in a literary sense. But God's ways are not man's ways, nor his thoughts their thoughts.

Martin Boehm was the son of a farmer, and a farmer himself. He was a minister elect in the Mennonite society, of which his parents were members. Whilst it is doubtless true that the Mennonites in former times were among the most enlightened and spiritual people in Europe, it is also true that in America, at the time of which we are now writing, they were devoted to forms, having lost their spiritual power.

Soon after Boehm was elected preacher he made an effort to preach, but failed, and so for a number of times. This distressed him very much. To be a preacher, and yet have nothing to preach, was, to his sensitive nature, very humiliating. To teach others the way of salvation, and not know the way himself, finally drove him to earnest prayer. "I felt constrained," he said, "to pray for myself, and while praying my mind became alarmed. I felt and saw myself a poor sinner. I was lost. My agony became great. I was plowing in the field, and kneeled down at each end of the furrow to pray. The word *Lost! Lost!* [*Verlohren! Verlohren!*] went every round with me. Midway in the field, I could go no farther. I sank down behind the plow, crying, 'Lord, save me! I am lost!' Then came to me the thought or voice, 'I am come to seek and to save that which is lost.' In a moment I was filled with unspeakable joy, and I was saved."

Here now were two men brought into the light and liberty of the sons of God, who up to this time had not seen each other. They were members of churches widely different from each other. But religion is a unit,—one thing. All are baptized by one Spirit into one body. Two precious revivals were now going on: one under the labors of Otterbein at Tulpehocken, and the other under the labors of Boehm among the Mennonites.

A meeting (called in the German language a *grosse versammlung*) was appointed to be held in Isaac Long's barn, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It was to be a general meeting for all who desired to attend. It is not known by whom this meeting was appointed, most probably by Boehm. The time came, and with it the members of the various churches: German Reformed, Mennonites, Tunkers, and Lutherans; possibly other denominations were represented. Some came for one thing, and some for another, but nearly all were drawn together out of curiosity. They were anxious to see what would grow of such a meeting, for it was new and strange. Here these

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United Brethren

two evangelical ministers met for the first time. Boehm was a small man, and was dressed in the plain style of a Mennonite preacher. Otterbein was a large man, and dressed in the ordinary clerical style of his church. There was a striking contrast in the *personnel* of the two men.

Boehm, in his plain and neat attire, preached the opening sermon. All eyes were turned upon him as he stood expounding the Word of God. No one listened with greater interest than did Otterbein. As the heart of the preacher warmed with his subject, it kindled and fed a flame in the heart of the other. At the close of the sermon, and before Boehm had time to resume his seat, Otterbein arose and, folding him in his arms, exclaimed with a loud voice, "We are brethren!" This was a strange and unexpected turn of affairs, — the scholarly Otterbein holding in his arms the plain and unassuming Boehm, and this, too, upon their first meeting. It was not the result of education, nor of any natural affinity; it was simply a proof of the unity of religion, — baptized by one Spirit into one body. Boehm lived for many years, and was the honored instrument of winning many precious souls to Christ. After their first meeting, these two evangelical preachers often met, and were fast friends until death separated them.

In 1760, Otterbein accepted a call from the Reformed church at Frederick, Maryland. Here, as at Tulpehocken, he entered upon his labors with all the zeal and ardor of a man who felt the worth of perishing souls. The salvation of souls was to his mind paramount to everything else. During his stay at Frederick he extended his labors into the regions round about, holding services in barns, private houses, and often in the open air. Scores of precious souls were awakened and brought to Christ through his labors at and around Frederick.

Dr. Zacharias, pastor of the Reformed church in Frederick, in a centenary sermon makes the following remarks concerning Otterbein: "During Mr. Otterbein's labors here the church in which we now worship was built; also the parsonage which has been the successive residence of your pastors ever since. . . . A few letters are still preserved in our archives, written by Mr. Otterbein, while at York, to members of this charge. From these letters, brief as they are, you may easily gather the spirit of the man. Though laboring in another field, he remembered with affectionate kindness and concern the people whom he had recently left. He mourned over them, and endeavored to profit them by imparting to them his godly council, and offering up in their behalf his earnest prayers."

This testimony, coming from such a man as Dr. Zacharias more than eighty years after Otterbein had served them as pastor, shows the very high esteem in which he was held among the people. But no wonder, for "he was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and faith."

An educated German gives this testimony concerning the appearance

and preaching of Otterbein: "Nearly half a century has passed since I became acquainted with Otterbein, and never will I forget the impression made upon my mind when I first saw and heard him. It was on Good Friday, in the forenoon, when by the persuasion of a friend I entered the church where he officiated. A venerable, portly old man, above six feet in height, erect in posture, apparently about seventy-five years of age, stood before me. He had a remarkably high and prominent forehead. Gray hair fell smoothly down both sides of his head, on his temples; and his eyes were large, blue, and piercing, and sparkled with the fire of love which warmed the heart. In his appearance and manners there was nothing repulsive, but all was attractive, and calculated to command the most profound attention and reverence. He opened his lips in prayer to Jehovah. Oh, what a voice, what a prayer! Every word thrilled my heart. I had heard many prayers, but never one before like this. The words of his text were these: 'Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.' As he proceeded in the elucidation of the text and its application, it seemed that every word was exactly adapted to my case, and intended for me. Every sentence smote me. On the following Sabbath I again went to his church, when he took special notice of the young stranger, and gave me an invitation to visit him on the following day. I complied with the friendly request with some reluctance, it is true, but was received with such unaffected tenderness and love, and addressed with so much solicitude for my salvation, that my heart was won."

In 1765 Otterbein closed his labors at Frederick, and accepted a call to York, Pennsylvania. Here he labored for nine years with his usual zeal and success. During all these years at Tulpehocken, Frederick, and York, he was continually being joined by additional laborers, most of whom had been awakened and brought into the true light through his and Boehm's instrumentality. But it was no part of Otterbein's purpose to organize a new church. He only sought to win souls to Christ, and impress upon the consciences of the people, and especially the formal professors of religion, "that a vital union with Christ was essential to a religious life." But God intended him for a leader, and so controlled the circumstances that without his own choice he was soon placed at the head of a new denomination.

Pursues his
work in the Re-
formed body.

From York Otterbein removed to Baltimore. This was in the year 1774. He was in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his ministry. "Nearly twenty years had passed since he had entered fully into the light and liberty of the sons of God; and during all that period he had labored incessantly, in public and private, to promote in the churches a revival of Bible religion." If he had been in-

fluenced by the love of ease or money, he would doubtless have remained in charge of some of the more wealthy and popular congregations. But he had a higher and nobler aim. He was after souls for the Master; and many a poor wanderer was led by him into the fold of Christ.

About this time it was that he formed the acquaintance of Francis Asbury, and they remained firm friends up to the time of Otterbein's death. When Asbury was to be ordained to the office of bishop (1784) such was his confidence in Otterbein that he requested that he should assist in his ordination. Otterbein, many severe conflicts past, finally organized Organizes a new denomination. at Baltimore "The United Brethren in Christ," a church in doctrine and discipline distinct from and independent of all other denominations. This, as already intimated, was not his own choice; there was a combination of circumstances, over which he seemed not to have any control, that forced him into this measure. This organization was perfected September 25, 1800. The new communion, in its formal existence, began, therefore, almost contemporaneously with the new century. Otterbein was chosen to lead the new body in the office of bishop, Boehm being associated with him.

"The great meetings which had been so happily inaugurated at Isaac Long's had been attended from year to year by the richest blessings. They had become an institution of no small value. Thither went up the people of God from all quarters and churches, as the tribes of Israel flowed together at the feast of tabernacles." Otterbein was nearly always present at these meetings. Many there were who bitterly opposed this work, but still it went on. When one had tasted the precious word of truth, he would say, "Oh, this precious gospel must be preached to my neighbors!"

Otterbein continued in Baltimore for nearly forty years. Here, as at Tulpehocken, Frederick, and York, his work was attended with tokens of the divine sanction. Scores and hundreds of souls were brought to Christ. "The little wooden church in which his congregation first worshiped gave place to a larger structure, and that in turn to the spacious edifice which now stands on Conway Street."

At length, after spending sixty-two years in the ministry, the end was reached, and on the 17th of November, 1813, he fell asleep in Jesus. The last vocal prayer offered up at his bedside was by an evangelical Lutheran minister, the Rev. Dr. Kurtz, a personal friend of Otterbein. The last words of Otterbein were these: "Jesus, Jesus, I die, but Thou livest, and soon I shall live with Thee." Turning to his friends who had come to see how their pastor and leader would meet death, he continued, "The conflict is over and past. I begin to feel an unspeakable fullness of love and peace divine. Lay my head upon my pillow, and be still."

"He taught us how to live, and oh, too high
A price of knowledge, taught us how to die!"

The remains of Otterbein were buried in the church-yard on Howard's Hill, in the city of Baltimore. The grave is adorned with two plain marble slabs, the upper one resting on four pillars of marble, with the following inscription:—

HIER RUHEN
DIE GEBEINE DES VERSTORBENEN
WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.
GEBOREN 4 JUNI, 1726 ;
GESTORBEN 17 NOVEMBER, 1813.
SEINES ALTERS,
87 JAHRE, 6 MONATE, 13 TAGE.

“ Selig sind die Todten die in dem Herrn sterben; sie ruhen von ihrer Arbeit; denn ihre Werke folgen ihnen nach.”

HERE REST
THE REMAINS OF
WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.
BORN JUNE 4, 1726;
DEPARTED THIS LIFE NOVEMBER 17, 1813
AGED
87 YEARS, 6 MONTHS, 13 DAYS.

“ Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.”

Four months after the death of Mr. Otterbein, the Methodist conference met in the city of Baltimore. On the last day of the conference Bishop Asbury, who was a warm personal friend of Mr. Otterbein, preached a sermon in Otterbein's pulpit. Referring to the occasion in his journal, Asbury said, “ By request, I discoursed on the character of the angel of the church of Philadelphia, in allusion to William Otterbein,—the holy, the great Otterbein,—whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German church, where were assembled the members of our conference and many of the clergy of the city. Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only to God and the people of God.”

Otterbein was not a partisan. “ A man of a more catholic spirit never lived,”—pure in character, simple and easy in his manners, benevolent in heart, and humble in spirit. Though persecuted through the most of his ministerial life, he did not murmur nor complain. When denounced as an “ enthusiast,” “ false prophet,” and “ fanatic,” he would weep over his enemies. “ But it was as a preacher and as an evangelist that he most excelled.” When he was eighty years old, Bishop Newcomer heard him preach, and thus speaks of it: “ Oh, what feelings penetrate my soul whenever this old servant of Christ declares the counsel of God! In depth of erudition and in perspicuity of thought he is unique and matchless.” Two generations have passed since that sainted father in Israel fell asleep in Jesus, but his works still follow him.— J. W.

LIFE X. JAMES MANNING.

A. D. 1738—A. D. 1791. BAPTIST, — AMERICA.

JAMES MANNING has been selected to represent the Baptists of the colonial period in American history; not that he represents them altogether, but rather that, rising from among them, he led them into the new era which followed. He closed the first volume of their history and opened a new page. The son of the earlier time, he was the father of a new generation of better training and ampler fortune. His active and public life covers the period between 1762 and 1791, during which the colonies became a nation, and many new paths opened to American life and religion. He thus belonged to both periods, and to the transition from the one to the other.

There is another name, of earlier date, related, indeed, to the very beginnings of colonial history, and illustrating the same town of Providence and colony of Rhode Island where Manning spent his years, which might for some purposes take the first and representative place. The history of the Baptists in America begins with Roger Williams. He had not always been of them, and was not long with them. He came from England a Puritan and a Separatist. At Plymouth and Salem he had been an accepted minister of the Word, but his advanced opinions gave offense, and provoked the authorities to banish him from the colony of Massachusetts Bay. He passed beyond its borders, and planted a colony and a state on the shores of Narragansett. Most of his companions, like himself, were dissenters from the ecclesiastical order in Massachusetts Bay, and had taken refuge with him for sake of a larger liberty of opinion. He says, "Having, in a sense of God's merciful providence unto me in my distress, called the place *Providence*, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed of conscience."¹ Here he received lay baptism at the hands of one of his associates, and with eleven other persons joined in the formation of a Baptist church, the first in America, with but one other like it, as far as we know, in England. This was in the year 1638-1639. In a short time he separated himself from all churches, becoming a "seeker."

Williams, not only as the progenitor of a long and numerous line of Baptists in America, but on account of his early and courageous advocacy of entire freedom in religion, and his establishment of a colony and a state, the first in the civilized world to incorporate these principles into its law and practice, is an illustrious figure in our early history. The Baptists have always counted him among their honorable names, and have set him forward as their representative. And yet he gave them no con-

¹ Deed of R. Williams to his associates in 1638, *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, i. 22.

scious impulse, and would have disclaimed all praise of leadership. In fact, prior to 1740, the Baptists had had small growth, and only such as comes of itself, without the championship of leaders, or the strength and productiveness of association. In that year George Whitefield landed at Newport, in Rhode Island, and became for thirty years one of the principal agencies in a mighty spiritual movement, one of whose issues was a more rapid multiplication of the churches of the Baptists. In 1734, at the time of the great awakening under Jonathan Edwards, there were but fifteen Baptist churches in New England; ¹ and in 1740, when Whitefield began to lift up here his trumpet, there were only thirty-seven, with less than three thousand members, in all North America. Fifty years later, in 1790, when Man- ^{Baptist progress in the days of Manning.} ning was just closing his life, there were eight hundred and seventy-two churches, with nearly sixty-five thousand members, ² they having multiplied twenty-fold.

The early Baptists were inconsiderable in numbers, their ministry had little learning, and they suffered the manifold disabilities of a dissenting minority. But before the Revolution, indeed, on the heels of the Great Awakening, their more rapid growth began. An acute and learned writer in the "North American Review" ³ (1876), in reviewing religion in America for the first century of the republic, ascribes this growth to "two distinct causes:" One was, that they insisted on a personal experience of religion as the absolute condition of admission to the church of Christ, the characteristic doctrine of the Great Awakening. But besides this, there was another and perhaps more potent reason: "A distinctive characteristic of the Baptists was the energy with which they extolled the gifts of the Spirit, and advocated an unlearned ministry. On this latter point, as we have already seen, the Congregationalists took high ground. Even Edwards, the most powerful promoter of the revival, would not allow that a man should enter the pulpit 'who had had no education at college.' Against what seemed to them an unrighteous prejudice in favor of 'the original tongues,' both Separatists and Baptists strenuously maintained 'that every brother that is qualified by God has a right to preach according to the measure of faith.' 'Lowly preaching' became their favorite watch-word, and it marked the beginning of a popular tendency destined to make itself deeply felt in the religious institutions of New England. The Baptists not only gained a controlling influence with a devout but humble class, who had little appetite for the elaborate discussions of the Congregational divines, but they were powerfully helped by the prejudice which exists, in every community, against the exclusiveness of superior culture. The rapid growth of the Baptists was, in large part, a democratic protest, and it is

¹ Hovey, *Life of Backus*, 261.

² Cramp, *Baptist History*, 527.

³ *North American Review*, January, 1876, art. i., by Prof. J. L. Diman.

a noticeable fact that even during the war their numbers steadily augmented." Whatever truth there may be in this view, it is also true that at the same time with the expansion of this denomination of Christians, there appeared among them a movement towards a higher education, in which James Manning was a leader.

Manning a
leader in educa-
tion.

He was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, October 22, 1738, and graduated at the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, September 29, 1762. At the time of his graduation there were but six colleges in the country. Of these, two were in New England under the control of the Congregationalists, one in New Jersey under the Presbyterians, and three under the Episcopalians in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. It was natural, with a rising desire for better education among a growing Christian communion, that they should desire a college of their own. This desire came to the surface most strongly among the Baptists of Pennsylvania, who had organized an association of churches, which was the only one in the country for nearly sixty years. The Philadelphia Association had taken action and started a movement towards a college, looking to Rhode Island as the colony where, from the religious persuasion of a large number of the people, and the liberal spirit of its government from the beginning, they would be most likely to find an open field and friendly encouragement. Manning went there in July, 1763, undoubtedly under the impulse of this action, and by his efforts the project of "a seminary of polite literature subject to the government of the Baptists" was set on foot, and a liberal charter obtained from the General Assembly. It was called Rhode Island College, receiving its present name of Brown University in honor of its greatest benefactor forty years later, in 1804. Manning had been previously ordained to the ministry, and in the spring of 1764 he removed to Warren, a town not far from Providence, where he combined the offices of pastor of the church and president of the college for a number of years. The church had been formed as a result of his preaching, and he had been appointed president of the college, having first undertaken a school which proved to be the beginning of the college. The transfer of the college to Providence, a step which proved of the greatest advantage to the infant institution, was a great trial to him. "So affectionately desirous," says Professor Goddard, "was Dr. Manning of the people of his care, many of whom had, through his instrumentality, experienced the transforming efficacy of the religion of Christ, that he could not find it in his heart to leave them. To avoid a separation so painful to his sensibilities, he even proposed to resign the elevated position to which he had just been appointed. To this proposition his influential friends would not listen, and they persuaded him to abandon all thought of resigning the presidentship. While we are compelled to think that his decision was a wise one, we honor the feelings which well-nigh betrayed

his judgment. Under similar circumstances, how few men would have faltered; how few would have sought to renounce the pathway to literary and social distinction for the unambitious career of a village pastor!"

But in Providence a larger opportunity was prepared for him, and he found ample scope for his gifts as a preacher as well as an educator. For three quarters of a century the church ^{Manning's work in Providence.} founded by Roger Williams had been the only one of any persuasion. When Manning removed to Providence, in May, 1770, it was more than one hundred and thirty years old, and yet in a population of four thousand people it had but one hundred and eighteen members. For all this time it had been going on, receiving neither from within nor from without any vigorous impulse. Its ministers had been natives, bred on the spot, and were generally in advanced years, at work for their daily bread, and without special training. Like the early Baptists and Quakers in England, they discarded singing and music in worship.¹ Moreover, very early, and almost from the start, the church had adopted the rite of imposition of hands in connection with baptism, and insisted upon it as prerequisite to the communion of the Lord's Supper. It had been extremely rigorous as to this rite, and refused prayer or communion with those who did not conform to the practice. This singular tenacity for an essential rite was the sign of a contracted spirit, and very likely the reason for a contracted influence. Whatever more liberal views may have existed were suppressed. But the advent of President Manning emancipated the more liberal tendencies, and started the church on the higher career which it has followed for more than a century. His coming was like a fresh breeze. The old torpor began to stir. The old strictness relaxed. Religion was powerfully revived. The college came bringing fresh impulses and new demands. It joined itself to the church in many ways. A meeting-house was erected "for the public worship of Almighty God, and also for holding Commencement in," so spacious and elegant that it still stands, five years more than a century old, the most notable structure for religious purposes in a city with a hundred thousand people, though built in a village with no more than four thousand inhabitants. Manning found congenial spirits, men of enlarged views, who could appreciate a minister of more liberal training, and whose hands were ready for works of improvement. His very first Sunday brought to a crisis the differences of opinion in regard to the imposition of hands as requisite to communion. The minister and a section of the church holding the narrower and stringent view withdrew, and he was at once invited to take pastoral charge. Thus his love for the active ministry of the Word was gratified, while he was called to the front as leader in an enterprise of education most important to that growing

¹ W. Tallack, *George Fox and the Early Baptists*; R. Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*.

branch of the Christian church to which he belonged. He became at once the minister of the oldest church of the Baptists in America, and president of their first college, and no position could be more commanding.

And he had admirable fitness for the position. He was of impressive presence, of large and handsome person, of elegant and genial manners. His learning, if not extensive, was sufficient, and his eloquence in all public address very effective. He was the first clergyman of liberal education who had ministered to the congregation. To all his gifts was added the dignity of his office. And above all was an ardor of piety and an excellence of character which allayed prejudice and won respect. Though he was but thirty-two years old, his talents and his attainments gave him prominence at a time when there were few educated clergymen in his denomination, and few persons equal to leadership in an educational enterprise, while his youth lent a charm and a power quite inspiring in such a community.

In the winter of 1774, while the people were engaged in the erection of the large meeting-house modeled after St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in London, a power greater than Manning's was felt among them. He writes to a friend in England, "In the beginning of the winter of 1774, it pleased the Lord in a most remarkable manner to revive his work in the town of Providence, and more especially among the people of my charge. Such a time I never before saw. Numbers were pricked to the heart. Our public assemblies by night and by day were crowded, and the auditors seemed to hear as for the life of their souls. It was frequently an hour before I could get from the pulpit to the door, on account of the numbers thronging to have an opportunity of stating the condition of their minds. Never before did I experience such happy hours in the pulpit. Day and night my dear people resorted to my house to open to me the state of their souls, insomuch that it was with difficulty I could at any time attend to secular business; and I think I may say with truth that I had as little inclination as leisure for it, further than absolute duty required. And what added peculiarly to my happiness was that the Lord visited the college as remarkably as the congregation. Frequently, when I went to the recitation room, I would find nearly all the students assembled and joining in prayer and praise to God. Instead of my lectures on logic and philosophy they would request me to speak to them of the things concerning the kingdom of God. . . . In the space of about six months I baptized more than one hundred persons. . . . Thus the glorious work continued, and rather increased, until the fatal 19th of April, when the affair at Lexington happened, which, like an electric shock, filled every mind with horror and compassion."¹

The war of the Revolution, precipitated by "the affair at Lexington,"

¹ Guild, *Manning and Brown University*, 246.

through all its hard years of public distress, arrested the springing life of church and college. Fortunately, the meeting-house had been finished and dedicated between the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and the church had a home, though its members were scattered and its life languished. The college was closed, and its building was used for a barrack or a hospital for soldiers. There were no students and no Commencements. No degrees were conferred till 1786. It was in that year that Dr. Manning was elected a delegate to Congress. He had few inclinations for political life, but he ardently sympathized with his struggling country, and his position and character drew to him the spontaneous confidence and suffrage of his fellow-citizens. The proceedings of the Congress were not public, and what part Dr. Manning took in its deliberations we do not know. That he filled his place with the dignity of a gentleman, the uprightness of a Christian, and the fidelity of a patriot is clear from the whole tenor of his life.

Manning a patriot in political life.

His life was now near a sudden and premature close. He seems almost to have expected it, although he was only in his fifty-fourth year, and bearing upon his person the signs of undecayed vigor and health. In April, 1791, he notified the corporation of the college of his desire to be relieved from his office when a successor should be appointed. On the last Sabbath of the same month he also preached a sermon of farewell to the church. On the 24th of July following, while engaged in prayer in his home on Sunday morning, he was taken with apoplexy, and with no revival of consciousness soon passed to his eternal rest, as "universally lamented," says the historian of the Baptists, Isaac Backus, "as any man that I have known."

For nearly thirty years he had been in Rhode Island, devoting his life to the highest interests. He had given a new impulse to an ancient church, which became one of the first as it was the oldest of the communion to which it belonged. In the birth and beginnings of a college which for two generations was the only one belonging to American Baptists, he had the principal part. His learning, his powers, his character, his fidelity in all trusts, his sympathy with the depressed and feeble churches of his own religious persuasion, his leadership in their aspirations after liberal education, gave him great honor in his own day, and a position of singular eminence, if not of primacy, in the generation of Baptists which closed the colonial and began the national period of our history. In the long time between Williams and Manning there arose among them no name more illustrious, and no person who more fitly and more nobly represents them. One imagines that if Williams had remained among them and of them, with his genius, his university training, his enthusiasm, so strong in the courage of his opinions, so magnetic in his influence over others, devoting the fifty years

of his life in America to the propagation of their sentiments and the increase of their churches, the future would have been different, and Manning might have entered on quite another inheritance, and found his work in a good measure anticipated. But Providence is wiser and stronger than any man, or any number of men, and takes its own hours and ways, and waits till it is ready, and times and locates, arrests and hurries, precedes and follows, according to a wisdom and a will of its own. These men both served its purpose, and made a way for others, a way for the conception of Christianity which they had embraced to advance to a wider dominion and a history in missions, in education, quite beyond their dreams. — S. L. C.

LIFE XII. FRANCIS ASBURY.

A. D. 1745—A. D. 1816. METHODIST EPISCOPAL, — AMERICA.

FRANCIS ASBURY, the pioneer bishop of America, was born in the parish of Handsworth, Staffordshire, England, August 20, 1745. He was of humble extraction, his father being a gardener by occupation. Both the elder Asbury and his wife were members of the Established Church, and they were careful — the mother especially — to indoctrinate their son in the fundamental truths of the gospel. There were but two children in the family, Francis, and a sister, who however died in infancy. But though he thus came in for a double share of tenderness on the part of his mother, he does not seem to have become in any sense a spoiled child because an only one. Perhaps this is to be attributed to the truly religious atmosphere of his home, which was sanctified by daily reading of the Scriptures and prayer. As soon as he was old enough he was sent to school, his father affording him every opportunity within his means, to acquire a good common English education, but his success as a student was not what could have been desired. The teacher "was a great churl," and beat the lad so unmercifully that he conceived a dislike not only for him, but for his books as well, and at length became quite discouraged. The religious tendency of the boy's mind became quite apparent at this time. After suffering from some fresh cruelty inflicted by the master, oppressed with the shame and sorrow consequent upon the punishment, he used to retire, as soon as he could, to some unfrequented place, and there pour out his heart to God in prayer. He became quite pensive and retiring, a trait of character for which he was, in some measure, distinguished through life.

Finding that he did not make the advancement in his studies which he desired, his father removed him from school, and set him to work

under the direction of a person who appeared to understand him better than the teacher had done, and who treated him kindly. The change of treatment had a beneficial effect upon the boy, which soon became apparent; for, while he did not neglect his work, he also soon commenced to apply himself to reading during his hours of leisure, and rose rapidly in the estimation of those with whom he was associated. No better proof is required of the carefulness with which his parents had instructed him in religion, or of his own docile disposition and religious bent of mind, than the fact that, no matter how provoked, he never uttered "an oath," and always scrupulously adhered to the truth. A moral, upright boy, young Asbury's religious principles may be said to have been firmly established by the time he was fourteen years of age.

About this time he became very much interested in the conversations of a pious man who occasionally visited at his father's house; but, as in the case of the Wesleys, he seems to have been more indebted to his mother than to any one else for the religious impressions made upon his susceptible mind. Having become anxious for his personal salvation, he now entered more fully on a life of constant prayer and serious reflection.

The fame of John Wesley and the Methodists had reached this humble Staffordshire home, but as the new people were everywhere spoken against, young Asbury was somewhat doubtful as to the propriety of going near them. Upon consulting his mother, however, he found that she entertained a favorable opinion of them. Indeed, she recommended her son to attend their meetings and judge for himself, as to whether the influence they exerted was for good or ill. An opportunity soon presented itself. The Methodists were to have a meeting some miles distant from his father's house, and thither he went in company with a friend. Arrived at the place of worship, everything he saw excited his surprise. From beginning to end the entire service was altogether different from any to which the lad had hitherto been accustomed. The preaching place, instead of being a church or chapel, was a private residence, the people knelt at time of prayer, and in response to the earnest petitions of the preacher, many of them said "Amen;" the congregation sang without a choir, and the peculiar melody of the tunes, and the adaptation of the words of the hymns to the tunes, not merely surprised, but delighted him, and, to cap the climax, the preacher "prayed without the use of a prayer-book," and preached without "a sermon-book." But though all this appeared very strange to the young listener, he nevertheless considered it a very good way, particularly as the preacher not only spoke readily but clearly as well, pointing out the plan of salvation, the necessity of faith in Christ, and the "confidence and assurance" of the children of God. The inquiring mind of young Asbury at once grasped this idea of the confidence and assurance of God's children, and

he determined not to rest till he obtained it. Upon his return home with this purpose in view, he went with a young friend, of like Enters upon a religious life. frame of mind with himself, into his father's barn to pray for the desired blessing, and in answer to the petition, he says, "I believe the Lord pardoned my sins and justified my soul." He was then about sixteen years of age. About a year after his conversion he began to exercise his gifts as a local preacher, and when between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, he commenced his regular ministerial career under the direction of Wesley.

From the beginning it was evident to a person of Wesley's discernment that Asbury had within him the elements of true greatness. Though no collegian, not even an educated man, as the term is understood, his pulpit efforts were from the outset highly appreciated by the people. Crowds attended his preaching, and competent judges were surprised at his ready utterance and his power in moving his audiences. He was therefore gladly received on the various circuits to which Wesley appointed him; and so characteristic of the man, and of the times too, was the zeal with which he entered on his ministry, that for some years he would not distract his mind from what he believed to be his legitimate work, or leave his flock long enough to attend the sessions of the conference. If his seniors devised and planned the work, he was content to carry out those plans though he had no hand in the planning.

He was unassuming in manner, and quite prepossessing in his personal appearance. Though always sedate, as was the manner of the early Methodist preachers, he was nevertheless cheerful. In dress he was neat, without any appearance of foppishness. In demeanor he was courteous, and always ready to evince his sympathy for those who were cast down in feelings, or who were afflicted or oppressed; and so far as can be ascertained, he appears to have been impartial in the administration of discipline. Such being the characteristics of the man, it is not surprising that Chosen by Wesley for America. Wesley should have considered him competent to fill the position which he shortly after assigned to him in America. Accounts of the religious destitution of the American colonies had reached Asbury in his English home and fired him with a zealous desire to go to their relief, so that when Wesley approached him upon the subject, he was as willing to go upon the mission as Wesley was to send him.

In 1771 Wesley, in compliance with the earnest solicitations of the American societies for more missionaries, laid their case before his conference, and asked for volunteers; and in response to this call, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright offered themselves. They were accepted, and the supervision of the entire work in America was entrusted by Mr. Wesley to Mr. Asbury. Then they immediately commenced to make preparation for their voyage.

And now commences a new epoch in the life of Francis Asbury. He goes to America as Mr. Wesley's representative there, and is to enter upon a new and altogether untried field of operations. In many respects the old methods and plans of working, so well adapted to the people of the Old World, will be utterly impracticable in the New. Hereafter, in most cases his plans must be determined by the exigencies of the case in hand; he will have no precedent by which to be guided. In short, it may be said his actual career is but now begun.

But short time was spent in leave-taking; a few of his more intimate friends were visited, an affectionate and final earthly farewell was taken of his parents, and then he set out for Bristol, where he remained from the latter end of August till the 4th of September, when he and his associate, Mr. Wright, set sail. Such unwavering faith had Asbury in God's providential care for him, and in the genuineness of his call to the work, that though so insufficiently supplied with means that by the time he reached Bristol he had not one penny in his purse, he nevertheless felt assured that funds for his journey would be provided in due time. Nor was he disappointed, for some friends in the city supplied him with the necessary clothing, and ten pounds. "Thus," says he, "I found by experience that He will provide for those who trust in Him."

During his protracted voyage, however, lasting nearly two months, Mr. Asbury found that what was sufficient clothing for comfort in Bristol was very insufficient for one exposed to the cold blasts of the boisterous Atlantic; but in mid-ocean no oversight on this point could be remedied, and he endured the discomforts of his position with a spirit befitting one who had resolved to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." The captain treated both him and Wright courteously, permitting them to preach on board when they desired to do so, which they accordingly did several times. The responsibility resting upon him in view of the mission he had undertaken to an unknown people occasioned him considerable anxiety, but he wrote, "I have great cause to believe that I am not running before I am sent."

On the 27th of October the missionaries landed at Philadelphia, where Asbury preached, and after spending a few days in the city and vicinity, where they were treated very kindly, they proceeded to New York, visiting Staten Island, *en route*. In New York, too, they were cordially received, and Asbury at once set to work to gather accurate information concerning the strength and requirements of the societies, in order that he might send a correct report to Wesley. At this time (1771) the Methodist societies on the entire continent of America numbered only about six hundred members, with ten preachers. Of churches there were very few, and those far apart. Their principal preaching places were court-houses and occasionally private houses, barns, or

the woods, according as they had friends or influence. How widely different this from the status to which Methodism had attained long before Asbury's death, and largely through his instrumentality.

But though Asbury had been so very cordially received by his brethren on his arrival, his path was nevertheless very far from being strewn with roses. His view of administering discipline and of a general plan of working was in some slight particulars different from theirs, and occasionally his judgment on these matters was questioned; but while courteous to his brethren, he was also firm where he was sure he was right, as will be seen in the following extracts from his journal: "I am fixed to the Methodist plan, and do what I do faithfully as to God. . . . At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I shall show them the way. I am in trouble, and more trouble is at hand, for I am determined to make a stand against all partiality." That he did make such a stand, and that he was successful in preventing many irregularities from creeping into the church at this period, is much to his credit and to the credit of those associated with him, even though they sometimes differed from him in judgment. His preaching was quite as acceptable to his American hearers as it had been to his English hearers, and he was quite as zealous in the discharge of his ministerial duties upon this side of the ocean as he had been upon the other, and even more laborious. To make up for lost time he became a diligent student; and that his studies might not interfere with the performance of other duties, and also because it was one of the good old "Methodist plans," to which he was fixed, he became an early riser. When well he was seldom found in bed after five o'clock in the morning, and he often rose at four. The hours between rising and breakfast were given to prayer, meditation, and reading, and in order to utilize each instant he often continued his reading on horseback, while going from one appointment to another. Being still a young man, comparatively speaking, with his mind in full vigor, he in this way acquired a large amount of very valuable information, which he wisely funded for future use. By carefully economizing every leisure moment in this way he was able to carry on an extensive correspondence, and post his journal from time to time.

But a new era in the history of the nation was at hand, and the events connected therewith very materially affected Asbury, and influenced his after life.

It had been a work of time to get all the societies into the exact methodical working order which both he and Wesley desired, and scarcely was this object attained when the Revolutionary War began to loom upon the horizon. At its commencement a few of the leading preachers determined to return to Eng-

Hardships during the Revolutionary War.

land at once, but while Asbury was still an honest Englishman, he was also too true-hearted a missionary to leave his flock in such perilous times. The Methodist societies were dearer to him than even Old England, or his much-loved kindred; and beside this, his own utterances show that he was in sympathy with the colonists in their struggle; so he determined to remain and await the issue. But neither zeal nor heroism saved him from reproach, misapprehension, and annoyance. In some of the States he was forbidden to preach at all, in others his motives for remaining were aspersed, and for a year he had to take refuge with Judge White in Delaware, by whose hospitable family he was treated with every mark of respect. Nor did he alone suffer obloquy. Freeborn Garretson and others of his heroic associates, being native-born, hoped that they might be allowed to continue their labors, and attempted to do so, but they were persecuted and imprisoned. While Asbury was secreted at Judge White's, what he considered his legitimate work, that for which he lived, was of necessity almost entirely given up; though when he dared he would venture out to pray with and preach to the families in the vicinity of the judge's mansion.

At last the terrible storm of war was over, and Asbury was free once more to go where he would about his Master's business, and indefatigably as ever he traveled north and south, east and west, far as the settlements extended, striving to gather in again the flocks which had been scattered so widely during those long years of bitter strife between the two countries. Most ably and faithfully did he discharge the duties of the position which had been assigned to him by Wesley.

The Revolutionary War swept away every vestige of church and state connection in the colonies now become an independent nation, and also left the Methodist societies in an undesirable condition in regard to general organization. In consequence of this, Wesley, who now felt himself untrammled, so far, at least, as America was concerned, by his connection with the state church in England, proceeded to make provision for the organization of the societies into a regular independent church. To this end, therefore, he ordained Messrs. Whatcoat and Vasey elders, and Dr. Coke general superintendent, giving him letters of episcopal authority, and commissioning him and his associates named above to proceed to America and ordain Asbury to the office of bishop, and also to ordain deacons and elders, — in short, to organize the church so that the people might receive the sacraments from their own pastors.

As soon as possible after Dr. Coke's arrival a general conference of the American preachers was called, which convened at Baltimore December 25, 1784, when Wesley's scheme was heartily concurred in and Asbury was unanimously elected by his American brethren themselves, as well as appointed by Wesley one of the bishops of the newly organized church, which was entitled the "Methodist Episcopal Church."

Asbury becomes
bishop.

Dr. Coke, who had been ordained by Wesley, and who had also been elected bishop at the same time with Asbury, now proceeded to ordain him to the office and work of a bishop, and who that has carefully traced Asbury's subsequent career will say that his was not truly an apostolic episcopate, in the proper sense of the New Testament term? Had he traveled weary miles undeterred by summer's heat or winter's cold, by hunger or by fear of danger, had he crossed wild mountains and forded unbridged rivers, wooed sleep unsheltered in the wilderness or on the naked floors of rude frontier cabins, and in every way labored diligently for the advancement of his Master's kingdom, before his ordination; after it he was in travels and in sacrifices and in labors yet more abundant. Formerly his oversight and jurisdiction had been somewhat circumscribed, and his labors, even then Herculean, were sometimes followed by a brief season of rest; but now his responsibility for the oversight of all the societies upon the continent was unshared by any one during the absence of Dr. Coke, and hereafter there would be no season of rest as long as the physical frame would bear the strain.

January 3, 1785, he says, "Rode fifty miles through frost and snow to Fairfax, Virginia, and got in about seven o'clock." Two days after: "We had an exceedingly cold ride to Prince William, little less than forty miles, and were nearly two hours after night in getting to Brother Hale's." Again next day: "We passed Fauquier Court-House and came to the north branch of the Rappahannock, which we found about waist-high and frozen from side to side. We pushed the ice out of the track, which a wagon, well for us, had made, and got over safe." Nor were such toils and dangers rare incidents in his experience. On one occasion he made a tour of three hundred miles on horseback in nine days, and rode forty miles of the route without food for man or beast. He was in peril from robbers, and sometimes from false brethren. His abhorrence of slavery and his manly protests against the "sum of all villainies" brought down upon him the enmity of those in favor of the peculiar institution. It is little wonder that nature would from time to time assert herself, and let even a bishop know that her laws were not to be broken with impunity, that after all he must care a little for the health of his own body, as well as for the health of the church. In consequence of his constant overwork and exposure, he was frequently prostrated by severe attacks of illness, but as soon as he was able to sit upon his horse he was up again and off. His one object — if we may be allowed to count three in one, as he united them — appeared to be the salvation of the people, the glory of God, and the extension of the church.

Asbury was possessed of uncommon shrewdness, and could generally read the characters of those he met at first sight, but not being infallible he sometimes found himself mistaken, to his cost. He was a rigid dis-

ciplinarian of a military cast, and occasionally made enemies of those who ought to have been his friends.

Being a bachelor himself, he had not as much sympathy for the married preachers, or those desiring to be married, as he ought, perhaps, to have had, for they certainly endured very great hardships. His remarks on the marriage of some of his preachers were occasionally quite amusing. A case or two in point will suffice as illustration. "I went," says he, "to see brother Hartley under his confinement, who is in jail for preaching, and found him determined to marry. He thought it his duty before God. I could only advise a delay till he was released from imprisonment." Later on, "Brother Hartley is now married and begins to care for his wife. . . . I find the care of a wife begins to humble my young friend, and makes him very teachable. I have thought he always carried great sail, but he will have ballast now." Several years after, writing of another, he says, "Jonathan Jackson is married. O thou pattern of celibacy, art thou caught? Who can resist? Our married man was forty years of age." Again, six years later than the date of the last extract, "At the chapel I found preachers in abundance, and a larger congregation than I had expected. . . . Here are eight young men lately married; these will call for four hundred dollars per annum additional,—so we go." After all, his excessive admiration of celibacy resulted from an ardent desire for the extension of the work.

As the years came and went, after his elevation to the episcopacy, there was no abatement of his labors. Little wonder then that he was impatient of laxity in others. But at last Asbury's abundant labors. these years of unremitting toil and care, accompanied by the frequent attacks of illness consequent upon them, told so seriously upon the physical energies of the now aged bishop, that it was deemed imprudent for him to pursue his journeyings alone; accordingly he was allowed a traveling companion, whose business it was to care for him and preach when the bishop was unable to do so himself.

In due time, as the work extended, first, Bishop Whatcoat, and at his death, Bishop MacKendree, were elected as his associates, and ordained to the same office. But no subdivision of labor, no amount of care or attention, could prevent the infirmities of old age coming on apace. By the beginning of the year 1815, Bishop Asbury was so worn down with years and ill health, that it was with great difficulty he could walk from his carriage to the pulpit, yet notwithstanding his extreme debility he continued to preach, and to plan for the well-being and extension of the church. At Cincinnati he and Bishop MacKendree had "a long and earnest talk," relative to the prospects of the work in the West, and his shrewdness and remarkable foresight, even in advanced age, are proved by the following extract, very nearly among the last in his voluminous journal. He says, "I told him [MacKendree] my opinion was that the

western part of the empire would be the glory of America for the poor and pious; that it ought to be marked out for five conferences, to wit: Ohio, Kentucky, Holston, Mississippi, and Missouri, in doing which, as well as I was able, I traced out lines and boundaries."

He attended the Ohio conference held in September, 1815, and also the conference held in Tennessee the following October. Concerning the business of this last conference he makes this note: "My eyes fail, I will resign the stations to Bishop MacKendree — I will take away my feet. It is my fifty-fifth year of ministry, and forty-fifth year of labor in America. My mind enjoys great peace and consolation. My health is better, which may in part be because of my being less deeply interested in the business of the conference." Yet weakened as he was by disease and the infirmities of age, he still cherished the hope of being permitted to meet once more with his brethren in the general conference which was to assemble in May, 1816, in Baltimore, the city where a little more than thirty years before he had been ordained to his responsible office, the duties of which he had so well and faithfully performed. It was not to be. What little strength he had had began to fail him rapidly now, but his indomitable will still kept him up. Journeying from place to place, as he was able, he, with his traveling companion, J. W. Bond, at length in March, 1816, came to Richmond, Virginia, where on the 24th of that month he preached his last sermon. By this time he was so weak that Mr. Bond and other friends entreated him not to tax his little remaining strength by attempting to preach, but to no purpose; he said he must deliver his message to the people of that church once more. So, finding further entreaty useless, they carried him from the carriage — he could now neither walk nor stand — to the pulpit, where, seated on a table previously arranged for him, he addressed his deeply moved congregation. His message delivered, he was carried back to the house of his friend, where he rested over Monday. Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday he continued his journey until he reached Spottsylvania, where in the house of his old friend, George Arnold, he calmly and peacefully passed away on Sabbath, March 31, 1816. How truly it might be said of him that he ceased at once to work and live. Some little idea may be gained of his travels and labors from the following brief summary contained in the preface of the "*Life and Career of Francis Asbury,*" by the late Bishop Janes.

"In his annual or semi-annual journeys he visited Massachusetts twenty-three times after 1791, the date of his first visit, and during the forty-five years of his ministry in America he visited the State of New York fifty-six times, New Jersey sixty-two, Pennsylvania seventy-eight, Delaware thirty-three, Maryland eighty, North Carolina sixty-three, South Carolina forty-six, Virginia eighty-four, Tennessee and Georgia twenty times each, and other States and Territories with corresponding frequency.

. . . In his unparalleled itinerant career he preached about sixteen thousand five hundred sermons, or at least one a day; and traveled about two hundred and seventy thousand miles, or six thousand a year, presiding in no less than two hundred and twenty-four annual conferences, and ordaining more than four thousand preachers." The numbers in society at his death were two hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and thirty-five, with six hundred and ninety-five preachers, which, compared with the membership when Mr. Asbury came to America, forty-five years before, under the direction of Mr. Wesley, namely, six hundred members with ten preachers, shows accurately what God had wrought through the instrumentality of that truly apostolic bishop. — T. W.

LIFE XIII. WILLIAM MACKENDREE.

A. D. 1757—A. D. 1835. METHODIST EPISCOPAL, — AMERICA.

FEW events in the history of the church in modern times have excited more interest than the marvelous growth and development of Methodism in the Southern and Western States of the American Union. This is attributable, under God, to the peculiar adaptation of its economy to the character of the country and its population, and to the agents who were called to labor in this vast field in the cause of Christianity. The church could not have been organized throughout the length and breadth of this immense territory, sparsely populated as it has been during the greater part of its history, by the ordinary appliances of the ecclesiastical bodies which were in existence at the time of the American Revolution. The population was too widely scattered and the people were too much divided in their religious opinions and proclivities — to say nothing of the general unconcern about religion — to call ministers, if they could have been procured, and to place them in settled pastorates, if they could have been supported. In a few of the cities and other centres the old *régime* obtained; but this was mostly confined to offshoots of the churches of England and Scotland, which could do but little in the work of evangelizing the rural populations.

But Methodism had both the economy and the men for the work. It did not wait for its ministers to be called by the people, and to be guaranteed a support; it sent them forth among the people, whether they wanted them or not; whether or not they would receive the evangelists thus sent, and minister to their wants. It did not wait till ministers could be educated in science, literature, and theology, as taught in the schools. Methodism never undervalued these attainments, but it never considered them a *sine qua non* for the ministry. It demanded certain qualifications which were considered indispensable. Concerning all candidates for the ministry these questions were asked: —

“1. Do they know God as a pardoning God? Have they the love of God abiding in them? Do they desire nothing but God? And are they holy in all manner of conversation?”

“2. Have they gifts (as well as grace) for the work? Have they (in some tolerable degree) a clear, sound understanding, a right judgment in the things of God, a just conception of salvation by faith? Do they speak justly, readily, clearly?”

“3. Have they fruit? Are any truly convinced of sin and converted to God by their preaching?”

If these questions were answered in the affirmative, the candidates were admitted to the ministry, and employed in work to which they were adapted, in the judgment of those who were placed over them in the Lord. They were of the people — a plebeian ministry — and they found no difficulty in adapting their style of address, their social intercourse, modes of life, etc., to the people whom they served.

They went forth like the primitive evangelists, — “taking nothing of the Gentiles.” They were, indeed, allowed to receive entertainment from the people, “eating and drinking such things as they gave,” and thirty-two pounds Virginia currency, or twenty-four pounds Pennsylvania currency, if they could get it, and the same for their wives, with eight pounds for each child under eleven, and six pounds for each child under six years of age; subsequently it was raised to sixty-four pounds, and then to one hundred pounds and their traveling expenses. But this “allowance” they seldom realized.

Methodism was a flexible system; hence it underwent all necessary changes to adapt it to the altered conditions of society. It was fortunate in having at its head, for over thirty years of its early history, a man of strong common sense, varied attainments, good executive ability, and apostolic zeal, — the venerable Bishop Asbury. This remarkable man was a keen judge of character; he read men as we read books; and he gathered around him those who were like-minded with himself; and of these he put in prominent positions those whom he could trust to execute all his well-laid plans. Among these, and the standard-bearer among them, was William MacKendree, eminently a man after his own heart.

William MacKendree was born in King William County, Virginia, July 5, 1757. He came of worthy and pious parentage, but received only such a limited education as was common in those days in the Old Dominion. He entered the army, as a soldier, of the Revolution, and served the last two years of the war under General Washington. Shortly after he entered the service he was made an adjutant, and because of his great business qualifications and remarkable energy he was placed in the commissary department, where he did much to support the allied forces of Washington and Rochambeau at the siege

A soldier in the Revolution.

of Yorktown, where Cornwallis surrendered his sword. But he seldom alluded to this military episode in his life, and could not be induced to apply for a pension for his services. He said he contended for liberty; that gained, he asked no more.

From a youth he was under serious impressions in regard to religion, and in 1787 he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. At a conference held in Amelia County, Virginia, June 17, 1788, he was admitted on trial into the Virginia Conference, and stationed at Norfolk and Portsmouth. The next year he was sent to Petersburg, but at the end of the first quarter he was transferred to Union Circuit, South Carolina. He was sent the next year to Bedford Circuit, Virginia, but the third quarter he was sent to Greenbrier Circuit, the fourth quarter to Little Levels, on the western waters. The next year he was sent to four circuits, to serve each one quarter! He was the next year presiding elder of the Richmond District, and the year after he was placed on a mountain district of the Baltimore Conference. The next year he was returned to the Richmond District, but after one quarter he was sent by the bishops to take charge of what was called the Western Conference, embracing Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, all Virginia west of New River, and one circuit in Illinois.

These rapid and sudden changes furnish a pregnant illustration of the ease with which the great Methodist army was mobilized in those early days. Paul's Epistles abound in military metaphors, and the fathers of American Methodism seem to have studied them to great effect. Every itinerant preacher was trained to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Those who joined the sacramental host were pledged to obey orders, to submit to the military discipline without which such a ministry could not be made available. When they were admitted into full connection in the conference, among other charges this was given them:—

"Act in all things not according to your own will, but as a son in the gospel. It is therefore your duty to employ your time in the manner which we direct: in preaching, meeting the classes, visiting from house to house, and especially visiting the sick; in reading, meditation, and prayer. Above all, if you labor with us in the Lord's vineyard, it is needful you should do that part of the work which we advise, at those times and places which we judge most for his glory."

If any one found it a test too severe, he was allowed without blame to retire into the ranks of the local ministry (as many did), and preach when and where he listed. The local preachers, in time, outnumbered the itinerants, as they do now; and immense service they have done to the cause.

For twenty years MacKendree labored assiduously, and with great success, in these important fields, especially while he was in charge of the Western Conference. He was the very man for this work. Like Na-

He lives in the saddle. On his trusty steed he scaled high mountains, forded deep streams, waded through mud and mire, and penetrated pathless forests and jungles. He headed his noble band of co-laborers, and was "in labors more abundant," — "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and heat, if not in nakedness, — besides those things that were without, that which came upon him daily, the care of all the churches."

That which gave him so much power and efficiency was the singular capacity and tact which he had observed in his great model, Asbury, of gathering around him noble, heroic men, like himself, who heartily entered into all his evangelistic plans, and executed them like loyal and valiant soldiers of the cross, with a spirit

"Such as in the martyrs glowed,
Dying champions for their God."

One of them, Jesse Walker, was usually sent forward as engineer to reconnoitre, select suitable positions, and then report to the general in command. MacKendree would then bring his heavy ordnance and his light arms into the field; the former wielded by such heroes as John McGee, William Burke, John Page, Lewis Garrett, and others; and the latter by Thomas Wilkerson, Larner Blackman, James Gwin (who was at one time General Jackson's army chaplain), Samuel Dowhett, and others; who upon occasion could wield the heavy ordnance too.

All these noble pioneers have gone to their reward. I did not enjoy the personal acquaintance of many of them; but my late glorified friend, the Rev. A. L. P. Green, D. D., often described them to me, so that I seem to know them all, and their great leader as well. Dr. Green was familiar with them, and with MacKendree, whose "minister" he was in the latter part of the patriarch's life. He served him "as a son in the gospel," and he never grew weary in conversing about him and his associates. Dr. Green at one time lived with James Gwin, and he was the traveling companion and intimate friend of MacKendree. He had a singular faculty — transcending that ascribed to Papias, but he was more trustworthy than that father — of treasuring up the incidents in the lives of these venerable men. He gives an account of the pioneer work of MacKendree and his associates, extending through a few weeks in the year 1807, as a sample: —

"Jesse Walker was sent to Illinois, there being at that time but one circuit in that State, and a young man by the name of Travis was sent to Missouri. In the summer of this year, William MacKendree, who was then in charge of what was called the Cumberland District, which ex-

tended to Illinois and Missouri, took with him James Gwin and A. Goddard (Gwin was then a local preacher, and Goddard was traveling what was then called Barren Circuit), and set out to visit Walker and Travis. They crossed over the Ohio, and entered into the State of Illinois, traveled all day, and, finding no house to stop at, passed the night in the wilderness. Next day they shared a like fortune, camping out at night again. During this night their horses got away, and they did not find them till about noon the next day; but that night they found a lone settlement, and tarried with a poor family who were living in a temporary hut or camp. Next night they reached the house of a Mr. B., who received them kindly. The Mississippi was not far off, and there being no way to get their horses across it at that point, they left them with Mr. B., took their baggage on their shoulders, and went on foot to the river, which they crossed in a canoe, and after walking twelve miles they came to the house of a Mr. Johnson. Here they met young Travis, who had gotten up a little camp-meeting in the wilderness. At this meeting their labors were greatly blessed. When it closed they returned again to Mr. B., and went to a camp-meeting in the bounds of brother Walker's work called the Three Springs.

“Here they found a few faithful members of the church, but hosts of enemies. One individual, in particular, who was a leader of a band of persecutors, had called a council among them to form a plan to drive the preachers off. He stated to his clan that if the preachers were permitted to remain, and could have their way, they would break up all the gambling and racing in the country, and that they could have no more pleasure, or fun, as he called it. So the determination among them was to arm themselves, go to the camp-meeting *en masse*, take the preachers and conduct them to the Ohio River, carry them over, and let them know that they were to keep on their own side, and never trouble them again. This purpose was made known to the preachers in advance of their appearance on the encampment. On Sunday, while Mr. MacKendree was in the midst of his discourse, preaching to a large and interested congregation, on the text, ‘Come now, and let us reason together,’ etc., the major, as he was called, and his company, rode up and halted near the congregation. The major told his men that he would not do anything until the man had done preaching. Mr. MacKendree was then in the prime of life, his voice loud and commanding, his bearing that of undaunted courage, while a supernatural defiance seemed to shoot forth from his speaking eyes. He was sustained by the presence of Gwin, Goddard, Walker, and Travis, who sat near him. The prayers of the faithful were being sent up to heaven in his behalf, and, above all, the divine presence was with him. Such was the power of his reasoning, that he held the major and his party spell-bound for an hour. During his remarks, he took occasion to say that himself and the ministers that

accompanied him were all citizens of the United States and freemen, and had fought for the liberty which they enjoyed, but that their visit to that place was one of mercy, their object being to do good to the souls of men in the name of Christ. As he drew his remarks to a close, awful shocks of divine power were felt by the congregation. At length mourners were called for, and scores crowded to the altar. At this moment, the major undertook to draw off his men and retreat in good order, but some were already gone, others had alighted, turned their horses loose, and were at the altar for prayer. He led off a few of them to the spring, and after a short consultation, none of them seemed inclined to prosecute their purpose any further, and at once disbanded. Several of the number were converted before the meeting closed, and became members of the church.

“On the same evening, about the going down of the sun, a man came up to Mr. Gwin, and said to him, ‘Are you the man that carries the roll?’ ‘What roll?’ said Mr. Gwin. ‘The roll,’ said he, ‘that people put their names to that want to go to heaven.’ Brother Gwin, supposing that he had reference to the class-book, referred him to brother Walker, who took his name. The wild look and novel manner of the man indicated derangement. He left the camp-ground, and fled to the woods, with almost the speed of a wild beast. Nothing more was seen of him until the next morning, at which time he returned to the encampment, wet with the dew of the night, in a state of mind which was distressing beyond description; but during the day he was happily and powerfully converted to God, and was found sitting, as it were, at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind. He afterward gave the following account of himself. He lived in what was called the American Bottom, was very wicked, and professed to be a deist. A short time before, he dreamed that the day of judgment was coming, and that three men had been sent on from the East to warn him of his danger, which had distressed him greatly; and when he saw the three preachers, MacKendree, Gwin, and Goddard, pass his house, he recognized them as the same persons whom he had seen in his dream, and he had followed them to the camp-meeting, and they had warned him of his danger, sure enough. It was said of this man that he possessed a large estate, was very influential in his neighborhood, and was ultimately instrumental in doing much good.

“At the close of this meeting, one hundred persons connected themselves with the church.”

It is no marvel that when another bishop was needed to supervise the connection, William MacKendree was selected for the office. He was placed in this responsible position by the general conference of 1808, and remained in it for nearly twenty-seven years. The work which he performed in that long period is almost incredible.

MacKendree
made bishop

Like Asbury, he never married, so that he was at home everywhere. It took very little to support him, so that he was never embarrassed with temporal matters, — never “entangled with the affairs of this life.”

As an executive officer he was rarely excelled. He presided in conference with great dignity and impartiality. His keen insight into the characters of men, and his perfect familiarity with all parts of the connection, eminently fitted him for the delicate and difficult task of “stationing the preachers.”

He was a strict constructionist in regard to the constitution and laws of the church, and would lay down his office, or, for that matter, his life, before he would sanction any serious infringement of them. There were occasions when he showed his unwavering and invincible regard to the old landmarks, as may be seen in that excellent work, “*The Life and Times of Bishop MacKendree*,” by one of his great admirers, — one of his sons in the gospel, on whom his mantle has fallen, — the Rev. Bishop Paine. But I have no occasion to enlarge on this point in the present sketch.

I would not have the impression made that Bishop MacKendree did not labor in the North and East, as well as in the South and West, or that he was not held in as high esteem there as here. He traveled, and preached, and presided, as a bishop, all over the Union, and he was everywhere regarded as “a chosen vessel,” exceeded by none as an able minister of the New Testament, and a faithful ruler in the Church of God.

By so much exposure and toil Bishop MacKendree, in his old age, became the victim of asthma and neuralgia, from which he suffered much; yet he continued to preach till within a few weeks of his death. His last sermon was preached in the church which bore his name in Nashville, and which, before this story shall be published, will give place to another on the same sacred spot, bearing the same time-honored name. The writer preached a watch-night sermon, the last in the sacred fane, December 31, 1876, when the bishop's last attendance at a watch-night service, in the same place, forty-two years before, was spoken of by one who was present on the occasion. His last sermon was preached there in 1834. Dr. Green heard it, and in speaking of it says, “I can in my imagination see him this moment, as he last stood on the walls of Zion with his sickle in his hand; the gray hairs thinly covering his forehead, his pale and withered face, his benignant countenance, his speaking eye; while a deep undercurrent of thought, scarcely veiled by the external lineaments, took form in words, and fell from his trembling lips, as, by the eye of faith, he transcended the boundaries of time and entered upon the eternal world. But he is drawing to the close of his sermon. Now, for the last time, he bends himself, and reaches his sickle forth to reap the fields ripe for the harvest. How balmy the name of Christ as

he breathes it forth, standing as it were midway between heaven and earth, and pointing to the home of the faithful in the sky! I look again: the sickle sways in his hand, his strength is measured out, and he closes up his ministerial labors on earth with the words, 'I add no more,' while imagination hears the response from the invisible glory, '*It is enough!*'"

Shortly after this, the bishop repaired to the house of his brother, Dr. James MacKendree, in Sumner County, Tennessee.

He suffered much from an inflammation of his index finger, and this was the apparent, proximate cause of his death, illustrating the sentiment, —

"An earthquake may be bid to spare
The man that 's strangled by a hair."

But it matters not when or how we die, if we die in the Lord.

"A thousand ways hath Providence
To bring believers home."

He was very patient and cheerful during his illness, and grateful for the unceasing attentions of his friends. Once when he His closing days. awoke from sleep, he said to his favorite sister, Nancy, and his nieces, who were watching by his bedside, "You are like lamps burning while I sleep, to cheer me when I wake!"

Dr. Green spent a night with him just before his death. At one time the doctor said to him, "Bishop, I may live when you have passed away, and wherever I go your friends will want to hear from you; what shall I say to them?" He replied, "Tell them for me, that whether for time or for eternity, *All's well!*" This, his favorite saying, was the last connected utterance that fell from his lips. These dying words became the burden of a song, which has gained great popularity, and has cheered the heart of many a dying saint. It was composed by R. Jukes, and is Hymn 495 in the writer's "Songs of Zion:" "What's this that steals, that steals upon my frame?" Bishop MacKendree died March 5, 1835.

I may add a word or two respecting his personal appearance. Dr. Green describes him as about five feet ten inches in height, and weighing on an average one hundred and sixty pounds. He had fair skin, dark hair, and blue eyes. Some say his eyes were of another color, but a venerable matriarch of Columbia, Mrs. Porter, a step-daughter of one of the bishop's sisters, told me the other day they were light blue. He had a faultless form, regular features, great strength. His countenance evinced deep thought, but upon occasion it would kindle into a very lively expression. He was exquisitely neat in his person. He was generally clean-shaved and well-dressed, his favorite costume being a long-waisted, single-breasted black coat, black vest, breeches, and long stockings, polished shoes with silver buckles, a white stock, and broad-brimmed hat. He was a most venerable and dignified personage. He was very methodical and punctual and exact in all things. He usually retired at

nine o'clock, and rose at five. He was remarkable for the ease and affability with which he accommodated himself to all classes of society, high and low, rich and poor, learned and rude, bond and free, and this was one secret of his great success. He was calm and collected in the pulpit, though he sometimes rose with his subject to a high pitch of oratory. His sermons were usually short, especially in his later years, thereby differing from those of many old preachers. His public devotions were also concise, and withal simple, comprehensive, humble, and greatly edifying.

On Tuesday, October 3, 1876, I took part in a very solemn service, at the translation of the remains of Bishops MacKendree and Soule. Bishop MacKendree had been interred in the family burying-ground, Fountain Head, Sumner County, Tennessee. During the late war his tomb had been desecrated by soldiers, and was desolate and exposed. Bishop Soule, who was in some respects the successor of Bishop MacKendree, — a man of similar heroic cast and apostolic zeal, — died in Nashville, Tennessee, March 6, 1867, and was buried in the old Nashville cemetery; I officiated, with others, at his funeral. It was thought advisable to translate the remains of both bishops (the consent of relatives being granted) to a suitable spot in the grounds of the Vanderbilt University, near Wesley Hall, and to place a monument over them.

On opening the coffins Bishop Soule was not distinguishable, except by the frontal arch, which marked him in life as a man of towering intellect; and of Bishop MacKendree nothing remained but a few bones and "dust," scarcely to be separated from the mother-earth in which he had lain! But these remains are sacred and precious!

With due solemnity, devout men, ministers of Christ, bore them to their last resting-place, followed by the officers and students of Vanderbilt University, and a large company of interested friends. Suitable devotional exercises were conducted by the writer, the Rev. F. A. Owen leading in prayer, hymns were sung, and an impressive discourse was delivered by Bishop Mactyeire, who drew the characters of the two bishops, — one, of the chivalrous South (Virginia), the other, of the Puritan North (Maine), a descendant of the Soule who came over in the Mayflower; yet both of one heart and of one mind, true yoke-fellows in cultivating the gospel field and spreading Scripture holiness over these lands. The Rev. Dr. J. B. McFerrin followed with a brief address. The double grave was then covered in by the students of Vanderbilt University.

What America, and especially the Southern and Western States of the American Union, owe to these heroic, self-sacrificing, and laborious apostles of the church, no pen can describe; "the day shall declare it."
— T. S.

LIFE XIII. WILBUR FISK.

A. D. 1792—A. D. 1839. METHODIST EPISCOPAL, — AMERICA.

GREAT moral revolutions have ever been accompanied by powerful intellectual quickening. Religious energies will soon be expended in aimless struggle unless they are directed and controlled by a cool judgment and a cultured reason. Religious zeal may arouse the multitude from sloth and indifference, and even push the people to a height of endeavor truly sublime, but abiding good can be secured only by careful cultivation of the regulative faculties of the whole man.

Hence true reformers have ever been foremost in their careful interest for the education of the young. No men of the sixteenth century were more deeply imbued with the spirit of reform in education than were Luther and Melancthon. Indeed, it may be truly said that Protestantism gave to the people the common schools, and furnished to the masses an education for its own sake. John Wesley, also, placed in the front rank of importance the question of the education of the people who had been converted through his own instrumentality and that of his preachers, so that the earnest question proposed at the very first conference of his preachers was, "Can we have a seminary for laborers?" Therefore it was but in accord with a spiritual law that when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized on these western shores the chiefest concern of its first bishop, Asbury, should be in the education of the people. He distinctly declares in his "journals" that the question of education caused him more serious thought than any other single interest. This concern is evidenced by the fact that as in England, so in America, in the very year of the organization of the church, Coke and Asbury projected a college whose foundations were laid within a year. Various efforts were made to establish academies and seminaries in different portions of the country. While these attempts were only partially successful, they nevertheless afford an index of the desire of the leading thinkers of the church to steady the great revival movement by appropriate literary and scholastic training.

Methodism must be counted especially fortunate in the choice of her first representative educator in the North, and must attribute much of her subsequent success in academic and collegiate education to the spirit and eminent ability of Wilbur Fisk, the first president of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

He was born in Brattleboro, Vermont, August 31, 1792, of respectable and pious parents, who were of genuine Puritan stock. The son early received careful religious instruction by reading the Scriptures, by the study of the catechism, and most of all, per-

The great reformers were true educators.

Parentage and early training.

haps, by the mild and cheerful spirit which the virtuous parents ever manifested in their home. Upon the boy's character and life were early seen the blessed effects of this parental solicitude. Naturally of an ardent temperament, and sometimes yielding to the influence of self-will, young Fisk was, nevertheless, conscientious, and early acquired great aptitude in the narration of his religious experience in the neighborhood meetings. Even in academic life his marvelous ability to influence and control mind was manifest. With a calm self-possession and an easy poise which he had acquired, he was seldom overwhelmed with surprise or found off his guard in the presence of an opponent. His collegiate life at Burlington, Vermont, and at Providence, Rhode Island, was brilliant in the line of scholarly attainment, but the brightness of his piety had grown dim, and, like too many others who have become careless of early instruction, young Fisk, on graduation, cherished the ambition of occupying a chief seat in the councils of the nation, and had thus somewhat stifled the voice of duty which had earlier so clearly pointed out the way in which he should walk. As the surest stepping-stone to future political preferment he began the study of the law with great vigor and success.

But God had other and, as we must believe, holier work for him in store. The ministry of reconciliation was to be preached by this man of power and grace. The struggles which he underwent in relinquishing his legal studies and in entering the itinerant ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church (then a most despised body of religionists), in the face of strong opposition from his early and most cherished college friends, and from the woman to whom he had become betrothed, were such as well-nigh to rend asunder his troubled soul. But when the decision was once reached, such was his spiritual organization that no reservation, mental or moral, was possible. With a zeal and energy truly wonderful he gave himself to the work of saving souls.

The hardships and exposure of this itinerant life were very trying, and it is hardly possible to conceive how any dishonest man of culture could be induced to give himself to such a work. Yet Fisk did not escape these imputations of an unsanctified ambition, even from the side of his professed friends. But his devotion and success in saving the souls of the people soon silenced all opponents. His study of the law had given him added cogency of argument with the people, and his style of preaching at this time resembled the earnest plea of an advocate who was laboring to convince a jury who had in their hands an issue of infinite moment. This portion of his public career made him entirely familiar with the polity and life of the church of which he was a minister, and thus eminently fitted him to understand the peculiar training needful for the young men who were afterwards to enjoy his instructions in collegiate life. The mission of the

Methodist Episcopal Church to the settlements which were so rapidly made by the hardy pioneers demanded an exceptional education on the part of her preachers. These settlers were as a class possessed of a robust good sense and a strength of will which must be directed by equal good sense on the part of those who would lead them to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ, and by men who could easily adapt themselves to the rude conditions and homely fare of frontier life. The itinerant who was compelled to travel hundreds of miles to compass his wide circuit, and to preach from six to twelve times each week, must necessarily carry his library in his portmanteau, and prepare his sermons in the saddle. With this border work the cultured, polished Fisk became entirely familiar. Hence he was prepared later to say to the most gifted young man who might come under his instruction, "God's vineyard is broad, and abundant harvests will be garnered by your faithful service. Small earthly rewards you may expect; even sacrifices and hardships await you, but you have better companionship than that of kings, — 'Lo! I am with you.'" While he thus knew the trials of border life, he knew also the delights and comforts of the best New England homes, and found a welcome reception to the families of the most opulent of other churches than his own.

He began his work as an educator at Wilbraham Academy in Connecticut, in 1826. This infant seminary had thus a giant for its first principal. Well does his biographer remark that Fisk was now in a position for which he was admirably qualified. His natural talents and his education, his great facility in the transaction of business, his knowledge of men and quick insight into character, his affability, sound judgment, and practical good sense, were all important qualifications for his new position of usefulness. His government was eminently paternal. He carried the students and their interests on his heart, and his efforts in their behalf were truly amazing. Amid all the toils incident to the founding of an academy for the growing church, Fisk was ever planning for better things and grander results. No man had a clearer view of the necessity of blending culture with piety in order to the future triumph of the church, and the permanent security of the state. It is not strange, therefore, that the eyes of the whole church were turned towards him as their natural and acknowledged leader.

To invitations to high stations in other institutions of learning and in ecclesiastical work, he returned a firm declination, convinced as he was that the honor and prosperity of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North were most intimately connected with the success of this rising academy. No posts of honor or of ease could for a moment swerve him from his purpose to direct the educational movements of the church. To the success of this darling enterprise were consecrated all his choicest powers. To such heroic men, who have so nearly achieved this victory

of self-abnegation, has the church ever turned in its hours of peril and in its determining crises. The Methodist Church in America had reached its educational crisis. Two colleges in name had already been commenced; several academies and seminaries had done much good in their several spheres. But she had already outstripped all other churches in the number of her communicants; wealth had greatly multiplied in their hands, and a strengthening conviction was felt by the leading men of the North and East that in order to meet the increasing responsibilities and achieve the largest success in the future, Methodism must also provide for the higher and liberal education of her sons.

Acting upon this conviction, the New York Annual Conference, at its session of 1829, adopted measures for the early establishment of an institution of collegiate grade, and in 1830 Fisk was elected first president of Wesleyan University, founded at Middletown, Connecticut. Of all men in American Methodism he then occupied the very foremost place. He brought to this new position ripened powers and a national reputation, and thus he directed public attention to this enterprise from the very beginning of its history. He was acknowledged the peer of the ablest collegiate presidents of the country, and his counsels were sought in the settlement of many important questions which were pressed upon the management of the higher institutions for solution.

Elected president of Wesleyan University.

Notwithstanding her financial endowment was necessarily limited and inadequate, Wesleyan University attracted some of the best talent of the church, and her students compared most favorably with those of the older colleges. The supreme desire of Dr. Fisk was to send forth a body of men who should exemplify a sanctified manhood, and become important forces in properly moulding public opinion. Hence he spared no pains to foster in the university a controlling religious influence. His holy life gave great weight to his earnest personal appeals to consecrate the powers to the service of Christ. The revivals of religion among the students gave him inexpressible delight; "These young men," said he, "are training and girding themselves for the great enterprise of subduing the world to Christ, and how strongly does this commend our literary institutions to the patronage of the Church!"

It was to the great West of the American continent, which was being so rapidly populated, and which he saw was in the near future to hold the balance of power in the nation, that Fisk frequently turned his most anxious thought. This belt of population would be a belt of barbarism unless the churches should throw into its midst the leavening influences of the gospel. Preachers and teachers could with the greatest difficulty keep pace with the restless enterprise of the immigrants. He saw that to save these new empires to an enlightened Christianity, and to lay firmly the foundations of their institu-

His plans.

tions, political, social, and educational, a host of young men properly trained and burning with zeal for the salvation of souls must be prepared in his own college. Hence his untiring industry to supply this pressing need; hence his wide correspondence with the foremost men of his own and other churches on a subject which so constantly pressed upon his attention. The results have fully justified these anxieties and these sacrificing labors. Much of the wonderful success of the Methodist Episcopal Church west of the Alleghanias, and much of the broad and enlightened policy adopted in her work, have been the immediate result of the advice of Wilbur Fisk, and of the labors of the alumni of Wesleyan University. "I wish we could fill that country with sound, pious teachers," said he. "Indeed, I want to send out enough to set the world on fire! I have done educating youths for themselves; my sole object, I think, will be hereafter to educate all I can get for the world." This accounts for the fact that during the first twenty years of its history so large a proportion of the alumni of Wesleyan University became preachers and teachers.

A man of superior culture and broad views, whose sympathies were as wide as humanity, and yet under the direction of a sound judgment, could not but be keenly alive to the deficiencies of the ministry of his church in order to the most effective work in the future. Hitherto the preachers of the Methodist Church had accomplished marvelous results by virtue of an untiring industry and an unquenchable zeal. Other churches had been thereby greatly stimulated, and yet they had yielded nothing of their former intellectual and professional preparation. Fisk, therefore, clearly saw that unless more generous provisions were made for theological training, the Methodist clergy must soon work at a fearful disadvantage, and the influence of that communion must steadily decline. Consistently with its history, the Methodist Church had hitherto done what was possible to instruct its candidates in doctrines and polity. Their theological seminary had been in the field, their professor of theology had been the senior preacher, under whose direction the junior was to study and work; the examinations were held at the session of the annual conference, and thus a not insignificant degree of knowledge and mental discipline was secured. The great defect of this system was its inability to prepare raw material for the responsibilities of the Christian pulpit and pastorate, since the circumstances were often very untoward, and the senior preachers themselves were frequently insufficiently prepared to be guides to those who were under their supervision. It was no uncommon thing for the young itinerant to painfully study out his Greek Testament by the light of the pitch-pine fire in the cabin of the pioneer, and master his systematic theology in the saddle while hurrying forward to his distant appointment. But however zealous, and however industrious, these preachers

Anxiety for a
trained minis-
try.

could not be thus fully prepared for ministering to a more settled and intelligent society, which must soon succeed to this initial period. Fisk, in common with a few other broad-minded men, was deeply anxious to supply this felt deficiency in the training of the ministry. He did not, however, favor the founding of separate theological seminaries. His opposition came from lack of funds, from want of properly qualified professors, and, most of all, from a fear that the instruction in these exclusively theological schools might be too speculative in character and result in mere dogmatism, or that, by being excluded for a term of years from the activities of Christian work, the ardor of the piety of the candidates might be unhappily lessened and chilled. It is well known that many of the ablest men of other churches still share this feeling. It was his custom to form voluntary classes in theology; by this means the leisure hours of the students could be occupied by such subjects, and their reading directed to such topics, as would more especially fit them for the responsibilities of the Christian ministry. It is not too much to say that many who now occupy foremost places in American Methodism, received their strongest impulses and caught their burning enthusiasm in these theological classes of Dr. Fisk.

Closely related to theological education was the subject of missions. "The field is the world," said the Divine Christ. "The world is my parish," said John Wesley. From the hour of ^{Zeal for mis-} his consecration to the work of the Christian ministry, Fisk had flamed ^{sions.} with missionary zeal. Two classes of missions had specially interested him, namely, that to Liberia, on account of its connection with the scheme of African colonization, whose cause he had heartily espoused, and that to the native Indian tribes both in Upper Canada and in Oregon. For the former mission he had offered himself in person; for the use of the Mohawks he had urged the translation of a portion of the Scriptures; and the Flathead mission in Oregon was his own origination. Hence his great concern as an educator was to keep the wants of the missionary work ever prominently before the thought of the students of the university, and his platform efforts at the conferences and on anniversary occasions were always powerful and effective.

The arduous labors and the constant anxieties attendant on founding the university, together with his consuming zeal for every ^{Tour to Europe.} religious and philanthropic work, had made serious inroads upon a constitution naturally delicate and now terribly overworked. It was, therefore, a necessity that he leave his work for a time and seek recreation in the Old World. Consequently in the autumn of 1835 he embarked in company with a few friends for Europe. He was charged with duties in themselves onerous and honorable, which he discharged in a manner entirely satisfactory to the great church whose delegate he was, and with a dignity and an unction which proved a blessing to the British

Wesleyan conference which received him. On this entire tour his was the same inquiring mind, the same tender heart, the same loving solicitude for the students and for the philanthropic and religious enterprises to which he had consecrated his life.

During his absence in Europe he was elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church by a very large majority; indeed, his election was hailed with delight by the entire church both North and South. To this expression of confidence and esteem Dr. Fisk felt that he must return most careful and deliberate answer; but after mature study he concluded that his was a mission of Christian education rather than a mission of general superintendency in the entire church. While this decision was a matter of surprise to many, and of earnest protest on the part of some of his most loved friends, to Fisk himself the way of duty seemed plain.

On his return from Europe he brought the increased power coming from travel and wide observation to bear upon the university of his own creation, and now of his strengthening and almost consuming love. The piety, humility, and simplicity of this truly saintly man had become well-nigh perfected. No one could be more free from all assumption of superiority in his intercourse even with the most lowly; none could be less careful of that dignity which so many believe should be thrown over men in high official station. From this time his preaching became even more warm and evangelical than ever before. During a most precious revival with which Middletown was blessed under the pastorate of the recently deceased Dr. C. K. True, in 1837, the students of the university became deeply interested for their own salvation. This noble and holy president now became an angel of guidance to many a young man, who afterwards successfully proclaimed to others that gospel which had there saved his own soul. Fisk's pulpit and chapel ministrations during this period of refreshing were divested of all those stately forms of art with which too many delight to clothe their thoughts, and were in simplicity and in the demonstration of the Spirit; thus they were a powerful means of arousing, comforting, encouraging, and instructing the young men who have since occupied the foremost stations in the educational and ministerial work of the Methodist Church. It is probable that no college president ever secured a more complete respect and love of his students and faculty, or a more constant affection and confidence of the church at large. His piety was so deep, vigorous, and uniform, yet so natural, cheerful, and utterly lacking in officiousness and cynicism, that it became diffusive and pervasive, and warming like the sunlight. His gentle dignity and grace, his total unselfishness, his delightful simplicity, exalted even common duties to the dignity of holy opportunities.

The sunset of such a life must be glorious. As with the early Chris-

Elected bishop
of the M. E.
Church.

Devotion to stu-
dents.

tians in the Roman catacombs, so Fisk's dying day was his true *dies natalis*, and the anticipations of his happy spirit left their impress on its former dwelling-place: for

“Living light had touched the brow of death.”

He died February 22, 1839. A plain shaft, rising in the little college cemetery at Middletown, bears the simple inscription, —

WILBUR FISK, S. T. D.

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

Him American Methodism reveres as her true saint in the work of Christian education. — C. W. B.

LIFE XIV. JOHN HENRY LIVINGSTON.

A. D. 1746—A. D. 1825. REFORMED (DUTCH), — AMERICA.

AMONG the ministers of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, no name is held in higher veneration, esteem, and gratitude than that of John H. Livingston. The circumstances under which he was led to enter the ministry; the valuable services which he was able to render to this branch of the Christian church at a most disturbed and critical period in its history; the eminent qualifications of heart and intellect that he brought to every position he was called to occupy, and with which he adorned every relation of life; his success in impressing others with the divine truths and spiritual influences that filled his own soul, — all endeared him to the hearts of the people, and attested the divine guidance that signally marked his career.

Like many another of the most devoted and useful servants of God, he was connected with an honorable and pious ancestry, and thus shared in the rich promises of a covenant-keeping ^{Of Dutch and Scotch lineage.} God. He was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of the Rev. John Livingston, the eminently devoted and successful minister of the gospel in Scotland, and the ancestor of the Livingston families in this country. Upon his death (August 9, 1672), at Rotterdam, Holland, whither nine years previous the bold and earnest preacher had removed to escape the intolerant spirit that prevailed in his native country, his son Robert came to America, connecting himself by marriage with the distinguished Schuyler family. He was given three sons, Philip, Robert, and Gilbert.¹

¹ Among the children of Philip were Philip Livingston, Esq., one of the noble patriots who signed the declaration of American independence, and devoted his best energies to the service of his country, and William Livingston, LL. D., for several years governor of the State of New Jersey, a man distinguished for remarkable intellectual force and ardent piety. To the branch represented by Robert belonged the late celebrated Chancellor Livingston. (See the memoir of Livingston, by Rev. A. Gunn, D. D.)

John Henry Livingston, the grandson of Gilbert, and son of Henry and S. Conklin Livingston, was born at Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County, New York, on the 30th of May, 1746. After studying in a school at Fishkill, and under a private tutor at home, he entered the Freshman class in Yale College in September, 1758, at the early age of twelve years, and graduated with honor in July, 1762.

Being ambitious to obtain worldly distinction, he decided to devote himself to the legal profession. After studying two years his health failed, and, fearing that his sickness might prove fatal, he became anxious for his salvation, and earnestly sought pardon and peace through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Though favored with the advantages of a religious education, and occasionally impressed with the transcendent importance of the claims of God and eternal realities, still, up to this time, the prizes of earthly ambition and the fascination of worldly success had filled his imagination and absorbed his thoughts. But God had a higher and nobler work for him to do than his own plans had compassed, and through suffering and bodily weakness drew him to Himself.

On recovering his health, he resolved to prepare for the Christian ministry. Under the advice of the Rev. Dr. Laidlie, of New York, from whom he received the warmest encouragement in the prosecution of his theological studies, he determined to enter one of the universities of Holland. He was greatly influenced to take this step by the hope that his residence in Holland might help him to be the instrument of healing the sad dissensions that existed at that time in the Reformed Dutch Church in this country. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, 1766, when

Studies in Hol-
land.

he was scarcely twenty years of age, he sailed for Amsterdam, bearing with him letters to distinguished individuals, by whom he was cordially received. He pursued his theological studies with diligence for four years at the University of Utrecht, winning the love and respect of many. On the 5th of June, 1769, he was examined for licensure by the classis of Amsterdam, and became a candidate for the ministry. Soon after he was invited to become the second English preacher of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York. Having received the degree of doctor of divinity from the faculty of the University of Utrecht, after a most rigid examination conducted in the Latin language, and having been ordained by the classis of Amsterdam, the young divine returned to his native country, and arrived in New York September 3, 1770.

His personal friends, and the officers and members of the church over which he had been called to preside, welcomed him home with the warm-
est affection, and with deep gratitude to Almighty God.

Labors in New
York city.

Dr. Livingston at once entered upon his ministerial work with renewed physical health, with mental powers disciplined to careful study and laborious investigation, with earnest zeal tempered with great

discretion, with a heart warm with love to Christ. He possessed a broad catholic spirit and intense desires for the harmony and unity of the church with which he had cast in his lot.

His first sermon was preached in the Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street, to a large and deeply interested audience, from 1 Cor. i. 22–24. Although he was associated with colleagues of established character and pulpit ability, yet he manfully assumed his full share of labor, preaching twice on Sunday, visiting the people, and attending two, and sometimes three, catechetical exercises every week. It was soon apparent that he was rapidly gaining the confidence and affection of his people, and the respect and esteem of the entire community. The fervor of his piety, manifested out of the pulpit, as well as in it; his prudence and Christian courtesy in private intercourse; his earnest and attractive style of preaching, presenting as he did, to saints and sinners, the truths and promises of the gospel with great clearness, force, and persuasive eloquence, secured for him a wide popularity, based upon the best feelings of the human heart.

Soon after his settlement in New York, he directed his efforts towards effecting a reconciliation between the famous Cœtus and Conferentie parties, that had so long and so seriously divided the church,—an object that he had in vain attempted to accomplish while residing in Holland. To appreciate the magnitude of this undertaking, and the value of the services rendered to the church by the settlement of the difficulties, mainly through the instrumentality of Dr. Livingston, we need to have before us the details of the unhappy schism that had destroyed the peace of the Dutch churches in America, and had raged so violently as to threaten the destruction of the denomination. But our limits will only allow us to quote Livingston's words, in connection with the motives that prompted him to remain in the church in which he had been baptized and reared: "There was another motive that imperceptibly, yet powerfully, inclined me to this determination. An unhappy schism and controversy had for several years subsisted in the Dutch churches in America, which, unless soon suppressed, threatened the annihilation of that whole denomination. The precise grounds of the dispute, or the best means for reconciling the contending parties, I had not then completely surveyed. The existing facts, however, were notorious and afflictive; and I understood enough to convince me of the inevitable ruin that was impending, and must soon be experienced if those dissensions were not healed. For the restoration of peace and prosperity in this distinguished portion of the Lord's vineyard I felt an ardent desire, and it was powerfully impressed on my mind that God would render me, however unworthy and unfit for that arduous work, an instrument in his hand to compromise and heal these dissensions, and to raise the reputation and establish the dignity and usefulness of the Dutch Church in America.

In what way these great objects were to be effected, or how the Lord would prepare and afterwards employ me for that purpose, I did not know; nor did this excite any difficulty or uneasiness. The point was settled in my mind, and I was fully persuaded that it would be accomplished. This removed all further hesitation, and fixed my determination to abide in my own church."

In about two years after he began his efforts to effect a reconciliation, it was accomplished, and he adds, "The posterior dealings of divine Providence, and the gracious fulfillment of my expectation, have afforded me abundant evidence that my choice has been crowned with the divine approbation."

Unites the
Dutch Re-
formed.

In October, 1775, Dr. Livingston was married to Sarah, the youngest daughter of Philip Livingston, at Kingston, whither the family had removed from New York, on account of an apprehended invasion by the British forces. A more happy connection could scarcely have been formed, as the lady was distinguished for all those qualities of heart and character that constitute the tranquillity and joy of a Christian home. As many families had left New York, which was in a defenseless condition, and the congregations were greatly broken up, Dr. Livingston remained for some time with his father-in-law, visiting New York as often as was practicable, and preaching (alternately with Dr. Laidlie, who had removed to Red Hook) to the remnant of the flock until September, 1776, when the British forces took possession of the city.

Soon after, he was invited by the consistory of the Dutch Church in Albany to preach for them during his exile, or as long as it might suit his convenience. He removed to Albany with Mrs. Livingston and his infant son, and labored in conjunction with the devoted and excellent Dr. Westerle for three years, when, owing to the feeble state of his wife's health, he retired to the Livingston manor. By the people of Albany he was highly appreciated and beloved for his faithful and attractive presentation of gospel truth, his ardent piety, and his elevated religious conversation. In April, 1780, a call was extended to him to settle permanently in Albany; but he declined it, deeming it best to remain at the manor, and preach to the destitute churches in the vicinity. Wherever his lot was cast, he exercised the greatest diligence in the service of his divine Master, laboring to strengthen the faith and brighten the hopes of God's people, and to win souls to Christ. The national troubles weighed heavily upon his heart, and he fervently prayed for the success of the American cause, and rejoiced in every victory that liberty gained over oppression.

After remaining about eighteen months at the manor, he removed to his father's residence in Poughkeepsie, and supplied the pulpit of the church, at that time in want of a pastor, until the evacuation of New York by the British troops, in November, 1783, when he returned to re-

sume his pastoral charge in that city. The seven eventful years since his departure had wrought sad changes in his congregation and wide circle of friends, and traces of the outrages committed by the enemy were visible in many parts of the city. Several churches were in a ruinous condition, among which were the Middle and North Dutch churches, that had been used as prisons, the interior having been entirely destroyed. His bosom friend and wise counselor, the excellent Laidlie, had passed away from the earth, and of the four ministers of the Collegiate Church, connected with it at the beginning of the war, Dr. Livingston was the only one who returned at its close to resume his ministerial work. Girding himself anew for service, and seeking guidance and strength from above, he undertook the sole charge of the congregation, and was indefatigable in his labors to sustain and advance its interests.

His churches at the close of the war.

After the unhappy difficulties in the denomination, already mentioned, had been removed, and harmony was restored, a plan was adopted of appointing a professor of theology; and the requisite funds having been raised, application was made to the classis of Amsterdam, and by them to the faculty of the University of Utrecht, to recommend a suitable person for the position. They at once referred to Dr. Livingston as possessing higher qualifications than any one they could send from Holland, and advised his appointment. But the storm of war that had already begun interrupted the project, and the matter was deferred until peace was restored to the nation.

In October, 1784, a convention of ministers and elders was held, and the honorable office of professor of theology was unanimously conferred upon Dr. Livingston, who, after prayerful consideration, declared his acceptance of the same. The 19th of May, 1785, was the time fixed for his inauguration. The exercises were held in the old Dutch church in Garden Street, and the inaugural oration was delivered in Latin, before the General Synod, the name that the convention had now assumed. The subject selected was "The Truth of the Christian Religion," which was treated with his usual argumentative force and clearness and elegance of style.

Theological professor.

But the duties of this position, added to the care of a large congregation, which previous to the war had been served by four ministers, broke down his health, and for change of air and necessary exercise he removed in the spring, or early in the summer, of 1786, to Flatbush, Long Island, whither his students followed him. Since his appointment he had lectured to the class five days every week, and much of his time at this period was necessarily, yet delightfully, employed in gathering into his church a rich harvest, as the fruit of the divine blessing upon his faithful labors. During the nearly three years that he was sole pastor of the church he received over four hundred persons to the com-

munion on profession of their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. It was "one joyful revival season," in which his mental energies were strengthened and his soul encouraged and stimulated by heavenly influences, while the strain upon his physical powers was unavoidably severe. He was willing, however, to spend and be spent for the Master who afforded him such signal tokens of his favor and approbation.

The rare combination of natural gifts and varied acquisitions of this devoted servant of the Lord enabled him to serve the church in nearly if not all the departments of its work. In 1787 he was appointed chairman of a committee to prepare and publish a selection of Psalms for the use of the church in public worship. He also proposed that a constitution of the church be drawn up, presenting in a condensed form its doctrine, worship, and government, and was a prominent member of the committee appointed to prepare it. His associate, Dr. D. Romeyn, rendered most efficient and important service in this work. It is regarded, however, by Dr. Gunn as no injustice to the memory of this able and most useful divine to give to Dr. Livingston the title of "father of the constitution of the Reformed Dutch Church in the United States of America." This constitution was solemnly ratified by the General Synod held at New York on the 10th of October, 1792.

Father of the
Reformed Dutch
constitution.

Although Dr. Livingston was at this time in a measure relieved of his arduous labors by colleagues who were associated with him in his ministerial work, yet in the summer of 1809 it was evident that his health was becoming impaired by his constant toil. In consequence of this, he was excused from preaching more than once on the Sabbath. On the revival of Queen's College, at New Brunswick, arrangements were made between the trustees of that institution and the General Synod that the professorate should be united with the college, and in October, 1810, Dr. Livingston was transferred from New York to New Brunswick to fill the double office of professor of theology and president of the college. It was a great sacrifice for him to sunder the tender ties that had so long bound him to his work and friends in New York; but his noble spirit was accustomed to make sacrifices, and after forty years' service in the ministry, and twenty-six in the professorship (the latter without compensation), he yielded to the stern necessity that took him to another field. Under his administration, which continued fifteen years, the college prospered, and during his ministry of fifty-four years nearly two hundred students were trained under his instruction for the gospel ministry.

While in apparent health, and discharging his official duties with vigor and unwonted cheerfulness, his career was suddenly brought to a close. Probably the last letters that he wrote were addressed to his son under date of January 13 and 15, 1825, to express his sympathy in the death

of an infant member of his family. His tender domestic affection appears throughout these letters, as may be inferred from the closing words of the last: —

“ Now, my dear, my sweet, my beloved children, I mourn with you. I help you to bear your burdens; my heart and love are with you. I bless you both most tenderly, and all the precious flock, and am your loving father,
J. H. LIVINGSTON.”

On the 19th of January he made several visits in the morning and delivered a long lecture to the students on Divine Providence. The evening he spent with his colleague in conversing with great animation and delight upon divine themes. After engaging in family worship, in which he seemed to draw specially near to God, and to remember every object dear to his heart, he retired at the usual hour, and in the morning was found asleep in Jesus. His tranquil countenance and natural position indicated that he had passed away without a struggle to the realms of celestial light and everlasting blessedness.

Livingston's presence, in public and private, was commanding and dignified, and awakened a feeling of reverence in the minds of strangers and those who were most intimately associated with him. He was tall and erect, with a noble person, and a countenance beaming with intelligence, affability, and kindness. His manners were polished and courteous, and for the members of his family and his intimate friends he manifested the most tender regard and affection.

His conversational powers were remarkable, and, like all his other gifts, were consecrated to the good of man and to the glory of God. One of his earliest students, who enjoyed the intimacy of private intercourse with him, says, “ I never knew him, in any circle in which he might be found, to hold a conversation of any length which he did not turn into some channel for religious improvement. This was done in a manner so discreet, appropriate, and gentle as not only to avoid awakening prejudice, but to conciliate respect and good-will. It was not uncommon for him, in mixed companies, when the secular concerns of the day were the theme of conversation, to interweave religious sentiments and reflections so naturally deduced, so wisely stated, and so courteously and kindly applied that even those who were generally most indifferent to religion could not but reverence it as it thus appeared to its venerable representative and minister. In his intercourse with Christians his conversation was like ointment poured forth, and his pupils will testify, one and all, that they never enjoyed an interview of any length with him in which the Lord Jesus Christ was not brought prominently before them, and valuable hints were not given, bearing upon the culture of the spiritual life.”

As we may naturally suppose from a testimony like this, he was regu-

lar and devout in his private religious duties. He spent much time in prayer and in holy meditation. He sought strength and guidance from above, and lived near to God. He daily walked in the light of divine truth, and drank from the fountain of living waters, and streams of benign influences flowed from him in every direction. His piety gave tone to his whole demeanor, rendering him eminently discreet in the management of ecclesiastical matters, tender of the feelings of others, and wise in the selection of the best means for the best ends. He was cautious rather than bold and adventurous in proposing and advocating measures for the good of the church, and yet ever evinced the greatest courage in sustaining its doctrines and discipline, and persevering in the support of whatever he deemed vital to its welfare and prosperity. He loved and maintained with the warmest affection and unwavering determination the cardinal truths of Christianity, receiving with implicit faith the words of inspiration, and accepting Christ as the centre of theology, the mediator between God and man, the only source of pardon and eternal life.

As a preacher, Dr. Livingston attained to a distinguished rank. His of the preacher and professor. commanding personal appearance, his striking elocution and characteristic gesticulation, his deep convictions of the absolute truth of God's Word, and his vivid apprehension of the tremendous consequences of accepting or rejecting the gospel message rendered his preaching most impressive. The success attending his public ministrations in the city of New York and elsewhere, when in the fullness of his vigor, abundantly attest his superior pulpit power. He usually preached from carefully prepared copious notes, but was able, with very little preparation, from his large intellectual resources and his accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, to instruct and edify his hearers. His appeals to the impenitent were often very powerful and searching, but he specially loved to revive the hopes of the desponding, and to cheer the weary pilgrims in their struggles to overcome sin and the world, and win the rewards that were set before them. He loved to unfold the exceeding great and precious promises, that make the blessedness and glories of the future a present consolation, stimulus, and power.

To the professor's chair Dr. Livingston brought a knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, a rich fund of theological learning, and the varied and choice acquisitions he had gained during his four years' connection with the university at Utrecht, of whose distinguished theologian, Bonnet, he had been a favorite pupil. His manner of giving instruction was calculated to awaken the earnest attention and interest of his pupils. He delivered his lectures with ease, clearly presenting the topics in logical order, showing the authority and harmony of the doctrines of the Bible, and their relations to human belief and practical life. With his students he sat as a father among his children,

and their respect and affection for him prepared them to receive his instructions to their hearts as well as their intellects. Their subsequent faithfulness in preaching "the truth as it is in Jesus," their adherence to the doctrines of the church, and their success in the ministry, bear testimony to the value of his training and teachings, and the moulding influence of his godly character and life.

While the Reformed (Dutch) Church has an existence, the name of John H. Livingston will be held in the highest veneration, and in most affectionate and grateful remembrance. — R. W. C.

LIFE XV. WILLIAM WHITE.

A. D. 1748—A. D. 1836. EPISCOPALIAN, — AMERICA.¹

WILLIAM WHITE, the son of Colonel Thomas and Esther White, was born in Philadelphia, on the 4th of April, 1748, New Style. He graduated at seventeen from the then College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), and, yielding to the call of the Holy Spirit, he determined at that early age to devote himself to the Christian ministry. Accordingly, he began his theological studies. The exercises which most interested and benefited him were those held by himself and four other young men looking forward to the ministry, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the provost of the college. During the Sunday evenings of a few months for three successive years, these young men wrote out and delivered notes and exegesis upon Bible history. These exercises, having been first submitted to the provost for correction and approval, were then delivered in public in the hall of the old college, two speaking in turn each evening, and the provost at the conclusion enlarged on the themes discussed by these youths.

"Although," says Bishop White, "this was far from being a complete course of ecclesiastical studies, it called to a variety of reading and to a concentration of what was read." "There was also use," he adds, "in the introduction to public speaking."

Five years of this kind of study were passed in this city, prolonged in his case, because he had graduated so early from college. There were then no schools of the prophets, wherein the candidates for the ministry could prepare themselves for their sacred office. The desultory teaching of private and irresponsible ministers was all that could be obtained after the pupil had taken his college degree.

¹ Of this life story, by the Rev. Dr. William Bacon Stevens, bishop of the (P. E.) diocese of Pennsylvania, only the opening and closing sentences were prepared by its author for this work. The remaining portions, with other interesting matter, were read on the occasion of the reinterment of the remains of William White in the chancel of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1876, and were published in pamphlet form for a limited circulation. — H. M. M.

Having pursued his studies diligently and conducted himself with sobriety and discretion, young White was ready for his ordination. But here another difficulty rose before him. There was no bishop in America, and to obtain orders he must cross the Atlantic and seek them at the hands of English prelates. This was a grievous hardship for the ministerial candidates, and was a serious drawback to the prosperity of the church in the colonies of Great Britain. A voyage across the Atlantic then was quite a different thing from a voyage now. One fifth of all the candidates who set sail for England perished abroad.

Obliged to seek ordination abroad.

When to this danger of the seas was added the loss of time and the expense of the voyages to and fro, costing usually one hundred pounds, a sum equivalent to the yearly salary of most of the clergy at that time, we can easily understand what a formidable barrier existed against the increase of the ministry, and how much moral courage and firmness of purpose were requisite before a young man would resolve to take up such heavy crosses in order to become a minister of Christ.

These colonies were then under the episcopal jurisdiction of the lord bishop of London, who superintended them by means of certain clergymen who were termed commissaries, and to whom was committed a certain amount of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This arrangement, however, only partially remedied the evil arising from their not having any bishop. Churches were unconsecrated, the baptized were not confirmed, candidates could not be ordained, and the wholesome regimen of the episcopacy was altogether wanting.¹ Such was the condition when the youthful White, unable to get orders in his native land, was about to proceed to England for them.

He sailed from Chester for London on October 15, 1770, in the ship *Britannia*. Of the incidents of his voyage we know nothing, but can well imagine the discomforts and dangers which at that period, and with such comparatively small and ill-furnished ships, he must have endured.

¹ Yet both clergy and laity, over two hundred years ago, saw the necessity of bishops and sought earnestly to secure their appointment. When the plan was proposed in 1638 to send a bishop to the American plantations, it was thwarted by the outbreak of troubles in Scotland. When in 1673 the Rev. Dr. Alex. Murry was nominated by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and approved by King Charles Second, and even a draft of letters-patent was prepared, the plan was defeated because the endowment was to be out of the public customs.

When again in 1713 Queen Anne responded favorably to the request of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that bishops should be appointed for the colonies, and the society actually fixed upon and purchased a residence for the bishop at Burlington, New Jersey, the death of the good queen again frustrated the design. George First was also favorable to the plan, but the rebellion in Scotland absorbed the public mind, and Sir Robert Walpole discountenanced the project. Later still, Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, renewedly pressed the matter upon the attention of the government, and memorials were sent to him from the clergy of Maryland, of New England, of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and St. Ann's, Burlington, urging the sending of a bishop to America. The plan was sustained and advocated by Bishops Secker and Tennison, by Bishops Lowth, Butler, Benson, Sherlock, and Terriek; but the rising difficulties between the colonies and the mother country, and the extreme opposition and jealousy of the opponents of the Church of England in this country, prevented the execution of the design, and so the church for a hundred and fifty years had existed here without a local episcopate.

Nor will it be difficult for us to surmise the joy which he felt when the cry of "Land ho!" was sung out from the mast-head, and then watched with ever increasing delight the unfolding panorama of the shore, until the ship cast anchor in its destined port, and he trod, for the first time, the soil of the dear old motherland.

He was received in England by his aunts, Miss White and Mrs. Weeks, and though he took lodgings in London, he spent a considerable portion of his time with them at Twickenham, ten miles from Westminster, where he said he "took pleasure not only in the society of an agreeable circle of friends to which I was admitted in that earthly paradise, but in rambles in the neighborhood."

He had come to England for a solemn purpose, and he at once set about the work of securing his ordination. Several obstacles, however, were in his way. First, he was not of canonical age. The thirty-fourth canon of the Church of England requires that a person desiring to be a deacon shall be three and twenty years old. William White lacked several months of being three and twenty, and was thereby obliged to obtain a faculty or dispensation from the archbishop of Canterbury granting ordination *infra aetatem* for persons of special abilities, before the canonical age.

Another difficulty lay in the fact that he was not a graduate of either of the two great universities, Oxford or Cambridge, as specified in the thirty-fourth canon. While, however, the usual formal testimonials were drawn up upon a supposition that the candidate was a B. A. of some college of Oxford or Cambridge, yet the same canon made provision for such cases as had not these degrees, and under this exceptional clause William White became eligible for holy orders. Having obtained the various letters testimonial and presented them to the bishop through his secretary or chaplain a month before ember week, he was then requested to present himself for examination by the bishop and three clergymen. This he successfully passed, so that the examining chaplain told a friend of his aunt, "that his examination would have been an honor to either of the universities," and then he subscribed, according to the requisition of the thirty-sixth canon, a declaration of allegiance and of the royal supremacy; of conformity to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and an acknowledgment of the binding authority *ex animo* of the thirty-nine articles, "taking them in the true literal usual and grammatical sense."

These and all other preliminaries having been complied with, he was ordained deacon, December 23, 1770, in the Chapel Royal of St. James's Palace, Westminster, by Dr. Philip Yonge, bishop of Norwich, acting in behalf of Dr. Richard Terrick, bishop of London. The aim of years of study had been reached, and he stood trembling on the threshold of a ministry which stretched itself onward sixty and five years.

Not being of canonical age to obtain priest's orders, he remained in England until he could do so. He had no special clerical duty to perform, and hence was left free to pursue those studies which fitted him for a higher ministry, and make that acquaintance with England and Englishmen which his means and time enabled him happily to do. He took several journeys to different parts of England and passed some weeks at Oxford. His visit to this university he greatly enjoyed, making friends of the fellows and tutors of its several colleges, and enjoying the public exercises not only in the preaching which he heard in St. Mary's, but also in the convocations and examinations at which he was present.

The religious condition of the Church of England at this time was lamentably relaxed. Error of doctrine of a subtle kind had been broached by men in high positions. Worldliness had so invaded the church that routs and balls were held even in the palace at Lambeth, a fact which drew down upon Archbishop Cornwallis the rebuke of George Third. There was a fearful latitudinarianism in the opinions of the clergy which led to continued controversy. The discourses from the pulpit were mostly of a philosophical or moral character. Church people, and even the clergy, indulged, with but little restraint, in the so-called pleasures of the chase, the ball-room, and the theatre, and the general tone of morality throughout the land was low and doubtful. As a consequence, infidelity grew apace and became fashionable and popular. That this statement is not too broad is evident from the words of Archbishop Secker, who died in 1768, who says in one of his sermons: "It is a reproach, I believe, peculiar to the Christians of this age and nation, that many of them seem ashamed of their Christianity, and excuse their piety as others do their vices."

The great doctrines of grace so strongly set forth in the liturgy, the articles, and the homilies, and which were expounded so foreibly by the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were weakened and altered into almost another gospel; and hence had arisen stronger dissent on the one hand, and that remarkable Wesleyan movement on the other, which was at that very time sapping the strength of the church and raising up against her and out of her very midst some of her strongest opponents.

Such was the state of the Church of England when William White was there for deacon's and priest's orders. To one coming from such a remote and quiet colony to the bustle and excitement of London, and to one educated under a system so diverse from that in the great schools and colleges of England, there was much to dazzle and lead astray. It is therefore the more to be thankful for, that one so young as William White was enabled to bear up against all these adverse and misleading influences, and not only to maintain an unblemished moral character

amidst so many alluring temptations, but also to retain his Christian faith unswayed by the theological and ecclesiastical errors then rife and freely broached.

April 25, 1772, he was ordained to the priesthood by Dr. Terrick, the bishop of London. The same bishop also licensed him to officiate in Pennsylvania. He was now ready to return. He sailed from England in June, on the ship *Pennsylvania Packet*, Captain Osborne, but owing to calms, light winds, and the bad sailing qualities of the ship in which he embarked, he did not reach Philadelphia until the 19th of September, when he once more entered the home circle which he had left over two years before, and now stood before them an ordained minister of Christ.

Before he left England he had been invited by the vestry to become assistant minister of the "united churches." but action was deferred until the 30th of November, 1772, when, with his friend and college-mate, the Rev. Thomas Coombe, he was formally elected to that office, and he at once entered upon its duties, at a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum.

There were then but three Episcopal churches in the old city, namely, Christ Church, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, and but little over two hundred Church of England clergymen in all the thirteen colonies. There was no bishop, no organized diocese, no church academy or church college, no church periodical, no Sunday-school, no missionary society, and no hospital. At the end of a century there are seventy-three Episcopal churches in Philadelphia, the clergymen of our church number nearly three thousand, comprised in forty-eight dioceses and missionary jurisdictions, while ninety-seven bishops have been consecrated for service in our branch of the Holy Catholic Church in these United States. There are a score of church colleges and theological schools, an equal number of church periodicals, while our great societies for missions, for Sunday-schools, for church publications, for educating young men for the ministry, and our hundred asylums, orphan-houses, church homes, and church hospitals, like a net-work of holy charity cover the land.

White had been an assistant minister of the united churches not four years, when the Declaration of Independence was made, and the political distractions and turmoils of eleven years' restiveness under King George culminated in the birth of a free nation. To the Episcopal clergy in this country, that act was fraught with disaster. At their ordination they had taken the oath of allegiance to the king; in their liturgy, which they had solemnly vowed to use, were prayers for the king and royal family and the Parliament of Great Britain, and with few exceptions they derived their support from the stipends paid to them by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

They were thus placed between the upper and the nether millstone;

for, if they yielded to the American spirit, cast off the supremacy of the crown, and renounced praying for the king, they violated their ordination vows and lost their stipends, and if they continued to use the liturgy as it was, they compromised themselves before the public. As a consequence, most of the clergy embraced the royal side, and they were persecuted, fined, beaten, expatriated, and in one instance at least slain. William White, living in Philadelphia, then the political centre of the country, and knowing the sentiments of the most wise and thoughtful men of the colonies, was ready to cast in his lot with the fortunes of the new republic, and at once acquiesced in the change which the vestry of the united churches, on the very day when independence was declared, required its rector and assistant ministers to make, namely, "to omit those petitions in the liturgy wherein the king of Great Britain is prayed for."

That this was not the result of a momentary impulse, under the political excitement of the time, is evident from what he says in his MS. Autobiography, where he records his careful study of English history and the English Constitution, from the times of the Saxons to the Revolution of 1688; his thoughtful reflections on the causes of American discontent, and his deliberate choice of adherence to the policy and acts of the Continental Congress. His firmness and courage were tested by an incident connected with his taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, in 1776. "When he went to the court-house for the purpose, a gentleman of his acquaintance standing there, observing his design, intimated to him, by a gesture, the danger to which he would expose himself. After having taken the oath, he remarked, before leaving the court-house, to the gentleman alluded to, 'I perceive by your gesture that you thought I was exposing my neck to great danger by the step which I have taken. But I have not taken it without full deliberation. I know my danger and that it is the greater on account of my being a clergyman of the Church of England. But I trust in Providence. The cause is a just one and I am persuaded will be protected.'"

The next year he was chosen chaplain to Congress, then sitting in York Town. "He continued chaplain until that body removed to New York. When, after the adoption of the existing Constitution, the Congress of the United States returned to Philadelphia, he was again chosen one of their chaplains, and continued to be so chosen at each successive Congress by the Senate until the removal of the seat of government to Washington, in 1801." He was thus officially brought into close relationship with the leaders of American thought and action, as well as personally, through his brother-in-law, Robert Morris, the great financier of the war of the Revolution.

In 1779, Mr. White was unanimously elected rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's. This placed him virtually at the head of the church in

Pennsylvania, and put him in a commanding position as to all ecclesiastical affairs. So soon, therefore, as the American successes secured to us a distinct nationality, he, in company with a few others, took counsel together, looking to a union of all the Episcopal clergy in all the States; and it shows the high estimation in which he was held, that at the first meeting in New Brunswick in May, 1784, he Father of the American Episcopal body. presided at the meeting, and opened it with a sermon. It is not necessary to detail the steps which led to the formation of our American church, but no one mind was more directive and controlling in all the assemblies than William White's.

He was the first to suggest the introduction of the laity into the councils of the church, the first to suggest synodal or diocesan action, and the first to suggest a general convention made up of representatives from the lower assemblies; and the first draft of the constitution was from his pen.

In this constitution there were engrafted certain principles of ecclesiastical law, which were unknown in the Church of England, and which, though partially appearing in some of the older constitutions of the Saxon church, and of the primitive eastern dioceses, had, for more than a thousand years, been kept out of sight in the ascendancy which the priesthood had claimed and exercised over lay people. Those principles were: (1) the organization of the church as an ecclesiastical body, with full and perfect power of self-government, and entirely independent of secular control; (2) the introduction of the laity as joint councillors and legislators, with equal voice and vote with the clergy in such church conventions; (3) the giving to the several dioceses the right to elect their own bishops, subject to confirmation by the whole church, and in which election and confirmation the laity have equal voice with the clergy; 4th, the full and equal liberty of each national church to model and organize itself and its forms of worship and discipline in such manner as they may judge most convenient for their future prosperity.

Accustomed as we have been, all our lives, to these principles, we cannot understand what a really great advance was made in the then existing order of things, when Dr. White boldly brought them out and had them incorporated in the fundamental constitution of his church. The English "convocation," the nominal voice of the Church of England, had long been silent, and the functions of that clerical assembly were so restricted by parliamentary act as to stifle its power. With a political sagacity that grasped at once the sound maxims which the framers of our civil government embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and with a foresight which saw that for a free people, with free institutions, the church, as an organism, must conform so far as possible to the liberal views of the body politic; he, with his few companions, in his study in Walnut Street, above Third, drew up that instrument which is the

church's Magna Charta. And what is the result? That document, brief as it is, has been everywhere hailed as one of the wisest ever penned by man for the purposes for which it was made. Not only has it worn well in the working machinery of the church, for more than fourscore years; not only has it been reproduced in its general principles in the constitutions of forty-four organized dioceses, not only has it kept us together amidst all the strain and severances of civil war, but it was copied in its essential features in the new constitution of the Church of Ireland, when that ancient church ceased to be established by law, and became on the first day of January, 1871, self-governing and free.

On the 14th of September, 1786, he was unanimously elected bishop of the newly formed diocese of Pennsylvania, and the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds, currency, was voted to defray the necessary expenses of the voyage of the bishop elect to and from England.

On the 2d of November, the same year, he sailed with Dr. Provost, who had been elected bishop of New York, from New York, and, eighteen days after, landed at Falmouth, making the shortest passage across the Atlantic then recorded.

Through the kind offices of John Adams, then the American minister at the court of St. James (afterward the second president of the United States), and his grace, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the preliminaries of his consecration were arranged. On the 4th of February, he and Dr. Provost were consecrated bishops in the chapel of the palace of Lambeth. They left London the next day for Falmouth, sailed from that port on the 17th of February, and on the afternoon of Easter Sunday landed in New York. The day of their return to America was the emblem to their church of its resurrection from the deadness of the past to the life and hope of the future.

Of the three bishops consecrated in England, namely, William White, Samuel Provost, and James Madison, Bishop White was the most prominent and active. His position as presiding bishop gave great weight to his opinions; and his thoughtful, calm, and judicious views, quietly expressed and firmly held, may be said to have shaped the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States for nearly half a century. He is the only one of the early bishops who has left behind him published works, unfolding the proceedings of those early efforts to organize the church, and the only one who has expounded the theological sentiments of our creed and catechism and ordinal.

It is most fortunate for his church that Bishop White, with that prudence and foresight which always distinguished him, wrote out his "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," his "Lectures on the Catechism," his commentary on "The Ordination Offices," his ten "Pastoral Letters of the House of Bishops," and sundry other valuable and

important publications. He was frank in the expression of his views, and manfully defended what he regarded as the sound doctrines and pure worship of the church over which he presided. As we look back to the difficult times in which he exercised his functions as one of the founders and legislators and subsequently rulers in the church, we cannot but thank God that so blameless a man in his Christian life, so scholarly a man in his mental culture, so calm a man in times of popular excitement, so forecasting a man amidst threatened perils, and so firm a man amidst the unsteady opinions of the day, was given to the church at that time, to be to it, in its separation from the mother church, and its erection into an independent one, what Washington was to the civil movement of the Revolution. Both were men of marked characteristics; each eminently fitted for his respective work, each saw it carried into completion, and each ruled as the first president of the organization.

I should feel myself derelict in duty did I not state, in a few words, the sentiments of Bishop White, so far as they bear on some of the ecclesiastical and doctrinal issues of to-day. These views are found in his carefully prepared volumes, in his correspondence, and in MSS. left ready for the press, but which have never yet been given to the public.

From these sources we learn that Bishop White would have had no sympathy whatever with those radical views which are held and taught by some persons, whereby episcopacy is decried, the prayer book reproached as teaching error, the canons of the church disregarded, the language of the offices of the church omitted or altered, and schism and secession openly urged, if certain claims are not authoritatively conceded. For this spirit he had no favor.

On the other hand, we learn from his writings that he would discountenance and reject those tractarian and ritualistic teachings and doings, which now, alas, are so stealthily or openly proclaimed.

I cannot better set forth his ideas than by quoting his own language. "As to our church, although she commemorates a great sacrifice in the Eucharist, yet she knows of no offering of anything of this description, except in the figurative sense in which prayers and alms are sacrifices. She calls the place on which her oblation is made, not an altar, but a table; although there is no impropriety in calling it an altar also, the word being understood figuratively. And so as to the minister in the ordinance, although she retains the word priest, yet she considers it as synonymous with presbyter, which appears from the Latin standard of the Book of Common Prayer and is agreeable to etymology."

In his conducting of public worship he was exact, but simple and unostentatious. He regarded the service as a worship, not as a spectacle; to be rendered with reverence, not with pompous parade; to inspire devotion in the soul, not to minister to the mere sensuous and æsthetic ele-

ments of our nature. So much did he act upon these principles that he never bowed at the name of Jesus in the Creed, and even wrote two articles in defense of his not doing it. He never turned to the east to say the Creed or the Gloria Patri. He never in the pulpit turned his back upon the congregation during the ascription after the sermon. He never preached in a surplice, but always, when not engaged in episcopal duties, in the black gown. He never required the people to rise up as he entered the church, and at the close of the service to remain standing in their pews until he had left the chancel. He never asked the congregation to stand up while he placed the alms basons, with the offertory, on the Lord's table, or notified the communicants to continue in their places, after the benediction, until the clergy had reverently eaten and drank what remained of the consecrated bread and wine. These and other like practices, the outcroppings of sacerdotal assumptions, were utterly foreign to his wise and benign views and teachings.

He magnified his office, not by arrogant claims, or by extolling unduly its sacred functions, but by a loving discharge of its duties, under the eye of God, in the humility of a servant, and with His catholicity. the fidelity of an apostle. His loving nature, sound judgment, and enlightened mind also kept him from holding intolerant or unchurching dogmas in reference to other Christian bodies. Throughout his long life he carried out the spirit and letter of his ordination and consecration vows, — “to maintain and set forward quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people.” His views upon this point were well defined in one paragraph of the instructions which he gave to the first missionaries of our church to China in 1835. Addressing the Rev. Messrs. Hanson and Lockwood, the bishop says: “In the tie which binds you to the Episcopal Church, there is nothing which places you in the attitude of hostility to men of any other Christian denomination, and much which should unite you in affection to those occupied in the same cause with yourself. You should rejoice in their successes, and avoid as much as possible all controversy and all occasions which may provoke it, on points on which they may differ from our communion, without conforming in any point to what we consider as erroneous.”

Acting himself in this spirit, he became one of the founders of the Bible Society of Philadelphia, and was its president until his death.

He presided at its annual meetings when held in other than Episcopal churches, and when its anniversaries were held in our churches, ministers of different denominations stood before him in the chancel, and addressed the people. He was also one of the founders of the Society for the Institution and Support of First Day or Sunday Schools, an organization made up of Christians of different religious bodies. Thus, while he never compromised his principles as a churchman, or sacrificed a single convic-

tion of duty, he yet secured the respect of all classes of the community; and all denominations united at his death to do honor to this prince and father in Israel.

Let us thank God for the life and labor of such a man. "He being dead yet speaketh." In the beautiful language of Wordsworth in one of his Ecclesiastical Sonnets, —

"To thee, O saintly White,
Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,
Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn,
Whether they would restore, or build, — to thee,
As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,
As one who drew from out Faith's holiest urn
The purest stream of patient Energy."

(Part iii., Son. xv.)

He died in Philadelphia, at his residence in Walnut Street, on Sunday the 17th of July, 1836. "His end," says his biographer, Dr. Bird Wilson, "was marked by the serenity and by the deep-seated and sweetly calm religious consolation and trust in the mercy of God through the Redeemer, which were in perfect consistency with his own declared principles of religion and with the uniform character of his feelings, conversation, and life." — W. B. S.

LIFE XVI. JACOB ALBRIGHT.

A. D. 1759—A. D. 1808. EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION, — AMERICA.

JACOB ALBRIGHT, the founder of the "Evangelical Association of North America," was born in the year 1759, near Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, of Pennsylvania German parents. He was baptized in infancy by a German Lutheran minister, and at a later period catechised and received into the membership of the Lutheran Church. In his neighborhood, experimental and practical religion was then at a low ebb among the German churches, and there was also very little of enterprise and business among the people of that section. Young Albright, however, was possessed of considerable talent and energy, and hence found himself embarrassed by his surroundings. The schools of those days were "home-made" private enterprises. Pennsylvania did not adopt the public-school system until many years afterward. In such a school Jacob Albright learned to read and write German, and a little of arithmetic. The reading and writing exercises were quite bare of grammatical and elocutionary instruction. Jacob's mind did not feel at home amidst the surroundings of "Fuchsberg" (Fox's Mountain), as that section was popularly called; so when he had married Miss Elizabeth Cope, he moved away about seventy miles into Lancaster

County, Pennsylvania. In that naturally rich county, he found that bricks were needed, and tiles much in demand for roofing purposes; even large barns as well as houses were thus roofed in those days; so he started a "Ziegelhütte," or a tile and brick yard, having learned that business when he lived at home. He was quite successful in this occupation, and was highly respected by his customers and the people generally, who called him the "tiler," which title some prefaced with the valuable adjective "honest." In the midst of a successful business career, and surrounded by a prosperous family, Albright saw death enter his household in the year 1790, and carry off several of the little ones in quick succession, which deeply pained and affected him. The pungent funeral sermons delivered by Rev. Anton Howtz, a German Reformed minister, so touched his conscience that he considered these deaths as a loud call of God upon him to repent and turn to the Lord. For until that time he had lived careless about spiritual and eternal things that pertain to the salvation of the soul, in moral darkness and sin, as did others around him. He now fell into a deep trouble on account of his sins. Strange yet true it was that he could not find any one who was able to point him to Christ and explain the simple way of salvation through faith in Him. The fact was that in his church, and other German churches around him, justification by faith, regeneration by the power of the Holy Spirit, and the assurance of adoption into God's family were unknown, at least experimentally, and Christianity consisted of a mere outward form and profession. The Methodists, it is true, had come into Albright's neighborhood by that time, but as they were much despised and misrepresented, Albright did not go near them. Finally, he met a lay-preacher named Adam Ridgel, who was evidently a truly pious man. He showed Albright the way to the cross of Christ, and they met and prayed together, until Albright could claim the atonement as availing for him, and thus he realized that Christ died for him, yea, even him, and was filled with peace and joy in believing. With a heart full of gratitude towards God, whom he now could address as "Abba, Father," he wanted to tell to sinners round what a dear Saviour he had found, but to his surprise he found opposition, yea, even persecution, rising against him. He now looked around to find kindred hearts with whom he could unite in spiritual fellowship, "for," says he, "I needed some experienced Christians to watch over me, and assist me in fighting the good fight of faith, and working out my soul's salvation." He soon saw the necessity and advantage of being under good church discipline; he had no sympathy with such as wanted to be free from the "yoke," as they called it, of a proper church organization. However, in his own church he met with opposition and persecution; so he went to his next neighbor, who was a Methodist class-leader, and inquired into the discipline and government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with which

he became highly pleased. He was led soon to join himself to this communion. He thus had found a congenial church home, and went forward serving the Lord with a joyful, willing heart. By and by the Methodists gave him an exhorter's license, and he now and then delivered a public address to his fellow-Christians and fellow-men which was not without good effect. He had, however, as yet not the least thought of becoming a preacher of the gospel.

During the first few years of his Christian course he learned to understand that the Germans in America were in a deeply depraved condition, and he earnestly prayed for their salvation with an increasing sympathy. He now asked God to awaken and send forth good shepherds to seek these wandering sheep, and lead them to the great Chief-Shepherd, who laid down his life for them. One day, while he was thus praying, a light shone upon his soul, and a question arose within: "Was it ^{Called to his} mere chance that the deplorable condition of your fellow-^{life-work.} men so touched your heart that you were led thus to pray? Or is the hand of Him who guides the steps of a man, as well as the course of nations, in this matter? How would it be if his infinite love had chosen you to lead your brethren into the way of saving knowledge, and into a participation of the mercy of God?" In his soul this light shone clearer still, and he heard an inward voice: "Go, labor in my vineyard. Trust in me for strength and help and success in saving souls." But now arose a number of objections in his mind. He said, "Lord, there are so many talented and learned men who are better qualified for such a work, and have greater resources and influence; behold, I am so feeble and incompetent!" When he looked at himself and the greatness and the difficulties of such a work, he became discouraged, and asked God to excuse him and send another one. But then his conscience would tell him that he must obey the voice of God, that his grace would be sufficient, that He would grant him the sufficiency from above. The great peril and loss resulting from disobedience, and also the great reward that awaits the faithful servant, were clearly portrayed before his mind. These cogitations troubled him greatly, but he was not willing to go into the vineyard. Finally, a severe sickness befell him, which brought him to the brink of death, and he recognized herein the chastising hand of his heavenly Father. He humbled himself under the mighty hand of God, asked for mercy, and solemnly promised the Lord if He would restore him he would go and preach the gospel. He then rapidly recovered, and his mind was again filled with light, and his heart with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. He now speedily arranged his temporal affairs, and started out as an evangelist and itinerant preacher of the gospel, which he preached wherever he found hearers and open doors, in houses, churches, market-places, barns, on the roadside, and in the woods. He preached more particularly such doctrines as involve Christian experience and

practice, as repentance, faith, conversion, regeneration, and inward and outward holiness according to the Methodistic view of these doctrines, which appeared to him to be in accordance with the Holy Scriptures. His labors were blessed with good results in the salvation of sinners, and soon a little flock claimed him as their spiritual father and looked to him as their God-given pastor.

The Methodist Episcopal Church at that time did not intend to enter upon the German field in America, and hence the labors of Mr. Albright were not regarded by her, and so it happened — perhaps providentially, for Providence often “happens” — that Albright was, by the course of events, separated from that church, while he was following a divine call, of which he was fully persuaded.

It was in the month of October, 1796, that he commenced preaching the gospel; in 1800 three classes or congregations were organized; in 1803 a council was held by the chief members of the society to consider what steps might be necessary to give the work something more of form and organization. The members of this council consisted of some of the most respectable citizens of Pennsylvania, who by the grace of God had been led to Christ through the labors of Albright. They adopted a declaration in which they firmly testified to the good character of Jacob Albright as a man and a Christian, and recognized him as their pastor, and a true minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. Before the close of the meeting he was ordained as a minister of the gospel by united prayer and the laying on of hands, in accordance with Acts xiii. 1-3.

Albright continued henceforth to labor zealously and successfully for the salvation of souls, amidst great hardships and difficulties and bitter persecutions, until 1807, when the first regular conference was held in the month of November, by which he was unanimously elected bishop, and also requested to compile articles of faith and a discipline for the guidance of the then so-called “Albright people,” but he soon afterward sank into consumption, and died happy in the Lord, in the spring of 1808,— the result probably of extreme hardships, severe labors, and over exertion in the work. Shortly before his decease he expressed to one of his co-laborers some uncertainty in his own mind whether God intended the work which was now commenced to continue as a separate organization, but said that if Providence designed it should continue, He would raise up competent men who would carry it on; and God did raise such men!

Several years thereafter this branch of the Christian church adopted the following as their proper church name: “Die Evangelische Gemeinschaft von Nord Amerika,” which was translated into The Evangelical Association of North America. The work has since grown wonderfully every way, even beyond all expectation and belief. This denomina-

Organizes the
Evangelical As-
sociation.

tion now numbers nineteen annual conferences, about one thousand itinerant preachers, and one hundred and ten thousand members. It has spread over many States of the Union, into Canada and into Europe, and has also missionaries in Japan. All this, together with an exceedingly prosperous book establishment at Cleveland, Ohio, an orphan institution at Flat Rock, Ohio, the Northwestern College, and a Biblical Institute at Naper-ville, Illinois, a well-organized missionary society, a Sunday-school and tract union, etc., and above all the assistance of the Holy Spirit, gives a promising prospect for the future.

The labors of the Evangelical Association are now conducted in both the German and the English language.

From the foregoing paragraphs it is already evident that this denomination is Methodistic in both doctrine and church polity. However, in the latter respect some important variations exist which some very sensible men have regarded as improvements. The bishops are elected every four years by general conference; the presiding elders, likewise, every four years by the annual conferences. The bishops have no transferring power, and the presiding elders, who are practically bishops on a smaller scale, are the assistants in stationing the preachers. To the office of bishop is, however, attached a high ideal. He must *excel every way*, — live holier, work more, and preach better than other preachers, and be a pattern to all.

In conclusion, we add a brief personal description of Jacob Albright, by whom God pleased to bring about such a work as this. He was nearly six feet high, had smooth black hair, a high clear forehead, small, deeply set, piercing eyes, aquiline nose, mouth and chin well proportioned, a symmetrical form, a white complexion, the sanguine and choleric temperaments well combined. Hence he was a beautiful man, graceful in his movements, cheerful and yet determined, and altogether adapted to make a favorable impression. When he preached, from a heart filled with the love of God, people hung upon his words, and were overwhelmed by the power and attractions of the gospel of Jesus Christ; and those whom he led to the Saviour loved him as their spiritual father. He was, indeed, “a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.” — R. Y.

LIFE XVII. ROBERT DONNELL.

A. D. 1784—A. D. 1853. CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

WHAT is called the great southwestern revival of 1800 commenced in 1797 under the ministrations of the Rev. James MacGready. MacGready was educated at Canonsburgh, in Pennsylvania, under the direction of Dr. MacMillan. Having finished his academical education he also studied

theology with Dr. MacMillan. The Presbyterian ministers who coöperated with MacGready in the revival were also regularly educated men, but their number was small. The work soon extended itself over South-western Kentucky, and what was then called the Cumberland country, which lay adjacent. Congregations were multiplied, and calls became so numerous for the preaching of the Word and for the ordinances of the gospel, that it was soon found impossible to supply the demand.

In their exigency the revival preachers — as they were called — were advised to select out promising men from among the subjects of the revival, or others, and encourage them to prepare for the ministry, although they might not have, and might not be able to acquire, the qualifications customary in the Presbyterian Church as a preparation for that work. At first three were selected and recommended to the presbytery. With some difficulty they obtained licensure, and at length ordination; still the number was not sufficient for the increasing demand. Congregations were multiplying a great deal more rapidly than the laborers. Others were called out to meet the growing want. Amongst these was the subject of this present story.

Robert Donnell was the son of William and Mary Bell Donnell, and was born in Guilford County, North Carolina, in April, 1784. William Donnell, the father, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and participated in the battle at Guilford Court House, in 1781. The Donnell family seem to have been originally Seceders (as a part of the United Presbyterian body were once called), but to have joined the Presbyterian Church some time previous to 1784, as Dr. Caldwell is represented as having baptized their son, Robert, in his infancy.

In October, 1789, William Donnell started with his family for the Cumberland country, and made his final settlement in Wilson County, Tennessee, about eight miles from what is now Lebanon. Here Robert Donnell grew up to manhood. In the manuscript which is one of my guides in this story, it is stated that the whole of his school education His school life of nine months. consisted of what he acquired in nine months, and that he acquired this before he was thirteen years old. The account is not improbable, owing to the condition of the country at that time. Flavel's "Husbandry Spiritualized," his father's Bible, and Russell's "Seven Sermons" were his text-books in learning to read, and these were carried on pack-saddles over the mountains when the family came to Tennessee.

In 1800, when he was in the seventeenth year of his age, Mr. Donnell professed religion. His own account of his religious experience, afterwards narrated to his friends, was substantially the following: "I had been," said he, "for some time in great distress of soul on account of my sins, and after having spent several hours, late one afternoon, in the secret grove, seeking rest and finding none, I returned to my mother's

house; and just as I was setting my feet on the threshold I was enabled to put the rope around my own neck, to prostrate myself before the cross divested of all self-dependence, and to rely alone upon the merits of Jesus Christ." This account is characteristic. He soon became an efficient helper in holding prayer-meetings, and in otherwise promoting the interests of religion in his neighborhood. He would often exhort his friends and neighbors, "with melting heart and streaming eyes, to flee the wrath to come."

At what time his thoughts began to be directed to the work of the ministry we do not know. Such thoughts, however, would be a natural outgrowth of the feelings and exercises which have been mentioned. We may judge, therefore, that it was not long after his profession of religion, that the necessities of the times began to press themselves upon him, and he began to consider the question seriously of offering himself as a candidate for the ministry.

The Cumberland Presbytery, which included the Cumberland country, had been dissolved, but the informal "council" had taken its place. As soon as he heard of the formation of the council, he resolved to put himself under its care with a view to the sacred office, and stand or fall with the revival party. It will be understood that there was great confusion in the Presbyterian Church in the West during these times, and older men hardly knew how to direct their steps. This young man, however, was in earnest, and he looked beyond himself and the wisdom of men, for guidance. The following is his own account of the final struggle of his mind upon the question of duty. It occurred at a camp-meeting near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. He says, "While the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was being administered, I looked over the large congregation, thought of the scarcity of preachers, the distracted state of the church, and became so affected that I retired to the woods to pray, and there remained all night. The burden of my prayer was, 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?' I thought I saw the path of duty plainly marked before me, and resolved to pursue it."

Accordingly he presented himself before the council in 1806, and was received, as far as they felt authorized to receive him.

In their informal capacity they did not feel themselves at liberty to transact presbyterial business. He was encouraged, however, to exercise his gifts as an exhorter and catechist. With this authority he entered upon his work, and soon became practically and really an efficient preacher, although he had received no formal license. He was at first directed to occupy a portion of the country lying between the Ohio and Cumberland rivers, and labor as he could for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ. It required three months to go round his circuit. Of course open houses, hard beds, and rough fare otherwise often awaited him, together with trials perhaps still more severe. But

Joins the new
Presbyterian
movement.

the account is that "God in a very remarkable manner crowned his labors with success."

In 1809 he penetrated into Northern Alabama, and commenced the work of collecting and, as far as he felt himself authorized, of organizing congregations in what was then a new but rapidly opening country. He was in this country when he received intelligence of the reorganization of the Cumberland Presbytery in 1810. This presbytery, it may be remarked by the way, thus organized as an independent presbytery, became the nucleus of what has grown into the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The following is his own account of his labors, hopes, and fears:—

"I was traveling," says he, "in Alabama Territory, when I heard of the constitution of the Cumberland Presbytery by Messrs. McAdoo, Ewing, and King. If I ever was free from sectarian feelings, it was at that period. I often thought within myself, For what am I laboring? I am connected with no church, and know not that I ever shall be. For what, then, do I labor if I cannot build up a church? My answer to myself was, Only for the glory of God, and the salvation of precious souls. But what will become of the few so strongly united in the bonds of love? This could only be settled by the great Head of the church. Of Him I often sought an answer, and I am persuaded He did answer; as for some time before the presbytery was constituted, I became quite calm on the subject, under a firm persuasion that the Lord would open a way for us. I was in this frame when the intelligence reached me which caused me to feel truly thankful to God who had thus opened a way for us, a feeble handful of his followers, to become more extensively useful."¹

Donnell was licensed to preach at the Big Spring meeting-house, in Wilson County, Tennessee, in 1811. He had been really preaching, however, since 1806, and had already acquired some eminence. The following year he was set apart to the full work of the ministry with the usual formalities, at the Three Forks of Duck River.

On the 17th of March, 1818, he was married to an estimable lady of Jackson County, Tennessee. It was a marriage in the Lord. Previous to his marriage Donnell, as we have seen, labored chiefly as an itinerant minister. He traveled extensively, especially throughout the southern portion of his church. It may be safely asserted that the labors of no man in any of the denominations were more signally blessed. He possessed vigorous health, a fine constitution, and in all his labors a feeling was manifested that he belonged to God. After his marriage he settled in Alabama, and became nominally a farmer. It was his family, however, that was settled; he himself still continued the most active and

Formally identified with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

¹ *Life and Times of Finis Ewing.*

laborious minister in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Many congregations were collected through his agency in Tennessee and Alabama. A number of them are still flourishing, yielding fruit from the precious seed sown by his ministry.

The General Assembly of 1831, in conformity with several petitions from that country, appointed five missionaries to Western Pennsylvania, of whom Donnell was one. Their mission was eminently successful, his labors with those of the others being greatly blessed.

Having lost his wife in 1828, he was married a second time, to Miss Clara M. Lindley, in 1832. Miss Lindley was the daughter of Rev. Jacob Lindley of Pennsylvania. She had been engaged for some years as an instructress in the South.

Sometime about 1830, he commenced a series of efforts in the city of Nashville. The result was the introduction of Cumberland Presbyterianism into that city. As the fruits of seed thus sown are two congregations, one in the city proper, the other in Edgefield. The former is one of the largest and best in the city; the other is promising.

Foundations noted
churches.

In 1845 he went to Memphis for the purpose of organizing a congregation and aiding in building a house of worship. After spending some months there, and accomplishing the object of his visit, he returned home, and in a short time was called to the pastorate of the congregation of Lebanon, Tennessee. He remained in Lebanon until February, 1849, when he moved to Athens, Alabama, which became, as he expected, his last earthly home. He had now passed half through the seventh decade of his life, a period when serious men begin to think of setting their house in order. He built a mansion, comfortable rather than otherwise, as a home for his family, and from this mansion he entered into his rest.

His last years were spent mostly in quietude. He preached occasionally when he was able. On the third Sabbath in November, 1853, he officiated at the funeral of three aged Christians a few miles from his home. His text on the occasion was, "These all died in faith." It was his last sermon. He lingered, however, to the 24th of May, 1854, when he died. Thus he came to his grave in a "good old age," like a shock of corn gathered in its season. His death occurred in his seventy-second year.

At the time of his death he was the oldest vice-president of the American Tract Society. He had been for years a devoted friend of the American Bible Society, and a promoter of its interests. In favor of temperance he was outspoken, and a temperance man from principle long before there were temperance societies.

He was a member of the Cumberland Synod in 1825, when the decisive step was taken towards the establishment of Cumberland College,

and gave his unqualified support to the institution while there were hopes of its success, and in 1842 was a member of the commission appointed for the location of Cumberland University. Of the latter institution he continued a steadfast friend and supporter through his remaining life.

An authority says, "He was perhaps instrumental in the conversion of as many sinners, organized as many congregations, assisted in building as many houses of worship, and brought as many young men into the ministry, as any contemporary minister of his own or any other denomination of Christians." This is, no doubt, a faithful testimony.

Donnell preached the opening sermon at the meeting of the first general assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The meeting was held at Princeton, Kentucky, in 1829. The subject was "Solomon's choice of wisdom and understanding, that he might be able to judge the people of God, and go in and out before them in a becoming manner." The sermon was characteristic.

From the time of Donnell's maturity in the ministry, he was regarded as the leader of the southern portion of the church to which he belonged. No other man contributed so much towards directing its theological inquiries or its practical policy. For thirty years he was the highest human authority in these matters. He was a great natural man. Furthermore, by extraordinary application and industry in his early ministry, he had made himself a respectable scholar. It used to be said that he carried his English grammar and other elementary books in his saddle-bags on his circuits, and studied them on horseback between his appointments. This was probably true, as it was the custom of those days. He possessed great administrative abilities, and could hardly have been otherwise than a leader. At the same time it is to be remarked that no man seemed less anxious to be a leader. If he was ambitious, the world never knew it.

Personally, he was a man to be observed anywhere. His figure was commanding. He was something over six feet in height; his usual weight in later life was about two hundred and twenty. He was always neatly dressed, stood erect in the pulpit, delivering his message in an unusually solemn and impressive manner. He never descended to what are called the arts of elocution. Nature had done enough for him in that respect. His voice was like the voice of a trumpet; he never lacked words, and notwithstanding the defects of his early education, his words were always well selected. His thoughts were very clear, and his method of utterance unusually distinct. No man needed to misunderstand him. Above all, there were a spirituality and an unction in his pulpit ministrations which subdued, while his mind and manner led. He seemed often to be absolutely overwhelming. He was not always so, it is true, but he was always interesting. Donnell belonged to a race of

men in the Southwest which has passed away. We may not expect to see their like again.

A few brief personal recollections will close this sketch. I saw Robert Donnell for the first time in my early boyhood. He called at my grandfather's, with whom I then lived. He was accompanied by his mother, an aged lady of serious and quiet appearance. But one thing occurred in this visit which made any impression upon my mind. My grandfather had a large family Bible which he had carried over the mountains from Virginia to this country. This, with the hymn-book, Confession of Faith, and the "Travels of True Godliness," made up the principal part of his library. Donnell, in walking over the house, found the Confession of Faith, and made some jocular remark about it. The controversy was then raging which gave rise to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The old gentleman relished a joke, and retorted in a very pithy one. I shall never forget his words, but they were too antiquated for such a story as this.

I saw him no more until the fall of 1817. He had then become one of the most popular preachers in the church. The occasion was a camp-meeting at the Beech church in Sumner County, Tennessee. He delivered a sermon occasioned by the death of Rev. William McGee, one of the old revival ministers who had given in his adhesion to the new organization. Mr. McGee had once been the pastor of the Beech congregation. It was an exceedingly tender occasion. The preacher himself wept freely, and but few eyes were dry in the great congregation. I was then a very young Christian.

In 1820, he preached at the same Beech camp-ground. It was late in October, and the weather was unusually cold for the season. He was then in the prime of life, and was certainly a noble specimen of humanity. He preached in the open air; there was no shelter, and snow was falling during most of the time of the sermon. But the large concourse of people kept their places, and heard with unflagging attention, and apparently with deep interest. The text was, "That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." I had been licensed to preach but a few days before, and was perhaps in a good frame of mind for hearing. It is certain that I never heard a sermon with more intellectual interest. "Sin hath reigned unto death" in throwing darkness into the understanding, in perverting the judgment, in controlling the will, in impairing the memory, in depraving the affections, in subjecting the body to the power of disease and death. Grace reigns in enlightening the understanding, in correcting the errors of the judgment, in persuading and enabling the will, in rendering the memory more tenacious of what is good, in renewing the affections, and, finally, in restoring the body to life and immortality in the resurrection of the just. This is an outline of the sermon which was delivered that cold day.

In 1823 the Cumberland Synod met at Russellville, Kentucky. At the close of the sessions a camp-meeting was held at a place about four miles from town. Donnell preached on Saturday evening. His text was, "I speak as unto wise men; judge ye what I say." Of course, such a text was chosen because it afforded any degree of latitude. The sermon consisted of an exposition and vindication of the doctrines of the youthful church. On one topic he gave a direction to my own thoughts which they have still kept. I had entertained a confused notion that regeneration was a sort of physical change. The sermon of that evening relieved my mind on that subject. It seems to me now that he was very distinct and satisfactory, and the wonder is that with the means of information which Cumberland Presbyterians then had, he could have been so much so. The next day he preached a funeral sermon. It was a massive discourse.

It has been stated already that he preached the opening sermon of the first general assembly. In 1843 he delivered a sermon at the general assembly at Owensboro, Kentucky, upon the life, character, and death of the Rev. Samuel King, one of the three who constituted the independent Cumberland Presbytery in 1810. In his latter years he showed in his efforts in the pulpit something of the effects of age. He was always heard, however, with interest. He continued to preach, too, while he had physical strength for his work. Both nature and grace had fitted him for the pulpit. It was his throne. He loved its labors, and would have stood in the front rank of preachers in any Christian communion. — R. B.

LIFE XVIII. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

A. D. 1788—A. D. 1876. DISCIPLES, — AMERICA.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL was born in the county of Antrim, Ireland, September 12, 1788, in sight of Shane's Castle, the ancient ruin of which still stands on the northern shore of Lough Neagh. On his mother's side he was descended from the French Huguenots, and on his father's from ancestors originally from the west of Scotland, and claiming both clanship and kinship with the race Dearnid — the Campbells of Argyleshire. His father received both his academical and his theological education at the University of Glasgow, — the latter in the school of the anti-burgher Seceders, under Dr. Archibald Bruce, of Whitburn. Both father and mother were eminent for piety and the most earnest devotion to the study of the Scriptures, and but few sons ever enjoyed finer advantages in literary instruction and religious training than they diligently labored to afford their son Alexander. He was, indeed, from a very

early age, marked by rare and remarkable gifts of body and mind, and it required a high order of wisdom in discipline and of skill in instruction to give proper direction and guidance to his expanding powers. Fond of all manner of sport, by flood and field, he was nevertheless constantly and firmly held to his studies, and carefully cultured in all that could draw out and expand his powers, and fit him for the high walks in intellectual pursuits to which nature so evidently destined him.

Speaking himself of his father he says: "His family training and discipline were peculiarly didactic, Biblical, and strict. . . . The Bible was, during the minority of his family, a daily study and a daily recitation. . . . I can but gratefully add that to my mother as well as to my father I am indebted for having memorized in early life almost all the writings of King Solomon, his Proverbs, his Ecclesiastes, and many of the Psalms of his father, David. They have not only been written on the tablet of my memory, but incorporated with my modes of thinking and speaking." With such preparation of discipline as this was the powerful nature of Alexander Campbell nurtured through its period of formation. Not, however, without strong tendencies of resistance and counter-struggling, which under other masters, and a less divine and devoted guidance, might have made the "reformer of Bethany" only a great barrister, or an Irish agitator, — the peer of O'Connell in the House of Commons, or a patriot statesman, by the side of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, in American politics. For nature had given him the elements of greatness, and fashioned him for a ruler and leader of men.

From his father's academy at Rich Hill, where he had labored both as pupil and as teacher, he passed to the University of Glasgow. Studies in Scotland. Professors Young and Jardine were his favorites in the departments of philosophy and logic and belles-lettres, — and Dr. Ure's lectures and experiments in the Anderson Institute, just then founded, introduced him to the very fountain-head of modern physics. For seventeen hours per day he bent his vigorous powers to his tasks. In after years, while president of Bethany College, he was fond of telling his students that though his name came among the first on the alphabetical class rolls, he never failed to return his "*adsum*" to the call of the professor. Outside of the university he formed "a very happy acquaintance with Dr. Greville Ewing, and Dr. Wardlaw, then prominent actors among the Scotch Independents, as well as with Dr. Moultrie, Dr. Mitchell, and others of the Presbyterian faith." From such influences as these he received impressions that gave both impulse and direction to his after life, and had much to do, doubtless, in preparing him for his extraordinary career.

In 1809 he migrated to the United States, and hastened to join his father, Thomas Campbell, who had preceded him, and was already settled at Washington, in Western Pennsylvania, whither he had been sent by the Associate Synod of North America as a Seceder minister, under

the Presbytery of Chartiers. He found his father already engaged in an attempted "reformation," — and scarcely recognized on terms of ecclesiastic fellowship by the Seceders, because of his persistency in rejecting "all human authority in matters of religion," and his "plea for union on the simple basis of the Scriptures." The principle and the object of this movement at once commended it to the judgment and religious convictions of Alexander Campbell. It was in harmony with the deepest convictions of his mind as to the divine origin of all that is binding on the human conscience in matters of faith and religion, and his strong, positive intellect and resolute will accepted its fundamental proposition, with the absoluteness of an axiom. But there was nothing in the scheme to inspire ambition, or to tempt selfishness. Seemingly, it was a barren and impractical dream.

They were strangers in a new world, without position or wealth. The country was yet almost a wilderness, and they were removed from the busy centres of social, political, and ecclesiastical influence. What but isolation and proscription could a secession like this promise to the actors? Evidently, for a young and gifted pioneer, there was not a ray of promise of either honor or wealth on the side of dissent and secession. But on the other hand, the way was open and inviting. Pittsburgh, not far off, was already a growing and busy city of four or five thousand inhabitants, and soon tempting offers came to Alexander Campbell to employ his fine education in the conduct of a literary and classical academy in that city. A thousand dollars was at that time a tempting salary to a young man just starting in life, and especially to one who had been accustomed in Ireland to see old and gifted Seceder ministers paid only from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty dollars per year. Besides, there was the open way to large circles of friendly influence and avenues of honor and promotion. But his heart had already passed through an experience that prepared it to choose "the better part," and the decision was promptly and firmly made.

Speaking of himself when seventeen years old, he says: "From the time that I could read the Scriptures, I became convinced that Jesus was the Son of God. I was also fully persuaded that I was a sinner, and must obtain pardon through the merits of Christ, or be forever lost. This caused me great distress of soul, and I had much exercise of mind under the awakenings of a guilty conscience. Finally, after many strugglings, I was enabled to put my trust in the Saviour, and to feel my reliance on Him as the only Saviour of sinners. From the moment I was able to feel this reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ, I obtained and enjoyed peace of mind. It never entered my heart to investigate the subject of baptism or the doctrines of the creed." This was the beginning of his public profession of religion, as a communicant with the Seceders.

Experience of religion.

Later, when sailing out of Lough Foyle with his father's family for America, the vessel was caught in a storm and driven to pieces on the reefs of the island of Islay. "Sitting on the stump of a broken mast, . . . and musing upon the vanity of the aims and ambitions of human life, he thought of his father's noble example, devoted to God and the salvation of his fellow-beings, and in that solemn hour resolved that, if saved from the present peril, he would give his life to the ministry of the gospel." And still again, when his voyage was renewed, and he was brought into a like peril, this sacred vow of self-consecration was repeated. It was a covenant which, calm amid the fury of the elements, his soul had made with his Maker and Redeemer, and the new situation, in the midst of safety and the brightening hopes of worldly advantage, could not tempt him to break it. The crisis of his life seemed to have been prepared for him by his Heavenly Parent, and he did not hesitate as to his choice.

Under his father's guidance, therefore, he gave himself industriously to special preparation for his chosen work, and on the 15th of July, 1810, he preached his first sermon. It was in one of nature's stately groves, rudely seated for the purpose, and to an audience naturally curious to hear the "young scholar from Glasgow." Even his critical father pronounced it "good," and calls from many quarters were soon made to hear the "young man who was a better preacher than his father," so that it is reported that during the remaining six months of that year he delivered one hundred and six sermons; some in private houses, some in barns, a few in churches, but the greater number in selected groves of the native forest. His ministry soon took a wider range, and he made missionary tours into the neighboring parts of Virginia and Ohio, preaching wherever he could find an audience: to individuals of prominence, — like Philip to the eunuch, — to fireside groups, in court-houses, and occasionally in such pulpits as were opened to him, — "to mixed audiences of Presbyterians, Unionists, Methodists," and others.

So far, his father's movement for a larger union of Christians had only resulted in a complete isolation of himself and his associates from the fellowship of all existing ecclesiastical organizations. This was contrary to his hopes and expectations. "He would have liked," as D'Aubigné says of Calvin, "to see all the churches transformed, rather than set themselves apart and form a new one." But this could not be. An earnest overture had been made to the Presbyterian synod of Pittsburgh, but it was distinctly refused. Hitherto, they had coöperated under the name of "The Christian Association," but laid no claim to independent church organization; but now no other course seemed left them, and "The Christian Association" was organized into the "Brush Run Church," with Thomas Campbell as its elder, several deacons, and Alexander Campbell as its licensed preacher.

Forms the Disciples' Church.

His preaching, during these years, was in no characteristic sense polemical. Still, it was a firm, practical protest against much that was dear to the existing parties, in that it refused to be subjected to their control. "Am I asked," said he, "why I am not a party man, — why I do not join some party? I ask in return, Which party would the Apostle Paul join if now on earth? Or, in other words, which party would receive him? I dare not be a party man. (1.) Because Christ has forbidden me. . . . (2.) Because no party will receive into communion all whom God would receive into heaven. . . . (4.) Because all parties oppose reformation. They all pray for it, but they will not work for it. None of them dare return to the original standard."

Having adopted the principle that he would conform his religious life in all things strictly to the precepts and precedents of the sacred Scriptures, it was not long till he was led to challenge the authority of pædobaptism. The question indeed came to him in a pressing practical form, not to be evaded. In 1812 he married a Miss Brown, who with her father's family was a member of the Presbyterian Church. The question rose, "Shall we baptize our first-born?" This led to further questions respecting baptism. The discussion, thus begun, was engaged in by the whole of the Brush Run congregation, and the result was that in a short time not only Alexander Campbell and his father and their families, but nearly all the members of the organization, were immersed. Those who did not follow in the action soon withdrew their fellowship, and the Brush Run Church became, so far as this institution could characterize it, a Baptist church. They reserved, however, their independent position as to creeds and confessions of faith. "I have set out," said Alexander Campbell to the Baptist minister whom he requested to immerse him, "I have set out to follow the Apostles of Christ and their master, and I will be baptized only into the primitive Christian faith."

Hitherto he had preached as a licentiate of the Brush Run congregation, and now the question of his "ordination" was raised, and this like everything else was brought to the test of the Scriptures. "Utterly repudiating the claim of apostolic succession, of priestly supremacy, and the communication of any official grace by superiors to inferiors, or that the clergy had any inherent or transmissible power in them, as it respects ordination," he nevertheless saw that it was a clearly established apostolic custom, and accepted it as a solemn and Scriptural mode of setting persons apart, and of committing them, when chosen by the church, to the discharge of official duties. He believed himself "called to the ministry by many tokens¹ of the divine purpose;" he had already, by solemn vows, consecrated himself in heart to the work, and it was right and Scriptural that he should be formally set apart by "ordination."

¹ In an entry made by him at the time, he states twelve separate "instances of divine power which he considered bound him under special obligations to devote himself to this service of God."

According to his light was his obedience. As he represented it, "This band of reformers had engaged themselves to be, not a sect, with its truths and its errors equally stereotyped and equally immutable, but a party of progress, as learners in the school of Christ." Soon they were brought into a prominence that excited attention, discussion, controversy, and bitter opposition.

For a number of years, from his immersion in 1812 to his debate with McCalla in 1823, his labors in the ministry, though zealous and arduous, were confined to the limited region round about his home in West Virginia. He managed a farm, toiling arduously with his own hands; conducted the Buffalo Seminary, which he established in his own house; and preached whenever and wherever he could get an audience, without charges on any one. In a letter written to an uncle in Ireland during this period, he reveals in a few bold strokes his views of the country and his own religious status. "I have had," he says, "my horse shod by a legislator, my horse saddled, my boots cleaned, and my stirrup held by a senator. Here is no nobility but virtue; here there is no ascendancy save that of genius, virtue, and knowledge. A farmer here is lord of the soil, and the most independent man on earth. I would not exchange the honor and privilege of being an American citizen for the position of your king. . . . After long study and investigation of books, and more especially the sacred Scriptures, I have, through clear convictions of truth and duty, renounced much of the traditions and errors of my early education. I am now an Independent in ^{his account of} church government; . . . of the faith and view of the ^{his belief.} gospel exhibited in John Walker's seven letters to Alexander Knox, and a Baptist as respects baptism. . . . What I am in religion, I am from examination, reflection, and conviction, not from *ipse dixit*, tradition, or human authorities; and having halted and faltered and stumbled. I have explored every inch of the way hitherto, and I trust through grace 'I am what I am.' Though my father and I accord in sentiment, neither of us is a dictator or an imitator. Neither of us leads; neither of us follows."

His views and his course as to baptism excited very general inquiry in the sphere of his influence, but both he and his father had hitherto earnestly deprecated the thought of giving their investigations a controversial cast, and these inquiries were mostly restricted to the private circles of fireside examination of the Scriptures. But in 1820, John Walker, of Ohio, a Presbyterian, made offer to a Baptist preacher by the name of Birch to debate the question of baptism either with him or with any one he might select. Mr. Campbell was urged to meet this challenge. The correspondence shows that he did so with great reluctance, but, as he says, his "unwillingness to appear, much more to feel, afraid to defend" his position on the subject overcame his scruples. The discussion was

oral, but it was afterwards written out and published by Mr. Campbell. It had a large circulation, and excited an interest beyond all expectation. It seems to have been the first step in his course which suggested the use of the press for a wider diffusion of his plea for a return to "primitive order" in all things relating to faith and practice in religion.

The combined cares and labors of the farm, the Buffalo Seminary, and the increasing and widening calls upon him in the ministry, had somewhat impaired his health, and he determined to change his method of work, and to employ the power of the press in the propagation of his own views. The result was the establishment of a printing press at his retired home in the hills and forest solitudes of West Virginia, and the issue of a monthly periodical which he called the "Christian Baptist." The first number was issued on the 4th of July, 1823. It was literally a child of faith and hope, for there was as yet no subscription list, no backing of authority, and no ecclesiastical affiliation to afford promise of patronage. But many circumstances concurred to give it a speedy introduction to the public. It was in the boldest sense aggressive, especially upon the "clergy" and all humanisms in religion, and marked by an energy in the positive assertion of the "primitive order of all things in religion," that won for it a notoriety unparalleled in religious journalism. Simultaneously with its issue Campbell made his first visit to Kentucky to debate on baptism with the Rev. Mr. McCalla, a Presbyterian divine, by whom he had been challenged. This created among the Baptists, who were numerous in Kentucky, a profound admiration for Mr. Campbell, and they eagerly sought his "Christian Baptist," that they might learn something more of their "admired champion," and in a short time the ecclesiastic circles all over Kentucky were ablaze with the excitement which the debate and his writings produced. This unpretentious monthly was continued for seven years, and its influence was widespread. Mr. Campbell was earnestly invited to make extensive tours, and Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee were all visited by him. Wherever he went multitudes poured out to hear him, and his life was one unremitting "labor in word and doctrine." It has been computed that in these seven years he printed and circulated forty-six thousand volumes of his writings in the defense and dissemination of his views. The "Christian Baptist" was in 1830 superseded by the "Millennial Harbinger," a monthly of sixty pages, which was continued till 1864.

The limits of this article forbid more than a passing allusion to the mighty labors of this extraordinary man. His published works amount to about sixty volumes. He held, besides the debates with Walker and McCalla, already mentioned, other discussions, in all which he displayed the remarkable powers of memory, wit, ridicule, sarcasm, and repartee for which he was distinguished; but these were ever subordinated to the defense and elucidation of truth,

His books and his great debates.

the reproof and discomfiture of tradition and authority, and the exposure of superstition and delusion. His great learning, ready invention, adroit skill as a dialectician, and keen penetration by which he saw at a glance into the heart of all questions, and drove the point of his javelin straight to the vital point of controversy; these, with a coolness and self-possession that no fire of assault could excite, nor artifice of sophistry embarrass, constituted his irresistible power as a debater. He always thoroughly understood his subject, — both sides of it, — always entered into its discussion with a deep conviction of its importance, always subjected it to, with him, the one test of verity, the sacred Scriptures, always thought himself right, and never doubted that with the truth on his side, he could debate successfully with any antagonist.

His devotion to truth was chivalric. His soul rose like David's against any champion who defied the cause of Christ. When he first saw the arrogant and unaccepted challenge of Robert Owen, the socialist, to discuss with any of the clergy his infidel doctrines, Mr. Campbell replied, "I have felt indignant at the aspect of things in reference to this infidel and lawless scheme," and immediately took up the gauntlet, "relying," as he expressed it, "on the Author, the reasonableness, and the excellency of the Christian religion." And when, in the College of Teachers, Bishop Purcell affirmed that "the Protestant Reformation had been the cause of all the contention and infidelity in the world," Mr. Campbell immediately challenged him to make good his calumny in public debate, and so brought on the most notable and powerful exposure of Romanism that has ever been made. In 1843 he held the most comprehensive, learned, and famous discussion of his life, the debate with Dr. Rice at Lexington, Kentucky. Almost every controversial topic in the wide range of theology came under consideration, directly or indirectly, in this discussion, and the comprehensive sweep of Mr. Campbell's learning and genius never shone more conspicuously than in the majestic power with which he handled the sublimest and the profoundest questions ever grappled by the human mind.

He was the friend and patron of every enterprise that had in it the purpose and the promise of enlightening and civilizing the masses of men. The cause of education stood, in his esteem, next to Christianity, at once its product and its ally; and to bring its powerful agency to her aid was his cherished object in the founding of Bethany College.

He had labored long and earnestly to excite the people to ^{His college.} the study of the Word of God; had compiled, revised, and published and circulated widely new versions of the Holy Scriptures; had taught multitudes of people how to study the Bible, and excited whole communities, all over the land, to the formation of Bible classes, and the investigation of divine truth for themselves; had claimed for it its place and agency in the conversion of the world to Christ; and his thought

was still further to honor the sacred oracles, and incorporate their power with the elements of our public life, by founding a college in which the Bible should be a text-book. No man understood better the power of education, or believed more fully in the maxim that whatever is to appear in the life of a people should be put into the studies of the schools. A college founded upon the Bible was but the natural offspring of his life-long struggle to bring all things in religion to the one standard of the Word of God.

His reverence for the Bible, his faith in the power of the Word to work out the revolution of the world, his constant and unremitting study of it, his ability to repeat it and run the long chain of sequences in its mighty arguments, his comprehension of its meaning, his grasp of its wondrous system and scheme, his sympathy with its all-comprehending philanthropy, his lofty admiration and conception of the majesty, dignity, and glory of its Christ, his humility and his confidence before this presence as revealed in our nature, his power to magnify and exalt in the minds and hearts of men the love of God as manifested in the gift of his Son for their redemption, his power to grasp and model into shape and hold up before the imagination in vivid and sublime pictures the deep things of God, — the great mystery of godliness, — these are some of the points in which Alexander Campbell stood out among men, conspicuous in his generation.

Socially he was one of the most genial of men. The abounding buoyancy of his spirits lifted all men out of their despondency, and imparted to them, for the time, an energy and heart above themselves. In his family his presence was a perpetual benediction. Severe as he was in the religious discipline of his household in the study and knowledge of the Scriptures, there was nothing of the ascetic in his life or bearing, and cheerfulness shone as a blessed atmosphere wherever he went. In converse he was a discourses. You could not, you did not want to interrupt him by replies. No matter what the topic might be, he soon struck off some grand analogy that led him to Christ and his redemption, and the current of his thoughts became too deep, the soarings of his imagination too high, the majesty and sweep of his thought too sublime and wide, for you to feel like interrupting him, or to wish to arrest him. In his many and long tours, his intercourse with the thousands who thronged to hear him, whether in the pulpit, in the stage-coach, or by the fireside, was, as it were, an unbroken monologue on the one sublime but myriad-sided theme of the gospel.

As he lived so he died. He gradually blossomed into a beautiful old age, just forgetful enough of the concerns of this world to feel no annoyance from them, just mindful enough of them to throw over them the sweetness of a most divine charity; and with respect to the objects of the future life, lifting up to them a clearer vision and a more rapturous

joy of anticipation, as he day by day drew nearer to their possession. "Heaven seemed to lie about him," as he walked in holy meditation among the trees of his own planting; and when in his eighty-eighth year, at the close of a lovely Sabbath day in March, his eye rested upon the light of the setting sun as it streamed into his chamber, almost his last words were, "Yes, the setting sun! It will soon go down. But unto them that fear his name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in his wings." — W. K. P.

LIFE XIX. JOHN MASON PECK.

A. D. 1789—A. D. 1857. BAPTIST, — AMERICA.

THE fact, though humiliating, should be salutary in its influence, that very few persons are remembered for any long period after they die. Of almost all "born of women" it may be said, they live, they die, and are forgotten. Here and there a name is found on the page of history, but the names of countless millions are not there, and were never there.

As there is this general tendency to oblivion, — a tendency which cannot be arrested, — the only thing the living can do is to rescue, as well as they can, the names of a few from forgetfulness. These names must obviously be few. The many cannot be remembered. As Protestant Christendom is divided into different religious denominations, it is well for these denominations to preserve a record of some, of their representative men, if not of all. Such men are to be found, and among them, in the Baptist denomination, is John Mason Peck, who, in his generation, was a zealous laborer in the kingdom of his Lord.

Of Puritan descent, he was born in Connecticut on the 31st of October, 1789, a year signalized by the inauguration of George Washington as the first president of the United States. The only child of poor parents, he was required, when about fourteen ^{His early difficulties.} years of age, through the physical disability of his father, to perform the chief labor of cultivating their small farm. Devoting the largest part of the year to the pursuits of agriculture, he availed himself during the winter of the advantages of the common school. These advantages were quite limited as compared with those of the present time. Boys and girls were taught spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Geography and grammar were not included in the regular studies of the common schools. Dr. Peck in after years may have disparaged himself at this period of his life, for he referred to himself as "more stupid and sluggish than ordinary lads." When at eighteen years of age he taught school, for a time he felt and deplored his deficiencies, but, as is often the case, a consciousness of ignorance stimulated effort in pursuit of

knowledge. He was constantly adding to his stock of information, and became more intelligent than most young men of his age.

Like many boys, John had religious impressions at an early age, which, however, were only occasional and transient. It was not until he reached his eighteenth year that his impressions became deep and permanent. He was induced to attend a meeting where a revival was in progress. "Here," to use his own words, "I was brought to see myself a guilty sinner before God, deserving his wrath. These exercises continued and increased for about one week. I viewed myself lost without the interposition of God's mercy. My distress increased, and my burden became heavier, until the end of the week, when I was delivered, and found a peace of mind and a joy in God which I had never felt before. Insensibly, my heart was drawn out to love and praise the Lord. . . . My hope was not at first as clear and bright as it afterwards became, when a fuller discovery was made of the way of salvation through the merits of Christ."

From this epoch in his life Mr. Peck seems to have been recognized as a member of a Congregational church to which his parents belonged. The change which had taken place in him involved preëminently his spiritual nature, but a wonderful impulse was given also to his mental nature. His mind became more vigorous and active. It was quickened and strengthened by contact with the glorious truths of the gospel, though his literary attainments were very meagre. It appears strange now that Mr. Peck did not seek the advantages of thorough scholarship, but instead of doing so he married when nineteen years of age. It is to be supposed that at the time he did not expect to become a minister of the gospel, for with such an expectation it is scarcely credible that he would entangle himself with the cares of a family, and preclude himself from the benefits of a suitable education. We must not, however, be severe in our judgment, as we know not all the circumstances surrounding him.

Bringing his bride to the paternal home, where he was born, he lived there with his parents for about two years. The birth of the first child of the young married pair led to important results, — results which changed Mr. Peck's denominational relations for life. It was expected that the child would, as the common phrase was, be "dedicated to God by baptism," but the mother saw no Scriptural authority for the baptism of infants, and while the father did not agree with her he was induced to examine the subject, and became greatly perplexed concerning it.

In his perplexity he had numerous interviews with the Rev. Lyman Beecher, whose name was afterward known throughout Christendom. Mr. Beecher was of course as able as any other man to present the arguments in favor of infant baptism, but they did not satisfy Mr. and Mrs. Peck. Their child was not baptized.

Having remained with his father for two years, Mr. Peck decided to remove to the State of New York. Leaving his native Connecticut, which he ever loved, he found a home in Green County, New York. Here he had a better opportunity than before of becoming acquainted with Baptists. Nor will it surprise any one that he with his wife became Baptists. Their renunciation of infant baptism led them of necessity to believe that the rite as administered to them was null and void. Regarding themselves unbaptized, and believing baptism to be not a parental but a personal act, they began to inquire, What is baptism? After due examination they found but one answer to this question. They were immersed on a profession of their faith in Christ. Having become members of the New Durham Enters the Baptist Church. Baptist Church, it was not long before the church, according to the usage of the Baptist denomination, gave license to Peck to preach the gospel. He "conferred not with flesh and blood," but the next day made his first attempt at expounding a text. His missionary impulses led him to discuss Mark xvi. 15, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." He seems to have preached with great personal enjoyment, and, like many young preachers, he thought the light and glory of that day would never be followed by darkness or gloom. Alas for him, one week did not pass away before he had what he calls "sore trials." Having as a licensed minister preached acceptably for about two years, his ordination was called for by the church in Catskill, New York, and was granted by a council met for the purpose on the 9th of June, 1813. From that time forward he preached the gospel and administered the ordinances as he had opportunity. In 1815 he became acquainted with Rev. Luther Rice, who was performing almost superhuman labor in traveling through the North and the South, and in appealing to the churches in behalf of foreign missions. Rice found in Peck a congenial spirit and received important assistance from him. Indeed, the soul of Peck was so imbued with the spirit of missions that he was contemplating a personal consecration to the enterprise. Often he found himself secretly saying, "Here am I, send me." A moment's reflection, however, convinced him of his lack of qualifications for so important a work. His zeal in the missionary cause led him to acquaint himself with the plans and purposes of the Baptist Triennial Convention for Foreign Missions, formed in the year 1814, of which Rev. Dr. William Staughton was corresponding secretary. Dr. Staughton was pastor in Philadelphia, and was thought by many to be the most eloquent man of his generation. His energy and industry were almost incredible. He often preached four and five times on the Lord's day, lectured in schools and academies on week-days, visited the sick and attended the funerals of the dead, maintained an extensive correspondence, and had theological students under his instruction.

The further Mr. Peck prosecuted the work of the ministry, the more conscious he was of his need of theological training. He was no doubt drawn by his missionary sympathies to Dr. Staughton, and amid many difficulties arrangements were made for him to spend about two years in Philadelphia. There was not at that time a regular theological school among the Baptists of America, and it was thought a great privilege to have the instruction of Dr. Staughton. It was a severe trial to Peck to leave his family in their New York home, but it seemed to be a necessity. He sacrificed domestic comfort for the sake of qualifying himself as well as possible for the great work of his life. He visited his family once or twice a year.

Very soon after the formation of the triennial convention, in 1814, the policy of sending missionaries to the Missouri Territory was discussed by the board of managers. This immense region lying west of the Mississippi was a part of what was called the "Louisiana Purchase," made by President Jefferson from France in 1803. Peck and one of his fellow-students, Rev. James E. Welch, were appointed missionaries to this territory on the 17th of May, 1817. Peck wrote, "The long agony is over. The board have accepted Mr. Welch and myself as missionaries to the Missouri Territory during our and their pleasure, and have appropriated the sum of one thousand dollars to defray our getting to St. Louis and for the support of the mission. In this I think I see the hand of God most visibly."

At once Peck made arrangements to start with his family for his Western home. He left his father's house on the 25th of July. His mode of conveyance to his place of destination was "a little one-horse wagon," in which was found room for the father, mother, and three children. The journey to the Mississippi, now requiring less than two days, demanded then several months of laborious travel and no little exposure to danger. Almost a month was spent in getting from Philadelphia over the Alleghany Mountains to Pittsburgh. Thence Peck made his way through the State of Ohio, passed into Kentucky, where he joined his colleague Welch, and on the 6th of November they crossed the Ohio River at Shawneetown. They were then in Illinois, at that time a Territory, but admitted into the Union as a State the next year (1818). There had been very heavy rains and the Ohio River had risen rapidly, and many parts of the country were submerged. The missionaries were in great perplexity, and it was finally decided that Mr. Peck and family should go by boat to St. Louis and leave Mr. Welch to make his way by land as soon as the subsidence of the waters would permit. The only boat available was called a keel-boat, afterward described by Mr. Peck as follows:—

"A keel-boat in shape very nearly resembled a canal boat, but with a gunwale on each side twelve or fifteen inches in width. Besides hoisting

a sail in a favorable wind, especially when going down stream, there were three modes of propelling a keel-boat in passing up stream. These were the use of the cordelle, the setting pole, and occasionally bushwhacking. Except in crossing a river, when oars were used, the boat had to creep along shore."

The splendid steamboats which now ply on the Ohio River, with their luxurious accommodations, present a gratifying contrast to the keel-boats of other days. Indeed, the "bushwhacking" operation, which consisted in catching hold of the limbs of trees and dragging the boat along, is now regarded as something to laugh at, but there was nothing laughable in the effort to get the keel-boat up the Mississippi, though it may have gone down the Ohio with but little difficulty. This Mr. Peck fully ascertained, and had his patience severely tested. In addition to the difficulties of the navigation he was, when near Cape Girardeau, assailed by disease, which for a time threatened a serious pulmonary affection. The little boat reached St. Louis the first day of December, more than four months from the time Peck set out on his laborious journey. He had traveled over twelve hundred miles. Having landed at St. Louis, the first thing was to procure accommodations for himself and family, and the best he could do was to rent, for twelve dollars a month, "a single room." He found some respectable families, but the most of the people were wicked and of vulgar tastes, while many of them were blaspheming infidels. The latter had been known to engage in "a mock celebration of the Lord's Supper," and in "burning the Bible," while they openly said that "the Sabbath never had crossed, and never should cross, the Mississippi." These were discouragements, but they proclaimed in trumpet tones the great need of missionary labor. As soon as possible Peck and Welch began to prosecute the objects of their mission. "They rented a school-room and commenced teaching, while for want of better accommodations they occupied the same room on the Sabbath and on Wednesday evening for preaching. In February they constituted a small church. In April they baptized several candidates, using for the first time, as they thought, the great river for this solemn Christian ordinance. Very soon they opened a subscription for building a church edifice, and were greatly cheered by obtaining on it nearly three thousand dollars. . . . In the mean time, they opened a Sunday-school for the instruction of colored children and adults, and were soon cheered with finding nearly one hundred names enrolled as pupils." I presume there can be no doubt that this was the first Sunday-school for colored children west of the Mississippi, and it therefore has a chronological distinction worthy of remembrance.

It would be agreeable to dwell in detail on the various labors of the missionaries in St. Louis. This, however, cannot be done.

Peck could not long resist his desire to explore certain parts of Mis-

souri and Illinois, and he therefore, as he found it practicable, made preaching excursions from St. Louis, and learned the religious state of things in many places. The brethren whose missionary he was received from him the first trustworthy information from important parts of the Great West. In one of his excursions Peck had an interview with "the veritable Daniel Boone, the pioneer and hunter of Kentucky." He was very favorably impressed by the conversation of the old man, who "spoke feelingly and with solemnity of being a creature of Providence, ordained by Heaven as a pioneer in the wilderness to advance the civilization and extension of his country." Boone was then (1818) more than eighty years old.

At the present time, in reading Mr. Peck's diary, we are almost forced to the conclusion that there was too little concentration in his labors. His motives were unquestionably pure in traveling and preaching through a large extent of country, and no doubt some of the seed which he sowed in so large a field sprang up and bore fruit. Indeed, to this day there are delightful reminiscences of his labors of love, and when he was importuned by those who had not heard a sermon for years to repeat his visits it was well-nigh impossible for him to decline compliance with requests so earnestly made. Still, it might have been better if, for several years, he had concentrated his efforts as a missionary at St. Louis. The brethren under whose appointment he was acting most probably thought so, for it is obvious that results at St. Louis did not equal their expectations. They seem to have been rather impatient of speedy results. It is often the case that missionary boards indulge hopes destined to partial disappointment. There does not seem to have been any serious complaint of the St. Louis missionaries, but they were informed July 9, 1820, that the mission was closed. Two of the reasons influencing the action of the board were these: (1.) "The want of ample funds for a vigorous prosecution. (2.) A supposition on the part of the board that this region would be soon supplied by the immigration into it of preachers from the Middle and Eastern States." Peck was directed to remove to Fort Wayne, Indiana, and join Isaac McCoy in his labors among the Indians. The board was earnestly requested to reconsider the subject, and such reasons against his going to Fort Wayne were assigned by Peck as induced a compliance with his wishes. His connection with the board of the triennial convention was, however, dissolved.

In the year 1822, Peck received an appointment from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. His commission bears the signature of two honored names, Thomas Baldwin, president, and Daniel Sharp, secretary. We must consider the state of things then, or it will appear incredible that the society agreed to pay the missionary only "five dollars a week" while engaged in actual service, and he was "to raise as much as practicable of this amount on the field of his labors"! It is not

strange that the life of a missionary is proverbially regarded as one of trials and privations. Peck's meagre support did not diminish his zeal nor paralyze his energy. He was obliged, however, to consult economy, and in doing so removed to Rock Spring, Illinois, which thenceforth was his home. Obtaining a half section of unimproved land, and aided by his neighbors, he erected suitable buildings, and began to till the soil to supplement a support which could not otherwise be secured. His congenial work was preaching the gospel, and to men of lethargic temperament the extent of his ministerial labors seems scarcely credible. "In season and out of season," in town and country, by day and by night, he proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation. To quote from one of his letters : —

"With sincerity of soul I can say there is no pursuit that affords such exquisite satisfaction as activity and success in measures to promote the gospel. I might dwell upon the difficulties attendant on an itinerating life, as absence from home, exposure to sickness, storms, cold, mud, swimming rivers, and not unfrequently rough fare ; but these are trifles not worthy of one moment's anxious concern. To live and labor for Him who died for the redemption of man is the highest favor we need seek after in this transitory life."

This extract breathes the missionary spirit ; and the missionary spirit would be the martyr spirit, should the days of martyrdom return. Peck was the ardent friend of missions, and while laboring in the good cause learned to his sorrow that many families were without the Word of God. He did not hesitate, therefore, to undertake the formation of Bible societies, that the people might be supplied with the Scriptures. During the next year (1823) he accepted an agency from the American Bible Society, and engaged actively in the organization of auxiliary societies. In connection with this work, he became impressed with the necessity of a society to promote Sunday-schools, and arranged his plan of operation. It is worthy of remark that this was a year before the formation of the American Sunday-School Union. There was in that day no man in Illinois or Missouri so devoted to the circulation of the Bible and the promotion of Sunday-schools as was Mr. Peck. It was his deep interest in the Sunday-school enterprise which induced him, twenty years later, to accept, for a time, the secretaryship of the American Baptist Publication Society, whose head-quarters are in Philadelphia. The success of this organization was not for some years after its formation in 1824 very satisfactory ; but it is now a great power in the denomination that sustains it. Its business and benevolent receipts are not far from half a million of dollars annually. Peck regarded it as a grand means of doing good. His prayers for its prosperity were frequent and fervent.

Though by no means a perfect literary or theological scholar, Peck felt a profound interest in the cause of education. Very soon after his re-

removal to the West he began to consider the project of founding a seminary, chiefly with a view to the education of young ministers. The difficulties in his way were so great that they yielded only to his heroic energy and unflinching perseverance. In 1827 the institution which he styled Rock Spring Seminary was established, which, in process of development, became the Alton Seminary, and is now Shurtleff College, where the advantages of collegiate and theological training are enjoyed. Truly, the seed sown by Mr. Peck is bearing fruit, "some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold."

It was during a visit to the Eastern States, in 1826, that Peck had an interview with Jonathan Going, of Massachusetts, and impressed him most deeply with the importance of an American Baptist Home Mission Society. Six years after, such a society was formed in New York, and Dr. Going was appointed its first secretary. The formation of the society had special reference to the preaching of the gospel to the destitute thousands of the West, and it was Peck who gave information as to their condition. It seems, therefore, that a society now employing three hundred missionaries is historically traceable to the active mind and benevolent heart of John Mason Peck. If this had been the only work of his life, it was well worth while for him to live.

From what has been already said, it will be inferred that Peck had enlarged views of the power of the press. This is true, and it is to be said in honor of his enterprise that he became "editor and publisher of the first religious newspaper in that wide region, where so many have since flourished." It was very appropriately called "The Pioneer." It was printed first at Rock Spring, afterward at Alton, and styled the "Western Pioneer;" but it was subsequently united with the "Baptist Banner" of Louisville, Kentucky, and the two papers are perpetuated in the "Western Recorder." Peck's was a prolific pen. He wrote extensively for religious papers, and, strange as it may seem, amid his multifarious labors he published two volumes, "Guide to Emigrants" and "Life of Daniel Boone." Of the former volume Dr. Lyman Beecher expressed a very high opinion, and it is enough to say of the latter that it was published in Dr. Sparks's American Biography. While Peck was a laborious preacher and a forcible writer, it is useless to attempt to decide whether he accomplished more good by the living voice or by the pen he wielded so industriously. This is a question which can find no accurate answer till the light of eternity dispels the obscurity of our present conceptions.

In the year 1852 Peck received from Harvard University the title of Doctor of Divinity. No man cared less for such honors, and few men were so worthy of them. He appreciated the compliment as coming from an institution whose religious views were not congenial with his own.

Father of the
Home Mission
Society.

Too often the distinctions of title are conferred by denominational colleges for denominational reasons, and comparatively young men aspire to and obtain the coveted doctorate. Harvard honored Dr. Peck when he had reached his threescore years, when his stores of knowledge were unquestionable, and the powers of his mind were in full maturity.

The reader of this story will have seen that Dr. Peck was remarkable for originating plans of doing good. It was therefore characteristic of him when, in 1853, he projected the American Baptist Historical Society. This institution has its head-quarters in Philadelphia, and its chief object is to gather up and preserve the writings of Baptists in times past and present. In carrying out this object much has been done and more will be done. Dr. Peck, at the formation of the society, could scarcely have thought that in after years his friend and fellow-student, Rev. Dr. Howard Malcom, would so zealously espouse and promote the interests of the organization.

But the most active and the most useful life must have an end. The best men are frail and mortal. Dr. Peck, after many years spent in multifarious labors to advance the cause of Christ, perceived that the time of his departure was at hand. Mrs. Peck died October 24, 1856, and he survived her but a few months. His death occurred March 14, 1857. Their wedded life embraced a period of nearly half a century. When husband and wife have borne together for long years the burdens of life, it is a merciful providence when they die about the same time, so that the survivor does not long weep at the grave of the dead. Mrs. Peck had been, during her religious life, troubled, more or less, with doubts as to her acceptance with God; but on her dying bed she "had gained clearer views of the all-perfect righteousness of Christ, and all doubts were gone."

Dr. Peck, when asked how he felt in view of death, said, "I feel as I always have felt since relying on Christ. If I were not ready for death, this would be a poor time to prepare. But I have no fear of death at all. I assure you I am a stranger to any such feeling as fear in reference to dying. Tell this to all these kind friends. . . . I have never done anything that can save me. All my works could never rescue me from destruction. Only Christ is my Saviour, my whole dependence."

There is perfect consistency between unreserved reliance on grace for salvation and zealous activity in the performance of good works. This fact was exemplified in Paul. The grace that saved him stimulated him to abundant labor. It was so with Dr. Peck. Saved by grace, he was obliged, under the impulses of sanctified gratitude, to abound in the work of the Lord. He now rests from his labors, and his works do follow him. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." John, the beloved disciple, heard a voice from heaven uttering these precious words.

I am glad he listened to a voice from heaven, for if he had listened to any of the ten thousand voices of earth he would have recorded a very different sentiment. He would have written, Blessed are the living, — those who live in circumstances of worldly affluence and splendor. He hearkened to a voice from heaven, which said, “Write,” — commit it to the imperishable pages of inspiration for the comfort of the saints in all ages, — “Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them.”

LIFE XX. FRANCIS WAYLAND.

A. D. 1796—A. D. 1865. BAPTIST, — AMERICA.

FRANCIS WAYLAND may stand for a typical American, grown from American soil, formed by American institutions, and penetrated by the American spirit. He abhorred oppression and injustice, and the wrongs inflicted by monarchs and nobles and social castes. He sympathized with the people, and with all institutions that guarded their rights and strengthened their manhood. He was practical in aim and self-reliant in spirit, and believed that a nation can prosper only as every man makes the most of himself.

He was born in New York, March 11, 1796. His parents, of good English stock, emigrated to this country in 1793. They had little culture, but possessed robust common sense, sterling integrity, and sincere piety. The father, by trade a currier, soon amassed a competent fortune for those days, and retired from business to become a preacher of the gospel. In the war with Great Britain, in 1812–1815, most of his property, invested in marine insurance companies, was lost, and he was able subsequently to give little aid to his children in acquiring a liberal education. The son always cherished a profound reverence for the memory of his parents, especially of his mother, and ascribed his success in life to their precepts, example, and counsels.

His education, apart from the home training, was of little value, till he came under the influence of Dr. Nott in his college course. Most of his teachers he thought incompetent for their work. One of them, who had some reputation, “never taught anything,” requiring only a repeating of the text. Others asked no questions, nor made suggestions beyond the text-book. For a little time he was under the instruction of Mr. D. H. Barnes in the classics, an extraordinary teacher, for whose inspiring influence he felt a profound gratitude through life.

But to Dr. Nott, the honored president of Union College, he always ascribed the most potent influence in forming his intellectual character.

He loved this great teacher with a reverence bordering on idolatry. He asserted that "attendance upon Dr. Nott's course of instruction formed an era in the life of every one of his pupils." He thought Dr. Nott "decidedly the ablest man he had ever known intimately."

He graduated with distinction at the early age of seventeen, and entered on the study of medicine, at first in the office of Dr. Moses Hale, and six months later in the office of Dr. Eli Burritt, of Troy, New York. The latter was a man of remarkable logical power, and an enthusiast in his profession. He took great interest in his young student, and stimulated ambition by wise appeals. "Now, Wayland," said he, "if you will bone down to it, and give your time and strength to your studies, I will make a man of you." The appeal was effective, and the promise was fulfilled.

At this time occurred a curious change in young Wayland's intellectual tastes. He had been an inveterate reader of novels and books of travels, taking no interest in more solid reading. He suddenly lost all love for novels. He describes the change: "I was sitting by a window, in an attic room which I occupied as a sort of study or reading-place, and by accident I opened a volume of the *Spectator*, — I think it was to one of the essays forming Addison's critique on Milton; it was, at any rate, something purely didactic. I commenced reading it, and, to my delight and surprise, I found that I understood it and really enjoyed it. I could not account for the change. I read on, and found that the very essays which I formerly passed over, without caring to read them, were now to me the gems of the whole book, vastly more attractive than the stories and narratives that I had formerly read with so much interest. I could explain it on no other theory than that a change had taken place in myself. I awoke to the consciousness that I was a thinking being, and a citizen, in some sort, of the republic of letters."¹ From that time he abandoned novel-reading, and his reading was restricted to works of standard excellence.

During this period he came also under the influence of a woman of remarkable character and culture, Mrs. Lavinia Stoddard. He always regarded her as a person of extraordinary power, possessing "an intellect capable of any amount of acquisition, and able to master with ease any conception. With these endowments were united a power of expression, and an ability to do anything which she determined to accomplish. She was withal a perfect woman; all was delicate and refined, while all was true and pure and lovable." He looked upon the intimacy with her and her husband as worth more to him than his college education.

Towards the close of his medical education he passed through the great change which shaped his life. The son of religious parents, he

¹ *Life and Labors*, vol. i., p. 42.

had never become a Christian by personal conviction. Of a religious nature himself, he had never exercised faith in Jesus, or submitted his will to God's will. But God had chosen him for eminent service, and summoned him now to a new course of life. He describes the change: "I had never for a single day in my life laid aside all other business, and earnestly sought of God the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit. I resolved that, dismissing every other thought, I would devote one day to reading the Scriptures and prayer, that I might be able to say that I had at least done something for the salvation of my soul.

"I at once put my resolution into practice. I retired to my chamber, and spent a day in this way. I perceived very little change in my feelings, save that a sense of the importance of the matter had so grown upon me that I resolved to spend the next day in the same manner. At the end of the second day, I determined to spend still a third day in the same employment; and at the expiration of that day, I determined to do nothing else until I had secured the salvation of my soul."¹

With the entrance on the Christian life came a change of profession. He turned from medicine to theology, feeling that God called him to the ministry of the gospel. In the following autumn he entered the theological seminary at Andover, then in the ninth year of its existence. Moses Stuart, the most learned Biblical scholar in the country, was there, in the vigor of his manhood, inspiring young men with his own enthusiasm. Young Wayland soon felt the power of this great teacher, and was aglow with zeal in the study of the Scriptures. He spent but a single year at Andover, but he never lost the impressions received under Professor Stuart; and at the semi-centennial anniversary of the seminary, in 1858, he paid a glowing tribute to the memory of his early friend and instructor. A warm friendship continued through life.

The year was one of sore pecuniary trials. The father had just lost both his property and his pastorate, and could afford no help. There were no influential friends to give the needed aid, and educational societies were not yet born to assist the deserving. He was pinched for money to buy needed books, and even to obtain clothing and board; and, though eager to return and complete his course, he saw no way of meeting the inevitable expenses.

With great reluctance he abandoned theological study to accept an appointment as tutor in Union College, by which he could earn his daily bread. It was a good position for mental growth. Daily association with Dr. Nott and Dr. Yates, and with younger men, like Wisner and Potter (afterwards Dr. Wisner and Bishop Potter), kept him at his best, while the broad range of studies he was obliged to teach compelled incessant toil. He always looked on the four years spent at Union as

¹ *Life and Labors*, vol. i., p. 51.

of great service to him intellectually, and spiritually as well; for in the latter part of the period he was brought into intimate relations with Dr. Nettleton, the famous evangelist, and received a new unction for the work of the ministry. He began to preach occasionally in destitute neighborhoods; and it may encourage young men to know that the sermons cost him prodigious toil. "It took me weeks — I know not but I might say months — to write a discourse of moderate length. I wrote and rewrote with endless care and anxiety. How men prepared two sermons a week I could not conceive."

In 1821 he accepted a call to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church, Boston, and began his labors in that city in August of the same year. Few ministers in this day would dare A pastor in Boston. accept such a call from a divided church. The vote stood in the church fifteen to ten, and in the society seventeen to fifteen. A strong minority, favoring a candidate of more popular gifts, but of slender intellectual furniture, determined to annoy him and drive him from the pulpit. But his unaffected humility and large charity, combined with a rare tact, soon made them ashamed of their unworthy aims, and converted many of them into warm friends. For more than five years he remained in Boston, quietly and faithfully doing his work as preacher and pastor; loathing all display, courting no popularity, but gradually winning the ear of the public as one of the profound thinkers and great teachers of the American pulpit. His sermon on the "Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise," preached in October, 1823, and soon after published, placed him at once among the foremost American preachers, and made his name familiar on the other side of the Atlantic. Successive sermons, also published, on the "Duties of an American Citizen" and on the "Death of Ex-Presidents Adams and Jefferson," added to his reputation, and convinced the public that a young man of rare originality and force was coming to the front in Boston, to whom the world would do well to listen. Had he remained in the pulpit for life his name might, perhaps, stand at the head of American preachers. It would be hard, at least, to find four sermons from any other preacher, under thirty years of age, worthy to be compared with those mentioned in breadth and grandeur of thought and in simple majesty of style. They will long hold their place among the classics of the American pulpit.

One almost regrets that he did not continue in the calling he was so well fitted to adorn, recalling the criticism of Robert Hall on his missionary sermon: "If he can preach such a sermon at twenty-seven, what will he do at fifty?" But in 1827 he accepted the presidency of Brown University, and the vigor of his manhood and the ripeness of his attainments were given to the cause of Christian education. The fortunes of the college were at a low ebb. It had lost, in a large measure, the confidence of the Baptist denomination,

Over the university at Providence.

which was its chief patron. Discipline was neglected; a love of sports superseded the love of study; and the college was deficient alike in philosophical apparatus, in library, and in endowments. It was soon evident that the corporation had made a wise choice of a leader. A new life and energy pervaded the college. Disorderly students felt the strong hand of a master, and submitted to the new discipline. Sluggish minds caught the spirit of an earnest teacher, and lovers of study were stirred to an intense enthusiasm. The young president put equal vigor into instruction and administration. No droning was tolerated in the recitation room, and no mischievous pranks went undetected or unpunished. His keen eye and firm hand were everywhere, and Brown University under Wayland passed through changes as rapid and marked as Rugby under Arnold. The citizens of Providence and the friends of the college welcomed the revolution, and responded cordially to the calls of the president for funds to carry out his broad views of education. New buildings were erected; a moderate endowment was raised; ample apparatus was furnished for instruction in chemistry and natural philosophy; and a liberal fund was obtained for the enlargement of the library. The college took its place among the best institutions of the country, and its president was recognized as one of the great educators of the age.

The early years of the presidency were years of intense mental toil. A singleness of purpose governed his entire life. He indulged in no recreation, even in vacations, nor even in a wide course of liberal studies. He aimed simply to become master of the studies in his own department; to acquire eminent power as an instructor; to make the college worthy of public confidence, and a place of thorough intellectual discipline for its students. His lecture-room was a throne, where he ruled with an imperial majesty by divine right. Socrates wielded no higher power over the young men of Athens than Francis Wayland over the senior classes of Brown University. Many men of eminence in the state and in liberal professions trace their intellectual birth to his words, and his eulogy of Dr. Nott is equally true of himself: "Attendance on his instructions formed an era in the life of every one of his pupils."¹ His own enthusiasm inspired his

¹ On Dr. Wayland's retirement from the presidency, Judge B. F. Thomas, of Massachusetts, in presenting some resolutions of the alumni, paid to his former teacher the following tribute:—

"It has been my privilege for three years to be your pupil. I have seen and have had other eminent masters: Joseph Story, whose name is identified with the jurisprudence of his country; John Hooker Ashman, who, an invalid for years, and dying at the early age of thirty-three, left behind him no superior in Massachusetts, whose mind had the point of a diamond, and the clearness of its waters; Pliny Merriek, who graces the bench on which I have the honor to sit, but of whom my near relation forbids me to speak as I would. A quarter of a century has passed since I left these walls with your blessing. I have seen something of men and of the world since. I esteem it, to-day, the happiest event of my life that brought me here; the best gift of an ever kind Providence to me that I was permitted for three years to sit at the feet of your instruction. If I have acquired any consideration in my own beloved commonwealth, if I have worthily won any honor, I can and do, with a grateful heart, bring them to-day and lay them at your feet. *Teucro duce et auspice Teucro.*"

associates in the faculty, and they emulated him in zeal, and adopted his motto that the only road to success lies through every day's hard work.

His experience in teaching soon created discontent with the text-books in use, and compelled the attempt to supply others of better quality. His works on moral philosophy and political economy were welcomed by instructors as model text-books, and still hold their place in many colleges after a period of forty years.

As he acquired a conscious mastery of college duties, the energy of his nature asserted itself in important labors for the improvement of the city and State which had become his home. He did much ^{Philanthropic} to re-organize the system of public education, to establish ^{work.} the Providence Athenæum and many noble institutions of benevolence, and to carry into effect reforms in prison discipline. He taught a Bible-class in the First Baptist Church on Saturday afternoons, for the ladies of the city from all denominations. He had a similar class at his own house one evening in the week, to discuss personal difficulties in religious matters. One of his class gives a striking testimony to the fidelity of his instructions, and to his great power over young women, by affirming that many members of the class were belles in the city, belonging to wealthy and fashionable families, but they resolutely excluded dancing from their evening companies. He was profoundly interested in a class in the state-prison, teaching it for many years, and making it a fountain of spiritual life to wretched convicts. He came gradually to be regarded as the first citizen in Rhode Island, whose counsel was to be sought for every public enterprise, whose sympathy could be relied on in every philanthropic movement. Nor were his labors confined to his own State. He was a trusted leader in the missionary societies of his own denomination, and a counselor whose advice and help were sought by educational and scientific and benevolent institutions in all portions of the United States.

In 1840, when in his forty-fifth year, he went abroad for a few months of rest and travel. This tour brought into prominence two traits of his character: the one an incapacity for rest; the other an intense love for his native country. He did not enjoy foreign travel, though it gave him an opportunity for familiar intercourse with distinguished men, who welcomed him as an honored guest. His heart turned with eager longing to the home he had left, the friends endeared by long association, and the chosen work of his life. Nor could he content himself with repose or recreation. His mind was incessantly busy, reviewing the past to discover its failures by the new views opened in Europe; planning for the future to do wiser and more effective work. This constant study abroad led to the publication, in 1842, of a little volume entitled "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States," in which he gave utterance to new opinions which he had adopted on the

need of a radical reform in the curriculum of study, to adapt it to the practical wants of a vigorous nation.

The views thus early expressed took definite shape in the reorganization of the college in 1850. In a report to the corporation he gave a clear statement of the changes he thought needful, and received both the authority and the means to carry them into effect. It is simple justice to his memory to say that the special lines of study in science and the arts now established in the leading colleges of the country are due, in a large measure, to the suggestions of Dr. Wayland in this report to the corporation, and to the changes introduced into Brown University. To him belongs the honor of remodeling collegiate education, and adapting it to the practical needs of the nineteenth century.

The prodigious amount of labor required to introduce the new system, and the pressure of responsibility in insuring its success, proved too great a strain on the constitution of Dr. Wayland, already worn by overwork, and his physician enjoined the necessity of rest. In 1855 he tendered his resignation as president, which was accepted with great reluctance by the corporation. He retired to a new and beautiful home in the eastern part of the city, near the bank of the Blackstone, where he intended to spend the evening of his days in quiet, devoting his leisure to such literary religious work as Providence might bring to his hands. He could not be idle, and several published works belong to this period of his life. "The Apostolic Ministry," a sermon preached at Rochester, made a profound impression by its criticisms on the current style of preaching, and excited a sharp controversy. A similar result followed a little volume entitled "Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches," in which he expressed views differing from those of many of his brethren. "Sermons to the Churches" were rich in wise counsels and practical lessons; and in "Salvation by Christ" he put into permanent form some of his sermons notable for simplicity of style and richness of thought. A brief "Life of Dr. Chalmers" laid special emphasis on the single-mindedness of the great preacher, and his pastoral fidelity in laboring for the salvation of souls.

In 1857, Dr. Granger, the pastor of the First Baptist Church, Providence, died; and the church invited Dr. Wayland to perform pastoral service until a permanent pastor could be obtained. He accepted the invitation, regarding it as a providential call to illustrate in practice the views of preaching and pastoral work which he had recently developed in theory, and which had given offense to some of his brethren. For sixteen months he filled the office, and it is not extravagant to say that in no pulpit in the country was the truth preached with more simplicity and directness, and in no parish was pastoral labor done with more systematic fidelity, and with more

Leader in college reforms.

A model pastor.

singleness of desire to save men. History can hardly furnish a finer illustration of the morally sublime than the devotion of this great man to his accepted work. With a stern self-denial, born of conscientious conviction, he crucified his literary tastes in the pulpit, laid on the shelf all his elaborate sermons, and aimed to preach so simply that children could not fail to understand the truth, and so pungently that every hearer should feel a personal need of salvation. He alludes to this victory over himself: "I had held some important offices of a literary character. I had published some things which were more than usually successful. I had had some reputation as a good writer. All these antecedents would seem to point to a mode of preaching in harmony with them. I could not but feel that to preach otherwise would appear to many a falling off, a sinking away; that it would, in a word, induce many persons to think less of me." The self-crucifixion was heroic and complete. In the sixteen months of service he attempted to preach no great sermons, but only those fitted to do immediate good.

The self-denial in pastoral work was more sublime. It is affecting to read, in the "Life of James Hamilton," of his cheerful surrender of literary ambition to his duty as pastor. He had collected ample material for a Life of Erasmus. He was familiar with the times, with the men and the movements of that stirring period, and longed to put into permanent form the studies of a life-time. But the routine of parish life, apparently trivial, absorbed his energy, — calling on old women to comfort them, meeting his elders for humdrum talk. He weighed the matter in the scales of conscience. The routine was accepted, and, with a single sigh, the precious manuscripts were laid on a shelf, never to be taken down again. Dr. Wayland's sacrifice was more complete. "The moment I assumed the duties of pastor I relinquished every other engagement and occupation. I laid away my manuscripts, put aside all labor for myself, and devoted myself to the service of the gospel." His son adds the comment, "Not only did he give up all authorship; he relinquished all reading. He did not, we believe, even read a review during the period of his pastoral labors. He employed in studying the Bible and in prayer all the time not consumed in needful exercise, in preparation for the Sabbath, or in visiting the congregation."

He visited the entire parish during his brief term of service, and this involved prodigious labor. His own home was at one extreme of the city, far removed from the larger part of the congregation. He was now past sixty years of age, with physical energy impaired by long and severe mental toil. The parish being an old one, the people were scattered in all parts of the city. It required great diligence to find them, and long walks to reach them. He went always on foot, fearing that some of the poor would take offense at a pastor visiting in a carriage, and spiritual good would be hindered. Day by day he threaded the

streets of Providence, and climbed its high hills, to find the scattered sheep of his flock, and to bring in tender lambs into the fold. Beginning his visits in the later hours of the forenoon, when morning work might be finished, he continued them till evening, often reaching his home again only when an evening meeting was ended, and not always partaking of regular meals. As he did not find the male members of families at their homes, he sought them at factories and stores and offices, determined that no one should be overlooked. He resolved to visit no house without introducing the subject of religion as a personal matter, and that in every case, unless it was manifestly best to omit it, he would pray with the family. He held personal religious conversation with nearly every member of the parish, finding many who confessed that no one had ever before talked with them directly on their spiritual needs.

Such systematic and earnest labor could not fail of results. The congregation increased on the Sabbath; the lecture-room was often crowded during the week; the spiritual life of the church was quickened, and many converts were gathered. The revival was neither so extensive nor so fruitful as he had hoped to see it, but he had reason to believe that at least seventy in his own parish began a Christian life, while many in other congregations were led to Christian character by his earnest words. These sixteen months always lingered in his memory as the pleasantest part of his ministry.

Refusing an earnest call from the church to become a permanent pastor, from a conviction of inability to fulfill the duties, he retired again to private life. A delightful kind of recreation was found in his garden, which became famous in Providence for its extreme neatness, and for the choicest flowers and fruits. In it he spent several hours each day, with the same energy and enthusiasm which were given to brain work in the study. He took great pleasure in showing the garden to visitors, and in sending specimens of its fruits and flowers to friends.

It was perhaps an inevitable penalty of retirement from public duties that his spirits drooped, and he became more familiar with clouds than sunshine in his closing years. In middle life, when brain and heart were at highest tension, and each day was crowded with public duties, his cheerfulness was electric, and misanthropes and Cassandras went from his presence constrained to take more cheerful views of life and of human progress. But when the pressure of public duty relaxed, and the mental powers, relieved from the long strain, brooded in meditation instead of working for practical results, a curious morbidness colored the old views of life, and his familiar talks with friends were generally in a minor key. Like the Grecian Nestor, he deplored the growing degeneracy of the age. He could see few signs of advance, many of retrogression, a decaying piety in the churches, a loss of fidelity and earnestness in the pulpit, and a decline of moral vigor in college faculties and

students. John the Baptist, in his prison cell, cut off from active labor, lost faith in the Messianic work of Jesus. And it is not surprising that Francis Wayland, in the mental reaction consequent upon a life of leisure after intense toil, looked often on the darker side of things, and was tortured with doubts if the Messianic kingdom was making progress among men. Nor is it improbable that fatal disease had already begun its work by clouding the intellect and benumbing the heart. Declining health and anxieties incident to the long civil strife might naturally create gloom and forebodings even in a hopeful mind.

But personal piety ripened, and made his home radiant with Christian peace, when clouds obscured the spiritual horizon without. As he drew near to the end of life, his love for the Bible deepened, and prayer became more real and helpful. He wrote to a friend, "I have lately read the Bible more than ever in my life, in the same space of time, and at every new reading I find more to love and admire." The hour before breakfast was always given to secret prayer and reading the Scriptures. During this hour he read the Bible for devotion, not at all for criticism. The day closed, as it had begun, with communion with God. "After family prayers," writes his son, "were his own devotions, and those who occupied the room above the study heard his voice last at night, as it had been the first sound in the morning." A young friend asked him, "Can you always feel, when you pray, that prayer is a reality?" His answer was prompt: "Almost always I can; and the older I grow, the more fully I am convinced that it is a real thing to ask God for blessings, and to receive them in answer to prayer."

The civil war caused him many hours of gloom. He saw in it the divine retribution for national sins, and bowed meekly to the stroke, choosing rather to fall into the hands of God Faithful to the end. than into the hands of man. But in the darkest hours of national calamity, when the hopes of leaders drooped, he never doubted the final issue. His faith was unfaltering that slavery would be overthrown, and justice and freedom would triumph. His voice and pen responded freely to his country's call; his counsels inspired the wavering, and his courage kindled new hopes in the desponding.

The assassination of President Lincoln brought him once more before the public, and furnished a striking proof of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. When the sad news reached Providence, a general wish was expressed that Dr. Wayland might appear in some church or public hall, and give counsel suited to the solemn hour. A delegation of leading men conveyed to him the public wish. He declined the task, but consented to address in a quiet way any friends who would gather at his house towards evening. The afternoon closed with a heavy rain, and no public notice had been given of the proposed service; but a company of fifteen hundred men, comprising the first

citizens of Providence, gathered at even-tide, and marched in procession more than a mile through the falling rain, to stand in close ranks before his dwelling. Raised upon a rude platform, hastily erected, Dr. Wayland talked to his fellow-townsmen in a strain of dignified eloquence never surpassed in his best days. The virtues of the martyred president, the atrocious crime, the cloud overshadowing the country, and the delicate tribute of his neighbors stirred mind and heart to highest activity, and the crowd retired awed to reverent silence by the grandeur of the man no less than by the grandeur of his words. It was a fit peroration to his long life of public service.

A few months later, in a less public manner, he uttered his last religious counsels. The Warren Association, with which he had been connected for nearly forty years, met on September 13th and 14th, in the Central Baptist Church, Providence. The pastor had sent him a special request to be present, and, though the church was two miles from his home, he attended promptly every service, excepting that of Wednesday evening. On Thursday afternoon he took part in the conference meeting, with which the association closed, and no one who was present can ever forget the solemnity of his words, or the tender earnestness of his appeals. He spoke as if already loosed from this world, and awaiting the summons to a better life. Many listened tearfully, with a foreboding that they should never hear his voice again. On Friday of the following week he felt strangely listless, and on Saturday did not leave his bed. On the next Tuesday the stroke of paralysis, long gathering, suddenly fell. He lost the power of motion, and articulation became difficult. The disease could not be arrested, and on Saturday evening, September 30, 1865, after some days of unconsciousness, the end came.

During the week of sickness a general anxiety had pervaded the city. The inquiry was on hundreds of lips every day, "How is Dr. Wayland?" And when the tolling bell of the First Baptist Church announced, on Sunday morning, that the struggle was over, the grief was universal, for all felt that Providence and Rhode Island had lost their greatest citizen.

An immense crowd gathered at the First Baptist Church on Wednesday, October 4th, to look on his lifeless face and follow him to burial. The large edifice could not hold the company of mourners. Clergymen from other States and from other denominations, statesmen, educators, authors, and personal friends in all walks of life united in a tribute of loving homage. Dr. Caswell, an associate and friend of forty years, made an address, simple but beautiful; and Dr. Caldwell, his pastor, and Dr. Swain, a Congregational clergyman, conducted the devotional services.

A year later, at the commencement of Brown University, September

4, 1866, Professor Chace, one of the earliest graduates under Wayland's administration, and for many years a colleague in instruction, delivered a memorial discourse to the alumni of the college. It was a worthy tribute to the great teacher, whom all his pupils revered, and to the great man, whom they all loved. — H. L.

LIFE XXI. RICHARD FULLER.

A. D. 1804—A. D. 1876. BAPTIST, — AMERICA.

MANY men are good; few are great, and they are great only in a comparative sense. Human greatness is the result of vast intellectual endowments, large educational advantages, close application to study, and wide opportunities for the exercise of talents. The lack of any one of these elements of greatness, though it may not preclude eminent usefulness and honorable distinction, will prevent those high attainments which dignify the leaders of human thought and win the admiration of intelligent and discriminating observers.

Richard Fuller, the subject of this story, was a great as well as good man. He was descended of a highly respectable family of the State of South Carolina, noted for the number of able and distinguished men born within its limits. His birth occurred in the town of Beaufort, on the 22d of April, 1804. It was his good fortune to receive his early instruction from that ripe scholar and eloquent preacher, the elder Dr. William T. Brantly, equally well known and esteemed in the South and in the North. In the seventeenth year of his age, young Fuller, having mastered his preparatory studies, entered Harvard University, Massachusetts, soon proving himself to be one of the best scholars of his class. Fixing his ambitious eye on the highest honors of the institution, he resolved, by the most intense application to study, to secure them. When they seemed to be almost within his grasp, he was seized with symptoms of a pulmonary disease, which compelled him reluctantly to abandon his studies, and betake himself to the use of means for the recovery of his health. So satisfactory, however, had been his progress in learning that he graduated with his class in 1824, being about twenty years old.

Fuller had chosen the profession of law, for which his genius and taste peculiarly fitted him. Returning to his native town, he entered at once on his professional career, and was not long in finding clients. At a bar whose members were distinguished for their legal knowledge and their eloquence, he immediately, by the force of his genius, placed himself in the front rank of advocates. He soon acquired a lucrative practice, and the richest emoluments and the highest honors of the legal profession were spread before him.

At this period an event occurred deeply affecting the after life of the rising barrister. A young widow, of amiable disposition, refined manners, and excellent judgment, having her ample estate involved in litigation, employed him as her counsel. He not only vindicated her rights, but won her heart, secured her hand, and became the manager of her valuable property. Mrs. Fuller survives her husband, and it is now only proper to say that a more congenial and happy union was never formed. To the close of his life, on all suitable occasions, he continued to speak of her in terms of the highest commendation, and with all the ardor of a young lover.

A still more important event in his life was approaching. Daniel Baker, a Presbyterian, well known in those days as a successful evangelist, held a series of meetings in Beaufort. Fuller was among the converts on the occasion. He had been for some time nominally a member of the Episcopal Church, making no profession of piety. Very soon after his conversion he was baptized by the Rev. Henry O. Wyer, of Savannah, Georgia, and united with the Baptist church in Beaufort, of which his parents were members. His conversion and call to the ministry seem to have been simultaneous. Immediately, like converted Saul, he "conferred not with flesh and blood," but entered on his life-long work of persuading sinners to be reconciled to God. In the year 1832 he was ordained to the ministry, and became the pastor of the church of which he was a member. The general truth stated by Jesus, that a prophet is without honor in his own country and among his own kindred, was signally reversed in the case of Fuller. He was nowhere more admired, more loved, or more useful than in the town where he drew his first breath and engaged in his boyish sports. Nor did he limit his labors to his native village, but preached the gospel among the slaves of the cotton plantations on the sea-coast, as well as to refined audiences in the cities and towns of his native State and of Georgia, everywhere attracting great crowds, who, whether they were rich or poor, learned or rude, hung with equal delight and profit on his ministrations.

It was not possible that so bright a light as the pastor of the Beaufort Baptist church should be long concealed. The time for the manifestation of his powers to the large denomination of Christians with which he was connected was at hand. In the year 1841, the Baptist Triennial Convention of the United States was held in the city of Baltimore. It was largely attended by the representative men of the churches. Fuller had been appointed at the previous meeting to deliver the introductory sermon. Few persons present had heard him, but his fame had preceded him, and the congregation was on tiptoe to hear his sermon. His text was, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me;" and his theme was "The Power of the Cross." It was heard with pro-

found attention, great admiration, and intense feeling. I afterwards heard him deliver sermons much superior to it in richness of thought, genuine pathos, and commanding eloquence, but this discourse established his pulpit reputation, and gave him a place in the front row of American Baptist preachers.

He received many tempting invitations to settle with wealthy city churches ; but as salary was no object with him, and he greatly loved his field of labor, his removal seemed improbable. He was elected, however, to the pastorate of a new church (the Seventh) in the city of Baltimore ; and for strong and peculiar reasons, which need not here be mentioned, he accepted the office, and entered on its duties, in a new and spacious building which had been erected for his reception, in August, 1847. Here, for nearly twenty-five years, he continued his earnest and faithful ministry, attracting crowds by his eloquence, adding largely to the membership of the church, and exerting a most excellent influence in the rapidly growing city. No pastor was more loved and honored by his flock than he. He commanded their admiration in the pulpit by the splendor of his gifts, and won their hearts in private by the gentleness and simplicity of his manners.

Finds in Baltimore his life-field.

“In the spring of 1871,” says Dr. Brantly, his companion in labor and life-long friend, “a handsome marble house of worship, one of the ornaments of Baltimore, was completed by the church of which Dr. Fuller was pastor, and he was invited to take charge of a colony of some two hundred persons, who within a short time were dismissed from the Seventh Church to prosecute the new enterprise. According to our figures, the doctor was then sixty-seven years of age ; and it would ordinarily have been a hazardous experiment for so old a man to embark in the work of building up a new interest. But his success was remarkable. The congregations were at once large ; additions by experience and letter were numerous ; so that in the few years that elapsed between the dedication of the house and the death of the pastor the number of members had been more than doubled, and the indebtedness of the church fully provided for.”

The most brilliant life must end. “In the midst of his usefulness and vigor, his form erect, his mental vision unobscured, and when friends were hoping for other years of usefulness in addition to the many he had lived, a malignant carbuncle appeared on his right shoulder, detaining him from his pulpit and confining him to his bed. The disease progressed so rapidly that in a short time his medical attendants despaired of his recovery. The Christian hero promptly accepted the providence with submission, and even with joy. He calmly disposed of all earthly interests, then dictated a letter to his church, assuring them of his ‘perfect peace in Jesus,’ and calling upon them to be faithful to God and his truth. Never did a death-bed afford sublimer illustration of the power of the

gospel to sustain the soul in 'the supreme struggle,' as he spoke of his last moments to a friend. 'To one,' said he, 'in my situation, the most important question is, If a man die, shall he live again? The world does not believe that he will. The church only half believes it. But I know it, and I rejoice in it. The death and resurrection of Jesus Christ stamp eternal verity on this doctrine. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; and there is a crown laid up for me.' Love to Christ was the ruling passion of his life, and it was the dominant passion in his dying hour. Knowing that his tongue would soon be silent, he asked in most plaintive tones but a short time before he died, 'Who'll preach Jesus?' — thus indicating his concern for the glory of his ever-dear Lord. He died on Friday morning, October 20, 1876, and was interred by the side of two of his daughters, in Greenmount Cemetery."

"Never," says Dr. Brantly, "have I seen a large city so thoroughly moved as was Baltimore when, last fall, it was announced that the eloquent and beloved Fuller was critically ill. And when it was understood that he was no more, the grief was profound and universal. On the day of his interment it seemed, such was the thronging on every street which the funeral *cortège* passed, that the whole community had turned out to offer the tribute of tears."

Dr. Fuller was a remarkable man, and would have been so considered in any age, in any country, and in any department of human life. He was cast in one of nature's finest moulds. He had "a sound mind in a sound body." No one saw him without being impressed by his appearance. Tall, well proportioned, vigorous, and commanding in person, he moved as a prince among men. His open countenance, beaming eyes, and pleasant but not handsome features gave indication of the noble intellect dwelling within. His mind, clear and discriminating, was equally original, logical, and imaginative. If he had not genius, which too frequently shines only to dazzle and mislead, he had what was far better, masculine sense, a well-balanced intellect, and a ready command of all his powers. His mind and body were well fitted to each other, constituting him a man thoroughly developed, and suited for arduous labors, physical and intellectual.

Fuller was a man of earnest and consistent piety. Converted in his maturity, he furnished, by the abandonment of his lucrative profession, the devotion of his powers to the ministry, and the consecration of his ample income to pious purposes, such proofs of the sincerity of his love to Christ as few ministers have been able to do. None doubted, or could doubt, the genuineness of his conversion, for he left all to follow Christ. His piety was not only sincere, but consistent, free alike from asceticism and from levity, from bigotry and from latitudinarianism. Faith was probably the most prominent trait in his piety. He had a firm and unwavering conviction of the truth of Christianity, which did not fail him

in his "supreme struggle." His humility was little less conspicuous than his faith. With greater cause for self-exaltation than any minister I have known, he continued throughout life a plain, unostentatious preacher, free from the jealousy and envy by which inferior minds are so often afflicted. Prayer was the natural breathing of his pious heart. At any time and in any place, when circumstances would permit, he would say, "Let us pray!" and his prayers were usually brief, tender, and earnest.

Fuller would have attained to eminence in any art, science, or profession that called for the exercise of a clear and vigorous intellect and unwearied industry. He was an excellent writer, considering that authorship was merely incidental to his profession. Had he devoted himself to composition, he would have attained to distinction and enduring fame. As it was, he reached no mean rank as a writer. His published sermons would be an honor to any pulpit, in any age and in any country. Many of his articles in the "Religious Herald," of which he was an associate editor, were rich in thought, brilliant in illustration, and equally graceful and nervous in style. His controversy with Dr. Wayland on the subject of slavery, while he was comparatively young, was conducted with admirable courtesy, and with no little skill and vigor. No careful reader of the discussion, whatever might be his views of the questions at issue, could doubt that the New England dialectician found in the Southern preacher "a foeman worthy of his steel."

It was, however, as a speaker rather than as a writer that Dr. Fuller excelled. Like him many could write, but like him few could speak. He had rare gifts for platform speaking. His ^{His excellence as a preacher.} addresses were remarkable for their combination of argument, illustration, pathos, humor, wit, and sarcasm, delivered with inimitable grace and power. It was equally difficult to listen to his best strains without laughter and without tears. Some of his speeches, in which he gave free course to his wit, the sallies of his imagination, and the glowing bursts of his eloquence, were both attractive and overwhelming. Many years ago, he spoke at an anniversary of the American Colonization Society, in Washington city, with Clay and Webster; and the preacher, in the estimation of an intelligent hearer, bore away the palm from the illustrious statesmen.

In the pulpit, not on the platform, Dr. Fuller gained his highest reputation. The pulpit was his throne. From the hour of his entrance on the ministry to the close of his life, he was wholly consecrated to it. All posts of honor and of profit deemed suitable for ministers were open to him. His extensive learning, his resplendent talents, his popular manners, and his high social position eminently fitted him to succeed as a professor or president of a college, or as a lecturer in any department of art, science, or philosophy, or indeed in any employment for which

knowledge, judgment, and industry were required; but, like the late Dr. Witt, of Virginia, he was, and he desired to be, "nothing but a preacher." To the success of his ministry he devoted not only himself, with all his powers and time, but his wealth also. To him no toil and no sacrifices seemed great, if they but secured the object of his ministry, — the salvation of sinners.

More than any other prominent minister I have known, Dr. Fuller confined his preaching to "Christ and Him crucified." Others might preach science, or philosophy, or moral reform, or politics, or introduce largely into their discourses sensational topics; but he preached Christ, only Christ. It must not, however, be supposed that his sermons were comprised within a narrow range. To him the theme was inexhaustible. Before his capacious mind it spread out into a boundless field for instruction and exhortation. No thirsty sinner ever went to hear him without being led to the fountain of living waters. Whether he preached to a refined and fastidious city audience, to a large representative assembly of ministers and theologians, or to the illiterate negroes of the rice plantations of South Carolina, his subject was the same, — Christ, the only and all-sufficient Saviour of sinners. No doubt, the power, influence, and usefulness of his ministry were greatly increased by the transcendent importance of the topics of his sermons.

In debate or in counsel, Fuller might have been equaled or excelled; but in the highest order of pulpit power, he had no peer within the range of my observation, and that has been extended through a period of more than half a century, and among English-speaking preachers on both sides of the Atlantic. He had a rare combination of pulpit talents. To an imperial presence he added a clear, sonorous, mellow, flexible, and powerful voice, lively and tender sensibilities, a mind well disciplined and richly stored with divine truth, a perfect command of language, and an imperturbable self-possession. He was a born orator. That he possessed pulpit power in an extraordinary degree none who ever heard him preach, under favorable circumstances, will question. The proofs of this power were seen in the crowds, of all classes and in all places, that attended his ministry; the delight with which they heard his words; the deep, tender, and persuasive impression usually made by his sermons; the multitudes converted, edified, and comforted by his ministrations; and the churches founded or built up by his labors.

I attended meetings with Fuller in the South and in the North, in the East and in the West, in which were gathered the best talent of the denomination in this country, with distinguished preachers from foreign lands, and I recollect not a single instance in which he was not, by common consent, appointed to fill the most important pulpit, and at the most important time; and rarely did he fail to meet the excited expectation of his crowded audience.

Of all sermon-writers, ancient or modern, James Saurin, pastor of the French church at the Hague, was one of the most profound and brilliant. He was evidently Fuller's model, especially in his early ministry. On hearing him frequently, one conversant with the writings of Saurin could not fail to notice the striking resemblances between their discourses. Fuller had closely studied the works of the French pastor, and, consciously or unconsciously, had imbibed his spirit and copied his style. More than twenty years ago, I heard Fuller preach a sermon on God's Controversy with his People, founded on Micah vi. 2. It was a grand effort. I was, however, haunted by the impression that it was substantially a repetition of Saurin's sermon on the same subject. On returning to my library, I took down his work and read the sermon. It is one of the finest productions of his glowing intellect. It was evident that Fuller had read the discourse, and was indebted to it, in part, for the plan of his own; but, while the subject was fresh in my memory, I felt convinced that the American had excelled the French preacher. There was in the sermon of Fuller a range of thought, a sublimity in description, a brilliancy of illustration, a beauty of style, and a pathos in expression to which the masterly discourse of the pastor at the Hague — at least, as it appears in the translation — could not lay a just claim.

Only the preaching of Jesus was faultless. Dr. Fuller, in his best sermons, often overstepped the modesty of nature. His constant aim to be impressive led him occasionally to be theatrical and extravagant in manner and declamatory in style. His desire for immediate results sometimes led him to neglect instruction to secure efficiency; to deal less with the understanding and the conscience, and more with the sympathies and the passions, than was demanded to secure the highest measure of usefulness. Still, take him all in all, he was, within the limits of my acquaintance, if not unrivaled, certainly not excelled, in pulpit power.

This portrait will be ended with a single remark: Few ministers can reasonably hope to rival Dr. Fuller in gifts and reputation, but all may cherish his spirit, follow his example, preach the gospel that he proclaimed, honor the Master that he served, and share in the rewards that he sought; and let them remember that piety is better than talents, prayer can accomplish more than eloquence, and diligence can outstrip genius. — J. B. J.

LIFE XXII. TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

A. D. 1752—A. D. 1817. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

AMONG the theologians of New England and of America during the period which extended over the latter part of the last century and the early part of the present one, no man was more eminent than President Dwight, of Yale College. A grandson of Jonathan Edwards, he inherited great intellectual power and a tendency towards theological study and thought. He was also naturally brought, in consequence of this relationship, under the influence of the philosophy and the doctrinal views of Edwards. But, with the clearness and force of an independent mind, he rose above mere imitation, and became a teacher who, modifying and advancing the system of his master, brought a new inspiring influence to those who followed him. In the progress of thought on all the great subjects within the field of Christian truth, from the beginning of our country's history until now, he was, in a peculiar sense, a connecting link, binding the past and the present. He was also a grand motive power, impelling earnest scholars to press forward in their investigations, and to follow boldly and freely wherever the light of revelation might lead them.

The story of his life, like that of all men who find their home in a university, is mainly a narrative of a thoughtful, earnest working for the truth. But his great executive ability, his large-minded interest in all that was good, his magnetic influences upon those around him, his far-seeing outlook into the future, made him a constant energizing force in public life; so that scarcely any man in America has ever had a wider fame or a more commanding personal power.

He was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, May 14, 1752, where his father was a prominent citizen, and where his maternal grandfather, Edwards, had, until within a short time, been a pastor and religious teacher of the church. By descent he was connected with some of the noblest families in the land, — the Hookers and Stoddards and Winthrops, — as well as with the two of which he was the immediate offspring. He was the heir of both intellectual and moral power of a high order, and was gifted by nature with a large mind and with a large heart. From his earliest years he exhibited extraordinary qualities. His memory was remarkable. He is said to have learned to read before he was four years of age. In his early boyhood he became an attentive reader of books. Treasuring his knowledge thus gained, and being inquisitive, with the eagerness of a wakeful and open mind, he made rapid progress in learning. When he was only eight he was largely prepared to enter Yale College, and though he was too young to pursue the course at

Grandson of
Edwards.

that time, he was graduated at the early age of seventeen. Two years after graduation he became a tutor in the college, and continued in this official position from 1771 until 1777. At this time there were but two professorships in the institution, so that the instruction of the students was for the most part in the hands of the president and three or four tutors, who were young men. The classes were thus very dependent on these young men, and were brought under their influence to a degree which at present can scarcely be appreciated. Mr. Dwight, from the beginning of his work as a teacher, gained the respect and admiration of his pupils. He stimulated their minds and awakened their enthusiasm. It is said that he so greatly impressed the friends of the college, as well as the students, that even from his early manhood he was regarded as a person eminently qualified to be the head of the institution. While holding the office of tutor, and largely occupied with his duties of instruction, he carried forward his own studies energetically in various lines. He read law, with the intention of devoting himself to it as his life's work. He also gave himself, with much earnestness, to the study of the *Principia* of Newton. At the same time, with the many-sided tastes and mental aptitudes which characterized him, he cultivated literature and poetry. As is well known to all who are conversant with the early history of American literature, he was one of the first poets who appeared on this side of the ocean. Though not a poet of a high order, or one who can be compared with those of a later day, he accomplished something in that time of small beginnings and of small things. He pointed the way, at least, in the darkness of that period, towards the light in the distance, and was as far beyond those who preceded him, perchance, as he was behind those who followed. In a word, he had a love for everything that the mind can enjoy, and an inspiration to impart to every pupil who came under his influence.

On leaving the tutorship in the college he entered the army of the Revolution as a chaplain, but by reason of the death of his father he was constrained to resign this office in 1779, and to take up his residence in Northampton, Massachusetts, in order that he might assist his mother in providing and caring for her large family. Having remained there a few years, he became pastor of the Congrega-^{Twelve years a pastor.}tional church in Greenfield Hill, Connecticut, in 1783. In this quiet, rural parish he continued for twelve years, working with energy for the good of his people, and preaching the gospel with great power. His fame immediately extended over the whole region where he lived. Strangers from abroad were attracted to the village to listen to his sermons. Very soon he was recognized everywhere as a leading minister. His counsel was sought on every side, and the public mind was directed more and more towards him as one from whom the country could hope great things. He was, we may say, by his very nature a teacher. He was

deeply interested in the young, and enjoyed nothing more than the work of educating and training them to a high intellectual and moral life. For this reason, as well as because of the limited support which his parish could afford him, he established very soon after removing to Greenfield Hill a school for young persons of both sexes. This school soon became quite celebrated. Pupils resorted to it from all parts of the country. It was so successful and won so high a reputation that students are said to have left Yale College for the purpose of connecting themselves with it. The feeling became a very general one that the presidency of the college should be offered to him as soon as a vacancy occurred. Accordingly, when Dr. Stiles died, in 1795, the trustees of the institution immediately elected him to the office. He accepted it, and very soon removed to New Haven.

The college was at that time just closing the first century of its existence. It was a very critical period in its history. The eighteenth century was passing into the nineteenth. The new age was opening new thought, new studies, new opportunities. A man of great force and energy and wisdom, a man who could foresee the demands of the coming years and could devise and carry out plans to meet them, was called for. If ever the right man appeared at the right moment, it was in this case. The unanimous testimony of all who were associated with him in the instruction and government of the college is that he was the originator of its prosperity and growth during the last eighty years. Immediately on assuming his office he became an energizing influence in every line of needed action. He inspired all his colleagues and helpers with his own large ideas and unquenchable enthusiasm. No branch of study seemed unimportant to his mind. No new science began to open itself but he instantly turned his thoughts to the providing of means for its cultivation in the institution. With a wonderful insight into character, he selected young men of especial fitness for the new chairs of instruction. These young assistants not only became earnest coöperators with him in the carrying out of his plans, but, being in his society constantly, were infused with his ideas, and borne on in their individual working by his sympathy and friendship. He had so wide-extended knowledge and such a true estimate of every department of learning that all could turn to him for counsel and aid. The value of such a man to an institution at such a point in its history cannot be too highly appreciated.

His official life as president of the college continued for twenty-two years, from 1795 to 1817. Before the close of this period the college had more than doubled its number of students. It had established professorships in the leading branches of study. It had enlarged its organization so as to prepare for and include schools of professional instruction in medicine, law, and theology. Of these schools, one had begun a flourishing existence, another had been unfolded in its germ within the col-

lege curriculum, and the means had been secured for the beginning of the third within a few more years. The college, which for a hundred years before had been little more than an academy of a high order, had begun to develop itself towards a university. The plans were all prepared, the possibilities all well considered, the growth was actually commenced, the future made secure, before his work was finished. The period of his presidency was a creative period. When it came to its close such results had been accomplished that his successors had only to go forward in the line of his own action, in order to reach all the grander achievements of the present day. He determined who his successors should be in the time immediately following his own by imparting his thoughts and the energy of his soul to his associates. They grew up around him with a love and reverence, a devotion to him as a teacher, and a belief in his wisdom, such as have rarely been surpassed. They knew that he moved in the right course, because they saw how steadily and safely the institution advanced from year to year. They felt, when they had themselves passed into later life, and he was no more among them, that the same course was the wisest and best. His influence thus remained, though his presence was gone. It passed down from those who succeeded him to those who succeeded them, and has not ceased, even to this day, to be a power exerting itself in the traditions and character and spirit of the university. New men have arisen, but the old life and the old impulse, in their measure, still linger. Every great institution has its peculiar character, — the genius of the place, as we may say, — which remains the same from generation to generation. This peculiar character which marks Yale College is due to President Dwight in a greater degree, probably, than to any other man who has been connected with it during its whole history.

When Dr. Dwight became president of the college, the influence of French infidelity was very powerful. The young men of the country turned aside from the Christian faith, and even arrayed themselves in opposition to it. In the college there were scarcely any professing Christians. It is said that at one time there was only a single member of the church among the students. The condition seemed almost a hopeless one, and the prospects were very disheartening. But the president entered into the conflict with skepticism with his characteristic energy and ardor. With powerful sermons in the college pulpit, and with earnest and convincing arguments in the lecture-room, he pressed upon his pupils the claims of the religion of Christ. He stood forth in the institution as a defender of the faith, victorious in his assaults upon the enemy, and, by the force of his reasoning and the nobleness of his character, he led those who listened to his teaching to a firm belief in the gospel. The whole college was revolutionized in this regard. Revivals of great power were experienced. The church was

Dwight's championship of the faith.

filled with earnest Christians. The moral influence of the place was made to bear upon all who came to it. The reign of infidelity was ended, and the students were settled upon firm foundations. Perhaps no more striking or happier change has been accomplished by a single man within the last one hundred years than was here seen.

But not only as a defender of the faith did Dr. Dwight affect the religious character of his pupils. He was a preacher of unusual ability. He commended the claims of the divine law to the minds and consciences of the young men. By his eloquence, his profound thought, his tender sympathy, his manifest sense of the invisible things, his elevated views of duty and of life, his concentration of all his faculties in devotion to Christ, he had, as he spoke from the pulpit, an overmastering power. The impression produced by his preaching on the Sabbath was deepened as he met the students in his daily exercises with them. In the recitation-room he unfolded before them and urged upon them the great truths of life, and in his private intercourse he was always, like a faithful friend and father, pointing them upward to higher things. Gifted with extraordinary powers as an extemporaneous speaker and as a conversationist, he was able to carry the influence of his public efforts as a minister of the gospel and a professor of theology into the hours and work of every day, and thus to give continually an impulse and stimulus to the whole student community towards the service of God.

He discharged during the whole term of his presidency the duties of the college preacher. In this way he was enabled to set before the successive classes the system of theological truth which is embodied in his "Theology," a work of four volumes, which was published soon after his death. This work has had great influence both in Great Britain and in our own country. It presents, in the form of sermons, elaborate discussions of the various doctrines of the Christian system. With great clearness, calmness, and moderation, with nothing of the wild vehemence of a too ardent advocate, yet with great rhetorical force and with all the qualities of the best discourses of the age, these sermons set before the reader, as they did before the hearers when they were originally delivered, a very full and admirable statement of the truth. It is a matter of no surprise to us when we learn that they have been made a text-book in theological science in England and Scotland, and that the clergymen of the non-conforming churches, who are now in middle life or beyond it, have very generally known and studied their pages in the days of their preparatory education. These volumes will mark an era in theological thought in American history. They will be treasured in libraries after they have passed beyond the notice of the general reader, and will be a guide to the investigator as he attempts to gain a knowledge of the opinions of the age that gave them birth.

In his sermons and his religious teaching, however, Dr. Dwight aimed

especially at practical results. He felt that his work, in the position which he was called to occupy, was that of an educator of young men. But education, he thought, could reach its highest development and realize its noblest end only when it should bring to the mind the knowledge of spiritual truth. He accordingly consecrated his energies and his efforts to the securing for all who came under his teaching such an education. He was not, therefore, a mere speculative philosopher; nor was he a man who could dwell alone in the abstractions of theological science. Whatever depth and profoundness of thought characterized him, he brought everything to bear upon the elevation of the minds of others and the purification of their hearts. Though he was an influential theologian, and as such carried forward theological knowledge to new stages of advancement, he did not, for the reason mentioned, take such a position among religious thinkers and philosophers as President Edwards did. That eminent man was, in the truest and highest sense, an originator and a discoverer. His was one of the great creative minds of the world. The genius of President Dwight was of a different order. He had the clearest apprehension of truth; admirable powers of statement; a free spirit of inquiry, which bore him onward to new views; an open, honest, courageous soul, which waited for further revelations, and believed that more light was to come from God. He was therefore qualified in a remarkable degree to present the truth, as he had learned it from those who preceded him, in the best form; to add to it, as imperfectly apprehended in former days, the greater symmetry and fullness which his own thought and studies discovered to him; and to guide his followers in the way which should lead them not only beyond the earlier teachers, but even beyond himself. In this field, as in others, he was a heroic leader, taking all the good which was handed down to him, and pressing on with it to all the good which the future held in its own possession. He was a leader who impressed all about him with his ability, his sincerity, his heroism, and his love of truth, and thus a leader whom younger men were glad to follow. He gained the universal respect of his contemporaries, the universal reverence of his pupils. He made, as far as was possible, every man who was brought under his influence a thinker. By his example he rebuked narrowness and intolerance. By his precepts he urged men to follow the truth, whithersoever it might lead them. By the magnetism of his personal presence and his spoken words he incited them to be fearless, large-minded, confident, believing theologians. He accordingly affected the theological thinking of the country in as great a degree as any one except President Edwards himself, and must be reckoned among those who have accomplished great results in this divine science. Indeed, it was due to him especially that the theology of Edwards, as distinguished from the old Calvinism of the early days of New England, became established as the commonly accepted system. He had

the remarkable power of taking the great thoughts of a man like Edwards, of holding them freely and intelligently in his own mind, without being bound in fetters by them; of rejecting all injurious additions and outgrowths connected with them by the speculations of others, and developing them healthfully for himself; and of leading the best minds to accept them as thus held, and to make them the basis of their own opinions. It was in this way that he became, in a sense, the originator of theological thought as it has unfolded itself in New England since his death.

As a man, Dr. Dwight was tall of stature, commanding in person, with a countenance evincing both strong intellect and benevolent character. He was interested in all things which interested other minds. He knew much of a vast number of subjects, and thus was fitted to meet men of every class within their own fields of thought or of business. His gift of eloquent discourse was even more strikingly manifest as seen in conversation, according to the testimony of very many who knew him, than it was in his public efforts. In social life, therefore, he was admired greatly. He was full of kindness, ready always to help others, abounding in sympathy and charity. Like all men of his order, he held his opinions strongly, and was positive in his expression of them. But he had a generous spirit, and showed hospitality to new ideas. In his Christian character he was humble, earnest, loving, devoted. He trusted wholly to Christ, and preached Him as the power of God unto salvation.

In a brief story like the present, no complete view of the man and no complete narrative of his career can be given. It is only possible to set forth his character and work in some aspects, and let this imperfect representation speak to the reader of what he did. The great monument commemorating his life of mental and moral activity is Yale College. He was its second founder, as it were, to whom is due its origin as a university. The extent of his influence can be measured only when all the good can be computed which has been accomplished by his pupils in every sphere of life, all of whom — however widely they differed in other respects — were united in ascribing to him a wonderful influence on their minds and hearts. The results for theology which came from him were the admirable presentation of Christian doctrine in his published volumes, and the inspiration to honest study of the truth and to freedom in Christian thought which he gave to his contemporaries and successors. The best testimony to his worth and nobleness and power as a man is found in the love of those who knew him personally and are still in life, and in the honorable reputation in which his name is held wherever the English language is spoken, or the hymns of the church are sung. — T. D.

LIFE XXIII. LYMAN BEECHER.

A. D. 1775—A. D. 1863. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

FEW men have exerted a wider and more powerful influence upon their country and times than Lyman Beecher. The eighty-eight years of his life cover a period in which some of the most important movements, moral, theological, and political, were in progress in America, and in all these he was intensely interested and widely efficient.

Like that of many of the strong men of New England, his early youth was spent upon a farm, and he was inured to daily labor, and bred up in all the economies and frugalities of a Connecticut farmer's life. But the uncle who adopted him soon perceived the workings of a mind and spirit which needed a larger sphere, and of his own accord offered to him the opportunity of a college education.

In the year 1793 he left the village of North Guilford and entered Yale College, at New Haven. At that early period the advantages of this institution, as respects library and apparatus, were inferior to those of many high schools and country academies in these days. But in his Sophomore year the college was reinforced by the accession of Dr. Dwight to the presidency, and from that time Mr. Beecher's whole mind, character, and education came under the formative influence of this distinguished man. When Dr. Dwight took the college, its condition was one of great demoralization. The college church was almost extinct. Most of the students were skeptics. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms, and intemperance, gambling, and licentiousness were common. In the class before Beecher, the leading students were professed infidels, calling each other Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, and glorying in the writings of the encyclopedists. In the pride of their new-found philosophies, these young disciples boasted that the faculty would never dare to meet them in free discussion. Quite to their surprise, however, when they handed to Dr. Dwight their subjects for class disputation, he selected this, "Is the Bible the Word of God?" and told them to do their best. He heard all they had to say, and answered them, preaching a course of lectures every Sunday morning for six months; and by the end of that time the whole public sentiment of the college was changed and purified. In his Junior year young Beecher became the subject of a deep personal religious experience, in which, for a long time, he struggled alone and unaided with all the mysterious problems of theology. As light gradually dawned on his mind, he embraced the Christian ministry as his appointed vocation, with a humility, a single-heartedness, and a sincerity somewhat in contrast to the ambitious views with which some modern young men enter this field.

He feared that he might not get a settlement, and accepted thankfully a call to the quiet village of East Hampton, on the southeast extremity of Long Island. A place more humble, obscure, and out of the great world could scarcely be found: there was not a store in the town; it was seven miles from a post-office; and the main street of the village showed strips of green turf in the middle of the road, marking the rarity of travel.

Mr. Beecher, however, threw himself into his work in this place with as much zeal and energy as if it were the only place to be thought of upon earth. A letter from his wife, shortly after their settlement, gives the following picture of his labors:—

“Mr. Beecher has preached seven or eight times a week all winter. Last week, for example, he preached twice in town and gave two lectures, besides a funeral sermon on Gardiner’s Island and five sermons to the Indians and whites down on Montauk Point. He lectures every week at some of the adjoining villages, Wainscott, four miles, Amagansett, three miles, Northwest, seven miles, The Springs, seven, and another place with an ugly Indian name. Some weeks he lectures at two or three of these places, and when not at these places, has held meetings afternoons and evenings, and sometimes forenoons.”

In the central village of East Hampton, the prevalent spirit of skepticism had found a foothold. There was in the place an infidel club, not large in point of numbers, but composed of men of talent, education, and indefatigable zeal. Two of the teachers employed in the village academy had proved to be skeptics, and their influence had done great evil. When Mr. Beecher came upon the stage, he says, “I did not attack infidelity directly, not at all; I preached right to the conscience. Every sermon with my eye on the gun to hit somebody. Went through the doctrines, showed what they did n’t mean, what they did, knocked away objections, and drove home on the conscience.” This sentence gives an idea of what was the peculiarity of Dr. Beecher’s preaching through life. It was individual, the result of close observation of the personal character and needs of his hearers. He cultivated the society, the intimacy, and the friendship of those of the most adverse views. His people were amazed to hear of him as dining with a deist and going out hunting with another deist; but while mingling as a man among men, he was always studying character and watching his opportunities, if by any means he might save some. Those most opposed to the doctrines he represented were often warmly attached to the man. In time his ardent zeal and burning energy woke up the still and quiet community about him, and a powerful religious awakening was the result, in which many converts were added to the church.

His expenditure of vital energy began to tell upon his strength. He was seized with an illness followed by a long period of ill-health; he

was laid up, unable to preach, for nine months. After a while, by vigorous out-of-door exercise, he recovered his strength and resumed his labors. During this time, he prepared for the press his first published sermon, "On Dueling," a sermon called forth by the celebrated and fatal duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton. It was first preached before presbytery at Aquebogue, and at their request prepared for publication. A stray copy of this sermon by a nameless young minister found its way to New York, where an effort was being made in the ministry to get up an association against dueling, and the sermon was shown to the great Dr. Mason, who then stood at the head of the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Mason reviewed the sermon with approbation, drew up a constitution, and publicly recommended the object. At the next synod, at Newark, Mr. Beecher brought up the resolution of forming an anti-dueling society, but in the mean time certain politicians had raised an opposing party. For the first time, young Mr. Beecher poured out his whole soul in that powerful, vigorous, and condensed style of impassioned oratory which marked his after life, bearing down opposition and carrying all before it. The opposition was overruled, and the resolution carried. The synod started forthwith a series of efforts that permanently affected the whole Northern mind. When Henry Clay was up as candidate for the presidency in after years, forty thousand copies of this sermon were printed and distributed as a campaign document; it never ceased to be a power in the politics of the country. In 1808 he preached before the synod, at Newark, his sermon on the text, "Thy will be done," which was by request printed, and attracted great attention in the theological world. The title of the sermon was "The Government of God Desirable." It was a statement and a vindication of the principles of the divine administration in this and all worlds, its whole tone inspiring, cheerful, and triumphant, like the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, says of this sermon, that "it is well worthy to be ranked with the greatest discourses of the elder Edwards, which it resembles in its solid massiveness of thought and terrible earnestness, while it excels them in a certain power of condensed expression, which often makes a sentence strike like a thunderbolt."

A mind of such energy and vigor could not long be allowed to rest in an obscure situation, and in a few years Mr. Beecher accepted an invitation to the town of Litchfield in Connecticut. Litchfield was a rural town, in a hilly, picturesque region, a county seat, and a place of great importance and influence. It united more intelligence, culture, and education than could be found in any other town in the State, excepting the collegiate seat of New Haven. The law school, under the care of the celebrated jurists, Judge Tappan Reeve and Judge Gould, drew to the place young men of the finest minds from every State of the Union. The female academy, under Mr. I. P. Brae and Miss Pierce, attracted

an equal number of young ladies from all parts of the country. The governor of the state for some years resided there. Colonel Talmage, the friend and associate of General Washington, was a leading member of the church, and a number of distinguished lawyers and civilians of wealth and family made Litchfield their residence. Besides these, there was an extensive outlying, rural population of farmers, who from a circuit of seven or eight miles round came in their farm-wagons every Sunday to attend church.

But with this variety of education and position, there was never any occasion given to feel that the sympathies of the new pastor were more with the rich and the cultured than with the rural and laboring portion of his flock. Brought up as a farmer's boy, he always retained in his heart the sympathies of that wholesome life; his illustrations and images were largely drawn from it, and in every farm-house he was felt by its inmates to be as one of themselves.

As before, in his little parish at East Hampton, he preached three times every Sunday, and four times in the week, in the school-houses lying north, south, east, and west of the town hill.¹

¹ Here it may be in point to give a brief view of that system of doctrine which he preached. We extract a summary from a sermon published during his Litchfield pastorate, entitled, *The Faith once Delivered to the Saints*.

"The faith once delivered to the saints includes in it, among other doctrines, the following:—

"1. That men are free agents, possessing such faculties, and placed in such circumstances as render it practicable for them to do whatever God requires, making it reasonable that He should require it, and fit that He should inflict literally the entire penalty of disobedience.

"2. That the divine law requires supreme love to God and impartial love for men, together with certain overt duties by which this love is expressed, and that this law is supported by the sanctions of eternal life or death.

"3. That the ancestors of our race violated this law, and that as a consequence of their apostasy, all men as soon as they become capable of accountable action do, of their own accord, most freely and most wickedly withhold from God the supreme love, and from man the impartial love, which the law requires, besides violating many of its practical precepts.

"4. That according to the principles of moral government, obedience, either antecedent or subsequent to transgression, cannot avert the penalty of law; and that pardon, on condition of repentance merely, would destroy the efficiency of moral government.

"5. That an atonement for sin has been made by Jesus Christ, with reference to which God can maintain his law, and forgive sin upon condition of repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that all men are sincerely invited to return to God with an assurance of pardon and eternal life if they comply.

"6. That compliance with these conditions is practicable in the regular exercise of those powers and faculties given to man as an accountable creature, and is prevented only by the exercise of a voluntary criminal aversion to God, so inflexible that by motives merely men are never persuaded to repent and believe.

"7. That God is able by his Spirit to make such application of truth to the mind of man as shall unfailingly convince of sin, and render him joyfully obedient to the gospel.

"8. That this special influence of the Holy Spirit is given according to the supreme discretion or good pleasure of God, and yet ordinarily is so associated with the use of the means of grace, as to create ample encouragement to attend upon them, and to render all hopes of conversion while neglecting or rejecting the truth, or while living in open sin, presumptuous.

"9. That believers are justified through the merits of Christ, received into covenant with God, which insures their continuance in holiness forever; while those who die in their sins will continue to sin willfully and be punished justly forever.

"10. That God exercises a providential government which extends to all events in such a manner as to lay a just foundation for resignation to his will in afflictions brought upon

The preaching of Dr. Beecher was never abstractly metaphysical or dry doctrinal statement. The doctrinal statement was only a foundation on which he based a strong personal urgent plea with the hearers to do something immediately, and with all their might. Nothing was reckoned success by him that did not result in the conversion of souls to God,—the radical change of heart and life.

The New England mind in his day was thoroughly possessed and leavened by Calvinistic metaphysical theology. Often the absolute supremacy of the Divine Being was asserted in forms which practically nullified human ability, and left the impression that man was subject to the commands of a hard master, who required what he had received no ability to perform. Dr. Beecher asserted that perfect free agency was the only proper foundation of just government. His children still remember that he would never permit them to commit to memory the answer of the Assembly's Catechism which says, "No mere man since the fall is able perfectly to keep the commandments of God." This declaration he altered into the statement, "No man since the fall is willing to keep the commandments of God." This style of preaching and appeal was of a kind fitted to produce results, and consequently the active years of Dr. Beecher's labors in Litchfield were largely taken up in revival labors in that and the neighboring towns, in gathering in converts, and building up churches. One of the family letters in the earlier part of his ministry speaks of a "continual revival" as going on in Litchfield.

Besides this, Dr. Beecher's attention was early called to the subject of public reform. When he went to Litchfield intemperance prevailed through society to a fearful extent. The habit of drinking spirituous liquors pervaded all ranks of society, and was countenanced by the example of ministers, at whose stated ecclesiastical meetings the brandy bottle and the tobacco pipe held a prominent situation. Here and there in all ranks of society might be counted hapless victims lost to themselves and their friends, through the curse of intemperance. In the year 1812 Dr. Beecher moved in the general association that a committee be appointed to report on the ways of arresting the tide of intemperance. As chairman of that committee, Dr. Beecher presented a report recommending the following measures:—

us by the wickedness of men, and for gratitude in the reception of good in all the various modes of human instrumentality: that all events shall illustrate his glory, and be made subservient to the good of his kingdom; and that this government is administered by a purpose or plan known and approved of by Him from the beginning.

"Finally, that the God of the universe has revealed Himself as existing in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, possessing distinct and equal attributes, and in some unrevealed manner so united as to constitute one God."

This short statement contains the sum of that system of doctrines on which Dr. Lyman Beecher founded his ministry, and upon which he grounded his pungent appeals to men to repent and turn to God at once. Full ability to accept the gospel as offered, and obligation to accept immediately, — those were the salient points of his ministry.

1. That all ministers in the Association should preach upon the subject.

2. That the District Associations should abstain from the use of ardent spirits at ecclesiastical meetings.

3. That members of churches abstain from the unlawful vending or purchase and use of ardent spirits, exercise vigilant discipline, and cease to consider the production of ardent spirits a part of hospitable entertainment.

4. That parents cease from use of ardent spirits in the family, and warn their children of the danger.

5. That farmers, manufacturers, and mechanics substitute palatable and nutritious drinks, and give if needful additional compensation to those in their employ.

6. To circulate documents on the subject among the people.

7. To form voluntary associations to aid the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws.

In one year, by the vigorous prosecution of these measures, the temperance reformation was aroused in full force in New England. In 1813 the Massachusetts Temperance Society was founded, and since then by correspondence, preaching, lecturing, and organization, the work has been kept up in America, and its example spread to England, Scotland, and the Continent. Dr. Beecher's six sermons on the nature, causes, and cure for intemperance were the offspring of a great personal anxiety and affliction for two noble and much beloved men in his parish who had fallen under the dominion of this fatal tyrant. They produced an immense impression at the time, and have been among the most efficient, permanent documents of the temperance reform in both this country and Europe. They have been translated into many foreign languages, even into that of the Hottentots, carrying with them the burning energy which first gave them birth.

The remedy for intemperance, as proposed by Dr. Beecher in that early period, was that which in later days originated and gave efficiency to the Maine law: It is the banishment of ardent spirits from the list of lawful articles of commerce by a correct and efficient public sentiment, such as has turned slavery out of half the land, and will yet expel it from the world."

In this same year, 1812, also, Dr. Beecher attended the first meeting of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and returning full of zeal called together several laymen and clergymen from various parts of the county, who organized the Litchfield County Missionary Society, the first auxiliary of the American Board. The missionary enthusiasm thus awakened had a decided effect in enlarging and strengthening the piety of the New England mind. It widened the field of vision, enlarged sympathies and charities, and taught noble lessons of self-sacrifice and self-

devotion. The first missionaries to foreign lands bore with them the heart of the American churches, and an influence constantly came back from those mission fields to enrich the piety of those who sent laborers thither.

The general state of the country in the years immediately following the war of 1812 was such as to create in Dr. Beecher's mind grave anxieties. Political parties were intensely bitter; the experiment of a free representative republic was yet a new and untried one; the war brought, as wars always do, some demoralization and disturbance, and the old settled foundations of New England morality were threatened on all hands. The Congregational ministers of New England, however, were a very able and united body, fully aware of the dangers of the times and prompt to meet every exigency. As yet, the Congregational Church was the form of religion supported by law. Every property-holder was by law taxed for its support. But French infidelity, which at this time breathed a poisonous atmosphere across the Atlantic, began to excite in the popular mind a secret uneasiness and resistance which made itself felt in society. Dr. Beecher, with the instinct of a sagacious foresight, perceived an impending change in the institutions of New England, and exerted all his influence in preparing for it. He published a sermon on the "Building of Waste Places," of which he says in his biography, "The churches did not understand all I meant by the sermon. I foresaw what was coming. I saw the enemy digging at the foundations of the standing order. I went to work with deliberate calculation to defend it, and to prepare the churches, if it fell, to take care of themselves."

The sermon on the "Building of Waste Places" resulted in forming a domestic missionary society, for the work of home evangelization; churches were thus built up everywhere through the State.

In due time, however, the standing order fell; the years in which this change was working in society were years of great anxiety and activity to Dr. Beecher and the Congregational ministers of Connecticut. By a union of all the minor sects with the democratic party, a complete separation of church and state was finally attained. All laws protecting religious institutions, or securing the support of the ministry, were repealed, and the whole field was flung open to the free guidance of moral influence. Of this time Dr. Beecher says in his biography:—

"It was as dark a day as ever I saw. The odium thrown on the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done to the cause of Christ was, as we then supposed, irreparable. For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut. It cut the churches loose from their dependence on state support; it threw them wholly on their own resources and upon God. They say ministers have lost their influence; the fact is they have gained. By voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than they could by cocked hats and gold-headed canes."

In a letter written at the close of the struggle, he says, "On the whole I have concluded to give up the ship, not to enemies who have determined to take it, but to Christ, who, I doubt not, will save it."

In the very midst of the darkest part of the struggle, Dr. Beecher was called to encounter the heaviest possible affliction, in the death of a wife who had hitherto been to him a guide, a reliance, and an inspiration. She was one of those rare human beings who seemed always to live in the love and living presence of God, and who saw all things in the light of heaven; never disturbed, discouraged, or dismayed; her last words, even in the shadow of death, were words of triumphant faith and cheerful hope. Her departure was a terrible blow, yet hers was one of those natures whose influence never dies, and to the latest hour of his life, her spiritual presence was ever with her husband.

Gradually, through faith and prayer and the habit of constant activity, cheerfulness and hope returned, and Dr. Beecher formed a second connection, which secured to his large family the cares of a faithful, affectionate mother. His influence, widely extended through New England, caused him to be heard of as a power in Boston. He was first invited there to labor in a revival, and this in due time was followed by an invitation to take the charge of the Hanover Street Church, a new enterprise in the north part of the city. He removed to Boston in the spring of 1826.

At the time Dr. Beecher commenced his ministry in Boston Unitarianism was dominant not only in the city but in the State. Harvard College was under that influence, and it was familiarly stated that all the *élite* of intellect, of family, rank, and fashion, were of that way of thinking. The church that Dr. Beecher took was in an unfashionable part of the city, and numbered only thirty-seven members. In his reminiscences of this period he says, "I made no attack on Unitarians. I carried the state of warm revival feeling I had had in Litchfield for years. I knew nobody there. I took those subjects that were unquestioned, but solemn, to make them tell on the conscience. I began with prudence, because a minister, however well known at home, however wise and successful, has to make himself a character anew, and find out what material is around him; people came to hear; there was a great deal of talk about me, great curiosity. They would hear and then run me down, and declare they would never go again; but they did go, and many who came to scoff remained to pray."

It was Dr. Beecher's custom to follow his public appeals by immediate private labors with such as they affected. Soon the number of these was so great that a specific meeting for those who wished personal religious instruction was appointed. The first week fifteen came, and twenty the second; but the fourth time there were three hundred, and for many months the weekly inquiry meeting numbered four or five hundred. Dr. Beecher has left a record of how he conducted these meetings.

“It was singular to see the changes of language and manner as I passed from one class to another. A large portion would reveal their state easily, and need only plain instruction. Another class would have difficulties; could not see, realize, or feel anything; did not know how to begin. To such a careful course of instruction was given. Another would plead inability, could not do anything. Many of these said their ministers told them so. Now I rose into the field of metaphysics, and began to form my language for purposes of discrimination. Next came the infidel and skeptical class, whom I received with courtesy and kindness; but after a few suggestions calculated to conciliate, I told them that the subject was one that could not be discussed among so many, but that I should be happy to see them at my house, and in that way I succeeded many times. While I was in the inquiry room the church held a prayer-meeting in a room near by, and as conversions happened every night, — ten, twenty, or thirty, — I went in and reported to them. That was blessed. They waited in hope and prayer, and I went in to carry the good tidings.”

At the first season appointed for the reception of members seventy new converts united with the church, more than doubling its numbers. From this time for four years, a constant revival extended not only over Boston but through the State. Churches were built up, and converts gathered, and religious topics became the leading subjects of interest and thought through the community.

Dr. Beecher's pastorate in Boston was extended only through six years, being the shortest of his life; but it was the most active, powerful, and efficient. Besides the constant revival in his own church, bringing incessant personal labor with individual seekers after religion, there was the “care of all the churches,” in the sympathy and zeal with which he took into his heart the fortunes, successes, and trials of all the other churches of the State.

It was a time of intense excitement. The decision given by the supreme court of Massachusetts in the Groton case had spread dismay among them. In this case a society worshipping in the church had outvoted the communicants, and taken possession of the church funds and building and the communion service. The church appealed to law, and a decision was rendered in the supreme court of the State that “the church, as the body of communicants were called, had no existence in law, and that the church property and funds belonged to the society who habitually worshiped in the building.” This opened a wide door by which any number of persons, of all characters and views, by taking pews in a church might control its property and settle whatever minister they chose. As a consequence the orthodox churches in several places were dispossessed of their property, and obliged to take the burden of building new churches.

The so-called liberal party, which held it as a prime tenet, "that it was no matter what a man believed if he only were honest," nevertheless, in the stress of religious controversy, showed themselves as capable of intolerance as the most orthodox, and instances were not unknown where families were divided, and the member who had united with an orthodox church was cast out of the home circle. In this white heat of controversy all sorts of opprobrium rained down upon the orthodox. Their doctrines were caricatured, their conduct slandered. Dr. Beecher himself came in for a large share of this abuse, which he accepted with the most vigorous cheerfulness. He says of this time, "I cared no more for it than for the wind. I knew where I was and what I was doing, and that I was right. I used to think sometimes, as I walked the streets, if you could know anything vile about me, you would scream for joy; but you don't. All sorts of vile letters were written to me by abandoned people, but all this malignity did us no harm." About this time, a caricature of Dr. Beecher was exhibited in the shop-windows of Boston, representing him with two faces on one head: on one side black and with a fierce and threatening scowl, grasping thunderbolts and forked lightnings, while on the other side he exhibited a meek, fair face, and held out in his hand an olive branch. When Dr. Beecher preached his six sermons on intemperance preparatory to a series of temperance efforts among the churches of the State, the indignation of all the makers, venders, and drinkers of ardent spirits was arrayed against him.

As an indication of popular feeling at this time, it is remembered that when Hanover Street Church was destroyed by fire, the firemen sat on their engines around the blazing ruins and sung a parody of a well-known hymn —

"While Beecher's house holds out to burn
The vilest sinner may return."

Besides Dr. Beecher's constant preaching, three times every Sunday and several evenings every week, he wrote and published various sermons, essays, and reviews in the "Spirit of the Pilgrims," which cost him much research, study, and care. He attacked the decision in the Groton case, and exhibited its inconsistency with the spirit and history of Massachusetts law from the founding of the State. Subsequent judges have so modified this decision that churches are no longer exposed to this form of intolerance.

Dr. Beecher also preached a series of sermons exposing the designs of the Roman Catholic Church in taking possession of America, and rousing the churches to contrary efforts. In addition to all the other excitement about him, these sermons roused the wrath of the Irish population, and threats of violence were freely showered upon him, without in the least disturbing his equanimity.

The last one or two years of his Boston pastorate, there gathered in

the moral firmament signs of an approaching controversy, which was subsequently to divide the orthodox ranks. Dr. Beecher saw the first indications, feared and deplored them, spent much time, and wrote many letters to avert such an evil.

It will be seen from the whole history of Dr. Beecher's ministry, that the bent of his mind was more for practical efficiency than for dogmatic construction. To persuade men to become Christians and lead the Christian life was his one object, and he valued doctrines only as means to that end. With a mind strictly logical and keenly perceptive, he no sooner came to apply the received doctrines of Calvinism to individual cases, than his modes of presentation and statement varied often from the formulas of old standards. The views wrought out by an attempt to apply the teachings of the gospel to living souls were soon felt to be different from the technical and metaphysical statements which had been spun into systems by theologians in their closets.

His intimate friend and fellow-laborer, Dr. Taylor, now stood at the head of a new school of theology in New Haven, Connecticut, which was exciting great sensation in the theological world, and before long Dr. Beecher began to find himself an object of suspicion and solicitude among brethren who had hitherto only admired and approved.

The whole basis of religious thought and controversy has now so shifted its ground, that it is difficult for the modern student to appreciate the intensity of feeling which, for some years, convulsed all the theological mind of the United States, concerning the doctrines of man's free agency and ability and God's sovereignty.

On the one side, men of action, who worked for results, contended that man was absolutely free, and able at all points to fulfill all the requirements, of both law and gospel; and on the other side, the metaphysicians asserted that these views destroyed the divine sovereignty. The men who worked for results exhorted people to study the Bible, pray, attend the ministry of the Word, with good hope of thereby attaining to Christian life; while the opposite party mustered in alarm all the old statements of confessions of faith, which one and all are similar in spirit to this of the Protestant Episcopal Church: "Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not from faith in Christ, nor do they make men meet to receive grace, yea, rather, forasmuch as they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin."

The theological mind of America was at issue on these points, one part insisting on man's absolute inability to good and dependence on the Spirit of God, and the other side insisting that God never commanded man to do what he was not fully able to perform. Princeton taught the extreme form of the old conservative side, and New Haven the extreme

of the advanced New England theology, while Andover held a middle ground between the two. Meanwhile a design had arisen in the hearts of some Christian men to establish, at Cincinnati, a theological seminary for supplying ministers to the Western States, and they made overtures to Dr. Beecher, as the man of all others to conduct this enterprise.

Speaking of this time, he says, "There was not a place on earth but that that I would have opened my ears to for a moment. But I had felt and thought and labored a great deal about raising up ministers, and the thought that I might be called to teach the young ministry of the broad West flashed through my mind like lightning. I went home, ran in and found E—— alone in the sitting-room. I was in such a state of emotion and excitement that I could not speak, and she was alarmed. At last I told her. It was the greatest thought that ever entered my soul; it filled and displaced everything else."

The state of his people, whose church had just been burned down, and who were depending on him to assist in rebuilding and gathering together in a new location, made it impossible at this time to entertain the project. But after the church had been rebuilt, and the affairs of the society were in prosperous order, the proposal was made again. It was an application to leave a situation where he enjoyed every worldly advantage. He had conquered a position in Boston. He was sure there of an ample and generous support for his family, he was surrounded by an admiring and loving church and congregation, associated with brethren in the ministry whom he ardently loved, and who loved and respected him in return. All this he renounced for missionary work in founding a new institution in a Western State hundreds of miles away.

Among Dr. Beecher's private papers was found a most affecting and solemn appeal to God, written at this time, in which he poured forth all his feelings as a child to a parent: "Thou knowest the burning desire of my heart for the West, and the burden of my soul for the millions of my countrymen there are not hid from Thee. To my tears Thou hast been witness, and to my great heaviness and continual sorrow, which cannot be uttered, for my country and for this whole, most miserable world, — Thou Lord knowest. I do, therefore, now consecrate myself to Thee, O Lord my Saviour and my God, in the service to which I trust Thou hast called me, in raising up the foundations of thy kingdom at the West. I accept in thy sight, and for thy sake and thy kingdom, the call to Lane Seminary, and the call to the church in Cincinnati, which Thou hast purchased by thy blood: and I resign to Thee the church and people whom Thou hast given me here, who are ineffably dear to me, and this city, the scene of many conflicts, where Thou hast guided, sustained, and defended me; all these churches, some of which have risen by my instrumentality, and all those ministers whom I have loved and who have loved and aided me, — especially those dearly beloved brethren

in the ministry, with whom I have seen eye to eye. Lord, at thy bidding I resign them all to thy care and keeping."

It was in this spirit that he laid before the church his decision to remove to the West.

In this address he thus states the ground of his acceptance: "The exigencies of our country demand seminaries, expositions of doctrine, and preachers of such zeal and activity as guarantee, by the grace of God, the continued effusion of his Spirit. And the question whether the leading seminary of the West shall be one which inculcates orthodoxy, with or without revivals, is, in my view, a question of as great importance as was ever permitted to a single human mind to decide. If I accept, I consider the question settled, that a revival seminary takes the lead, so much as probably to give a complexion forever to the doctrines and revivals in that great world."

In estimating his fitness for the work he reviews his ministerial career: "For the first ten years preaching to a congregation of implicit believers in the doctrines and revivals, . . . but in the presence of a crafty caviling infidelity, which had led away nearly the whole generation of young men; the greater portion of whom I left members of the church, and nearly all of them rescued from infidelity and settled in the doctrines of the gospel; the next sixteen years, in a field where my predecessor had pushed the unexplained points of hyper-Calvinism to the confines of Antinomianism, throwing off some to Arminianism, and embodying others into a band of doubting, chafed murmurers, — all of whom, during my ministry, or since, have become convinced of the truth, and become members of the church. The last six years I have been explaining and vindicating the same system where, to a fearful extent, all definite belief in the Bible and its doctrines had ceased, and where all the great elements of moral government and all efficient sense of responsibility had passed away, and if I may trust my own observations, and that of others, not without marked indications of a return of public sentiment to the Bible, its doctrines and institutions.

"The result has been, that, though I have never been immured with books in my study, or occupied as a disputant in theological controversy, yet my mind has been constantly exercised and disciplined in the exposition for popular apprehension, and the application for saving purposes, of the great doctrines of the Reformation; and when I look back and see that one third of my ministry has been occupied in the labors of revivals among my own people, I have dared to hope that in my mode of explaining and applying the doctrines of the Bible I have been guided by the Spirit, and the call now made upon me to write upon the minds and hearts of a new generation of ministers the results of an extended experience leads me to inquire whether He, who sees the end from the beginning, may not have been preparing me for the self-same thing by the unusual vicissitudes of my ministry."

In conclusion, Dr. Beecher alluded briefly to the threatened controversial division among the orthodox of New England. He expressed his belief that the differences between the two parties had been exaggerated; that "though there were shades of difference among ministers, they respected circumstantial, not fundamental, and are not inconsistent with revivals and the blessing of God on either side."

"And when," he added, "I see the cause of temperance, and missions, and revivals, all moving the right way, and such dark clouds dispelled as just now threatened over a great portion of the church, . . . I cannot believe God intends to give up the ministers of New England to the infatuated madness and folly of rushing into an angry controversy; and if they should do it, I could not perceive it to be my duty to remain and wear out my strength and spirit in contending with good men.

"Against the enemies of the Lord I can lift up the spear with good will, but with the friends of the Lord Jesus Christ I cannot find it in my heart to enter into controversy, — no, I cannot do it — I *cannot* do it."

Dr. Beecher's church, trained by their pastor in missionary spirit, acknowledged the needs and superior claims of the great West, and resigned their beloved pastor to the work in a spirit of love and prayer.

On the 14th of November, 1832, Dr. Beecher with his family arrived in Cincinnati. Here he assumed at the same time the position of pastor to the Second Presbyterian Church, and president of the new theological seminary, situated on Walnut Hills, about two miles from the city. Here Dr. Beecher spent nineteen years, — the most trying, perplexing, laborious, and stormy period of his life.

It would seem as if every element of discord and debate were let loose like the winds from the cave of Æolus, to swoop down upon the infant enterprise.

Lane Seminary was upon the borders of a slave state, and the slavery controversy was even then shaking the land as with an earthquake. The Presbyterian Church, a large proportion of whose Southern members were slaveholders, was surging and heaving with wild excitement upon this subject, and every meeting of a general assembly was distracted and almost convulsed by it; and it was during Dr. Beecher's first seven years of labor that the crisis came which finally rent the Presbyterian Church in twain.

The theological controversy which Dr. Beecher had dreaded, and from which he had hoped to withdraw, burst out immediately with renewed vigor on his arrival at the West. The new school doctrines and the old school doctrines began to array their lines of battle through the whole United States. The old school party formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the proslavery party in the South to resist the agitating efforts of the abolitionists. The new school body, preaching immediate repentance and forsaking of sin, denounced slavery as sin against

God, calling for immediate repentance, and requiring ecclesiastical discipline.¹ The antislavery party at this time was in two divisions:—

(1.) Those outside of all existing organizations who denounced the Constitution of the United States as a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell, and the church as a den of thieves. At the head of this party stood Garrison and the "Liberator."

(2.) Those who, like Charles Sumner in the state and Dr. Albert Barnes in the church, deemed it their duty to remain in existing organizations, and endeavor to use them for the purpose of promoting emancipation. In this party Dr. Beecher was a leader.

Immediately on his arrival in Cincinnati he was beset on one side by the theological attack of the "old school" party, and on the other by the no less dangerous attacks of the radical abolitionists. Dr. Joshua Wilson, of the First Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, brought charges of heresy against him in the Cincinnati Presbytery, and he underwent a public trial. He was acquitted in presbytery, and the case appealed to synod; acquitted in synod, it was appealed to the general assembly, where at last Dr. Wilson was induced to withdraw his charges, and Dr. Beecher was suffered to go clear. Thus, for a space of three years, the controversy with good men which he deprecated was forced upon him, and the time which he had hoped to give to revivals of religion and the conversion of souls was consumed in writing theological statements and defenses.

Meanwhile slavery agitation was introduced into the youthful seminary, by the inception of a large class of pupils of the Oneida Manual Labor Institute, under the leadership of Theodore Weld. This class discussed the subject of slavery for nine consecutive nights, and began immediate labors among the free colored population of Cincinnati.

As only a river separated that city from slave territory, the reaction was immediate. Lane Seminary was threatened with demolition, and at that period there was the best reason in the world for believing that the threat would be executed. In those days a mob from across the Ohio twice destroyed the antislavery printing-press of Dr. Bailey, throwing his types into the Ohio River. They promenaded the streets of Cincinnati, abusing and threatening the free colored people, so that respectable families found it difficult to save the lives of their own servants. There was no efficient interference of city authorities; no retribution in courts of justice for such acts, and had the mob fulfilled their threats of burning down Lane Seminary there would have been no legal redress.

Under these circumstances it cannot be wondered at that the trustees of the seminary, as legal guardians of the property, took the matter into their own hands, and, in the absence of Dr. Beecher and the faculty dur-

¹ Chiefly true of the *Southern* old school and the *Northern* new school. But many Northern old school, as Drs. MacMaster and Thomas, were for abolition, and most Southern new school, as Dr. Ross, were strongly for slavery.

ing a summer vacation, passed votes whose effect was designed to stop the antislavery discussion in the seminary, and the antislavery labors of its students in the community.

These laws, passed during Dr. Beecher's absence, caused the secession from the seminary of a class of forty young men. His utmost powers of mediation were used on his return with both parties in vain. The young men left, and went to Oberlin, and there formed the nucleus of a new theological seminary; and thus in fact Dr. Beecher's removal to the West was the means of founding two theological schools instead of one.

Dr. Beecher's conduct on this occasion has been severely criticised. The extreme abolitionists contended that he and his fellow professors ought to have followed the example of the students and resigned their professorships. But this in effect would have been to surrender the institution to the defenders and allies of slavery. Dr. Beecher felt it his duty to hold the fort for better things.

The landed endowments of the seminary were rich, but they were in great part the gift of a family who, with one exception, then belonged to the old school party, and bitterly repented the donation, and only waited for some legal pretext to recover the possession. Had they been able to prove that the institution, instead of fulfilling the purposes stated in its charter, had been in effect changed into an abolition propaganda, they could have brought suits with a fair pretext; and there was at that time little favor to be hoped from the decision of courts. Dr. Beecher was at all times an open and avowed antislavery man. Lane Seminary, from the first, received colored students on equal footing with whites; and a former slave, named James Bradley, was a member of the very first class, and treated with especial consideration by faculty and students.

Those professors who were especially called by Dr. Beecher to his side were also outspoken and decided antislavery men; and he soon had laboring with him, as ministers in the Presbyterian Church, five sons, all outspoken and determined abolitionists, and each in his sphere doing their utmost in pulpit and ecclesiastical meetings to intensify the antislavery feeling in the Presbyterian Church. It may well, therefore, be a question whether the antislavery influence of Dr. Beecher and his family was not in their chosen line and sphere quite as efficient a factor in the final result, as those of the radical abolitionists.

For a while, however, the interests of Lane Seminary suffered on all hands. The attacks on Dr. Beecher's orthodoxy alarmed some; the ultra abolitionists were disgusted because the seminary did no more in the cause of the slave; the proslavery party threatened its destruction because it did so much. The classes from 1836 to 1840 were sensibly diminished in numbers, and in 1837 the failure of Arthur Tappan deprived the institution of the divinity professorship, on the income of which Dr. Beecher's salary depended.

In one of the doctor's commonplace books was found entered the following memorandum: "I have this morning received a letter from New York, informing me that my draft on Mr. Tappan has been dishonored on account of his suspension of payment. Thus has the ground of my support failed. . . . But my confidence that it was the will of God that I should come here has not failed, my confidence that the end of my coming would be the establishment of Lane Seminary has not failed, and my confidence that God was well pleased with my coming, and approved my motive, and will sustain me in my life of dependence on Him as He has done, has not failed. And though one half a needed income has suddenly stopped, and I know not precisely in what manner my wants are to be supplied, I desire to praise Him who has clothed and fed me and mine to this day, that I do not distrust Him, but am cheerful and happy in my confidence in Him, whose I am and whom I serve."

Meanwhile the great under-current in the Presbyterian Church was steadily drifting towards disunion, for in this same year, 1837, the general assembly, meeting in Philadelphia, passed a resolution to cite before them all those presbyteries and synods that were suspected of heresy, the ministers and the elders of all such synods to be deprived of a seat in the next general assembly. By this method four synods, covering two thirds of New York and part of Ohio, were "excinded," numbering five hundred and ninety-nine churches and fifty-seven thousand communicants. While heresies in doctrine were the nominal cause of this attack, it is to be remarked that the synods thus indicated were those that had been in the front ranks of the antislavery protest. Private letters from leading Southern clergymen had already explained that Southern members could not and would not longer tolerate a union with abolitionists, and this high-handed proceeding was the means of effecting a separation.

In 1838, therefore, Dr. Beecher was at the decisive meeting of the general assembly. The roll of the assembly was called, omitting the four synods. Their representatives offered their commissions, which were refused without explanation. Immediately the new school portion rose and read a declaration to the effect that whereas, contrary to law, certain synods are denied a seat in the assembly, "We now proceed to organize the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America with as little disturbance as possible." Moderator and clerks being elected, the new school proclaimed that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States was now organized, and would proceed forthwith to the First Presbyterian Church. The new school assembly marched down the aisle, the greater part of the throng following them, and walked in procession to the First Church. Thus were the new and old school assemblies divided, and so completely was it a question other than that of doctrine,¹ that there remained in the new school church only three presbyteries in slave-holding States.

¹ The "Minutes" make it largely a question of church order. Thus regarded the excinding, however severe, may not have been "high-handed," but constitutional. — H. M. M.

It was a dramatic and striking attendant on this event, that the day of the disunion Liberty Hall was in flames, set on fire by the proslavery mob, and the next day the African Hall on Thirteenth Street was on fire, the mob cutting the hose to prevent its destruction.

As usual, in those days, there was no efficient resistance of the authorities to these outrages, and the blame of the whole transaction was thrown upon the abolitionists.

The decision as to which body was to be recognized as the Presbyterian Church was appealed to the courts in the State of Pennsylvania. The first decision in the *Nisi Prius* term, under Judge Rodgers, was in favor of the new school. The court in bank, however, reversed this decision in favor of the old school. A suit of ejectment was now commenced against the officers of Lane Seminary, as not belonging to the Presbyterian Church of the United States. The Hon. S. P. Chase argued the case in favor of Lane Seminary, and succeeded in obtaining a decision that placed the institution on firm legal grounds for all time. From this time the difficulties in the establishment of the seminary were substantially overcome.

In 1839 Dr. Beecher returned with enthusiasm and success to his labors as a revival preacher. He visited Oxford College, and spent there two happy weeks preaching and conversing with religious inquirers. It was estimated that at this time there were over one hundred converts, eighty from the college. In his private memoranda Dr. Beecher thus speaks: "The Lord has permitted the accumulation upon me for the last few years, in domestic and public cares, anxieties, and labors, a greater pressure of responsibility and suspense, of baffled plans and hopes, than ever before in my life; and withal in a state far distant, among strangers, and remote from the cheering sympathy of that host of friends who had grown up around me, and on whom the slanders and misrepresentations of alienated friends and the conspiracy of religious party spirit could have no influence to embarrass my success. In the mean time my mind and body were tasked by responsibilities sufficient for the time and resources of two men. . . . Often has been the time when I thought the last cord was broken, and my last work on earth done; and now if any man can say it, I can say, Having obtained help of God I continue to this day. I trust God is preparing for me at the West a more open door with less distraction from adversaries, . . . where the coöperation of cordial friends will afford me opportunities of cheerful efficient action."

From this time, the course of the seminary became every year more prosperous. Two professors had resigned during the season of discouragement, and their places were filled by young men who brought vigor and strength to the institution. The lines being now thoroughly drawn between the old and new school parties, the theological controversy

ceased, and the churches set themselves quietly to the culture of spiritual religion. The young colleges of the West, Jacksonville, Marietta, Crawfordsville, Oxford, and Western Reserve, were in sympathy with the seminary, and sent a yearly increasing number of students. Powerful revivals of religion began to be heard of through the churches, and the students from Lane exhibited a truly evangelical enthusiasm in meeting the labors and hardships incident to establishing new churches in a new country; so that Dr. Beecher, writing to a friend in 1842, says, "The Lord has delivered and prospered, so that I look back on all, as the ship looks back on squalls and head winds past, when favoring gales give her a prosperous course."

The difficulties which Dr. Beecher encountered during these seven stormy years that established Lane Seminary were enough to have wholly broken down a less determined man. In the very midst of the ecclesiastical trial, his wife, the mother of four of his children, sunk under the debilitating Western climate, and died. Rumors most unfavorable to him were circulated through all the circle of his Eastern friends, exposing him to a constant galling fire of letters of alarm, inquiry, and remonstrance. The foundation of his pecuniary support gave way; students were industriously prevented from joining the seminary; some of the professors left in despair; and in all this stress of weather the only man who did not for an instant lose hope and courage, or admit the thought of abandoning the enterprise, was Dr. Beecher.

He worked, said Professor Stowe, during all these years like a Hercules. Disappointment followed disappointment. obstacle was piled on obstacle. Ossa piled on Pelion, and Olympus on Ossa; friends fell off, foes multiplied; endowments diminished, and salaries ceased; prejudices were inflamed, and students kept away. Still he was hopeful and jovial, always good-natured and never irritated. If students would not offer themselves he would go after them; if regular income failed he would beg; if he could not clamber over an obstacle he would go round it or dig through it; disappointed in one thing he would hope for another that would surely be better when he got it. He was not only hopeful and cheerful, but a spring of hope and cheer to all around him, and the sound of his rapid elastic footstep, and the ring of his confident tones, seemed to inspire courage wherever he came.

He fulfilled to the letter his own advice to his students: "When things are so bad and so dark that it seems as if you could n't hold out another minute — don't let go then — you may be sure a change is coming, and many a cause has been lost because a man could n't hold on."

In May, 1851, Dr. Beecher resigned the presidency of Lane Seminary, which he left well established and prosperous, and returned to New England, where he devoted himself to the labor of preparing his works for the press. For several years he continued to preach occasionally, and to

labor in revivals. When he was no longer able to do this he settled in Brooklyn, and became a constant attendant on the preachings and prayer meetings in Plymouth Church. To hear his own son continuing in the course begun under his teachings was almost as good as to be young himself.

Gradually his power of expression failed, and his mind was overclouded and wandering, but the ruling passion was still strong in him. A friend seeing him sitting as he often sat, as if in deep thought, said, "Dr. Beecher, you know a great deal; tell us what is the greatest of all things." His eye flashed, his face kindled, and he said, "It is not theology, it is not controversy, but it is to save souls!" To save souls had been from first to last the passion of his life.

A short time before his death the veil that had settled over his mind was suddenly rent, and he had a full enjoyment of the Beatific Vision; a vision not of earthly glory or physical brightness, but of the perfections of God. His face became radiant, his utterance strong. He said, "I have begun to go. Oh, such scenes! I have seen the King in his beauty! Blessed God for revealing Thyself. How wonderful that a creature can approach the Creator so as to awake in his likeness!" He spoke of each of his children, and left his parting blessing upon them. From this ecstasy he fell into a sweet sleep, his face still illumined with a solemn and divine radiance, and so in his eighty-seventh year he entered into rest. — H. B. S.

LIFE XXIV. CHARLES FINNEY.

A. D. 1792—A. D. 1875. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

THERE was nothing extraordinary about the circumstances attending the birth and early life of the subject of this story, to warrant the expectation that he would be a man of special mark, or wield any unusual influence. But the most casual reader of this brief record of a life abounding in labors rewarded with peculiar success will not fail to be impressed with the fact that Providence raised up this man, and endowed him with rare gifts for a special and great mission. Charles Finney was born in the little town of Litchfield, Connecticut, August 29, 1792. Son of a New England farmer. His father, Sylvester Finney, was a farmer in a rather small way, and a good neighbor, a happy, jolly man, beloved by every one. He brought up a large family, every member of which became an honest, law-abiding, and respected citizen; only one, however, besides Charles, entering a profession. George, the youngest of the sons, was also a minister.

The family removed to Oneida County, New York, when Charles was

about two years old, and a few years later moved again into the wilderness on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. Remaining at home until about twenty years of age, assisting on the farm, and attending such schools as were occasionally in session in the neighborhood, Charles rarely heard a sermon, and knew little of religious teaching. Then he went into New Jersey, near New York city, and commenced teaching. For six years he continued to teach and to study, intermitting the teaching at two or three different times to attend a session of a New England high school, and in 1818 entered a law office in Adams, New York, as a student.

In studying elementary law, he found frequent reference to the Scriptures, especially to the Mosaic Institutes, as authority for many of the principles of common law. Consequently he bought a Bible, the first he ever owned, which he read and pondered a good deal in connection with his law studies, but with very little At twenty-six buys his first Bible. comprehension of much of it. He now attended religious services regularly on the Sabbath, and sometimes the weekly prayer meeting, when his duties did not require his attention at the office. He became more and more interested in religion, and in the teachings of the Bible; holding long and frequent conversations with his pastor on the doctrinal points of the gospel; reading diligently, and finally praying earnestly that he might know the right way, and have courage to walk in it. Suddenly, as the light from heaven shone upon Saul of Tarsus, the gospel plan of salvation, complete and full, dawned upon his mind, and he accepted the sacrifice Christ had made for him with a heart overflowing with love and gratitude. At once he said to himself, "I will preach the gospel." He gave up a law case which was to be tried the next morning after this experience, saying to his client, "I have a retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead his cause, and I cannot plead yours," and immediately set about talking with all whom he met on the great importance of their souls' salvation. He went from house to house the whole day, and several persons professed conversion from the hour when Mr. Finney talked to them in his simple, direct, and earnest way, of their duty to God. The time was ripe for the man, and God raised him up. The whole village was awakened, and almost every one in it, young, middle-aged, and old, was converted.

After some weeks spent in daily and hourly labor among the people, he went for a brief visit to his father, who lived in the small town of Henderson. His father met him at the gate and asked after his health. He replied, "I am well, father, but how is it that I never heard a prayer in my father's house?" The old man dropped his head, and tears came into his eyes, as he answered, "Come in, Charles, and pray yourself." Both father and mother, and some of his brothers and sisters, became converts, and the religious feeling spread all through that community also.

In the spring of 1822 he put himself under the care of the presbytery, and as he had not means to go to Princeton, his pastor, the Rev. Mr. Gale, was appointed his instructor. In March, 1824, he was Begins to preach. licensed to preach. Although frankly acknowledging that he did not subscribe to all the doctrines of the Presbyterian denomination, he did not fail to convince all that he was called to preach, the numerous conversions attending his lay labors corroborating the evidence. Many men have preached effectively, and swayed masses with the force and earnestness of their speech, but to few has been given such an array of physical advantages to aid them in their work, as was granted to this young man, now about to go forth to do battle against sin and evil. He was of tall figure and majestic presence; he had a noble head, a keen blue eye, that could transfix with its sharp, penetrating gaze, or melt with its tenderness, a voice sonorous and clear, without harshness, and capable of stirring the heart like a clarion, or of bringing tears to the eyes with its pathetic pleading; above all, a magnetism which fascinated and held in closest attention all in his presence. His peculiar mental characteristics were quickness of perception, clearness of discrimination, and logical acuteness.

With these advantages, physical and mental, and a soul imbued with the love of God and of immortal souls, wholly devoted to his work, what was lacking to make sure his success? He himself tells us that he had always felt that the great need in the preaching of the gospel was the "baptism of the Holy Ghost poured out on the preacher." "This," he says, "is not the gift of tongues, nor the power to work miracles, but a divine purifying, an anointing, bestowing on its subjects a divine illumination, filling them with faith and love, with peace and power." This "baptism" he sought and found, and then he went forth armed and equipped, beginning his modest labors in a little place called Evans's Mills, in Jefferson County, New York. From this time on for a period of fifty years, the record is one of constant labor; in season and out of season, in church and by the way-side, in city and country, in this country and in England, with an activity and intensity that never faltered, and a zeal for God and the souls of men almost without parallel. After preaching a short time at Evans's Mills he was urged to go to Antwerp, an adjacent town. He accordingly divided his time between the two places, allowing an occasional evening for a sermon at a German settlement near by. Nearly every soul in Evans's Mills was brought into the church, and among the Germans the work was surprising, several middle-aged persons learning to read that they might read the Bible. The whole community was converted. Mr. Finney says, "I preached the atonement of Jesus Christ, his divinity, his divine mission, his perfect life, his vicarious death, his resurrection, repentance, justification by faith. I insisted upon the voluntary

A whole community converted.

total moral depravity of the unregenerate, and the unalterable necessity of a radical change of heart, by the Holy Ghost, and by means of the truth."

At this time he was ordained by the presbytery, and for six months labored in that same region of Western New York, going on horseback from town to town, visiting from house to house, attending prayer meetings, preaching day and night. He says, "I preached out-of-doors, I preached in barns, I preached in school-houses, and a glorious revival of religion spread all over that new country." One element of his success among this uneducated population was the simplicity of his language, and the use of numerous and common illustrations. It was his study so to present the truths of the gospel, which were made for every soul of man, that they should reach the humblest and most illiterate, to make them clear to the comprehension by illustrations such as would be most familiar to those addressed. He was blamed at times for using too much repetition, but he contended that it was necessary, especially in dealing with minds unused to consecutive thought, to repeat the same truth over and over again, at first to attract attention, then to still repeat, until the subject was fixed in their memory. That there are now persons living who can not only tell the texts from which he preached in those days, but give a clear synopsis of the discourse, proves the wisdom of his course.

At Antwerp he found a very wicked and profane community, with only three pious women in it, one of whom opened her parlor for the first meeting. In walking about the town, a sort of terror took hold of him, hearing the cursing and swearing in the streets, and at every place of business. He appointed a preaching service in the school-house on Sunday, and on Saturday, while praying for help to reach and save these godless people, this text of Scripture came home to his heart to comfort him: "Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee." When he went to the school-house on the Sabbath morning, he found it packed to its utmost capacity, and without any preparation he opened his pocket Bible, and read the text that offered itself, "For God so loved the world, that He sent his only begotten Son," etc. The people listened with awed attention; they quailed when he told them how they requited God's love with blasphemy, and at last nearly the whole audience was in tears. In the afternoon he was invited to come into the church, and from that time the good work spread in all directions. Afterward he preached in Gouverneur, Western, Rome, Utica, Auburn, Troy, New Lebanon, and many smaller places. Everywhere the same deep interest was manifested; everywhere the gospel presented in its simplicity, and with earnestness, wrought wondrous things, and thousands turned from evil courses and became persistent Christians. Preaching morning and evening, holding

inquiry meetings after each service, visiting from house to house, sometimes preaching twice a day in one place and then riding several miles to preach a third time, left no time for the preparation of sermons. Never was the promise, "For it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak," so remarkably fulfilled. The man seemed inspired each day, and the text from which he should speak and the points to make in each instance appeared to be given him directly from above. He went into a little village where the houses were almost all on one street, straggling along for a mile or two, and it was told him that there was not a religious family on the street. He preached in a school-house on the same street from the words, "The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked." A profound impression was made on the villagers, many were converted at once, and the feeling spread rapidly, until not a family remained impenitent. In one family sixteen children and grandchildren united with the church at one time, and seventeen of one family at another. Of course, there was opposition; such revivals were contrary to all precedent, and many expostulated, some earnestly opposed. But the preacher had no time to quarrel with any, his only answer being, "God seems to bless my efforts; while He does, I shall believe that I am right, and never cease my labors."

In this way the time passed until 1828, when he was invited to go to Philadelphia and labor. He accepted the invitation, His work in Philadelphia. preaching in different churches as they were opened to him for several months, until urged to take a central position, and preach steadily in one place. The largest church then in the city was a German church on Race Street, and this was the place fixed upon for the continuance of his labors. It was said to seat three thousand persons, and nightly it was crowded to its utmost capacity. He preached here for a year and a half, and there was no abatement of the revival during the entire period. The converts were numerous in all parts of the city, and they united with all the different denominations, for there was nothing sectarian uttered or countenanced at any time by their teacher. In the spring of 1829, when the Delaware River was high, the lumbermen came down with their rafts from the lumber regions of Pennsylvania. In that section of country were large tracts of forest, through which were scattered the log-cabins of the lumbermen and their families. They were there, without schools, without churches, without teaching of any sort. Some who went down to the city with their floating lumber strayed providentially into the evening meetings on Race Street, and becoming much interested went again, until many were converted, and went home carrying the good news; and the work of conversion spread in all that wild region, over a tract of country eighty miles in extent, until it was reported that five thousand persons had been converted, and that without a minister, or a single sermon, through the instrumentality

of the few who carried the blessed story as they heard it in Philadelphia.

Afterward the preacher labored in New York city for several months, and in the fall of 1830 he went to Rochester. The city ^{Great work in} contained then a population of about ten thousand, and ^{Rochester.} during the revival which followed eight hundred persons were converted. A revival of like proportion now would number six or seven thousand converts. In commencing his labors in Rochester, he began, as was his custom ever after, to preach to the church, first trying to revive it, and bring it into a proper frame of mind to assist in the work among the unconverted. An eye-witness of those labors says, "The duties and responsibilities of a Christian life were so portrayed as absolutely to amaze and frighten the cold and backslidden professor. The sins of worldliness, lukewarmness, and neglect of duty were set in startling colors; the atmosphere of the place seemed surcharged with the solemnity of eternity, and there was in the speaker the dignity and majesty of one of the old prophets. His words were like flames of fire. False hopes were consumed, backsliders were brought trembling and astonished to the feet of the Saviour. Reconciliations were effected between estranged brethren. The sermon from the text, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' and that from the words, 'Others save with fear and trembling, pulling them out of the fire,' made a prodigious impression. Christians being thus aroused, he was prepared to preach to sinners. He began with the law, showing what its requirements are, and what its penalty, and the justice of them; how absolutely necessary to the order and stability of the moral universe, and how fearful a thing it is then to sin against the law-giver and all the interests of the universe." When persons were awakened by these presentations, and tremblingly asked, "What shall we do to be saved?" then with great pity and tenderness they were pointed to the cross, to the Lamb of God, who bore our punishment for us; and his exceeding love was opened to their view, in all its fullness and power, and with tears and entreaties they were urged to accept it until a heart of stone could resist no longer.

All the towns in the vicinity were aroused. The preacher went from one to another as he could find time, and taught and helped them. Over twelve thousand members were added that year to the churches of the Rochester presbytery alone, besides the great ingathering into churches of other denominations. But it was not by members alone that the good results were shown; the only theatre in the city was converted into a livery stable, and a circus into a factory; grog-shops were closed, the Sabbath honored, and men seemed to live to do good. Among the converts were lawyers, judges, physicians, merchants, bankers, and master mechanics; and as all the leaders of society had changed their modes of life and feeling, social life, business, and civil affairs, all had a different tone.

Even the courts and prisons felt the change; the jail was nearly empty for years afterwards. The preacher visited Rochester again in 1842, a third time in 1856, and each time one thousand souls were given him as his hire. One of the converts of the first revival says feelingly, "It is not too much to say that thousands are indebted to that wonderful man for their success in life, for position, competence, influence, home, kindred, friends, and daily joys! What miserable shipwreck many of them might have made, both for this world and the next, had he not met them, and moved them by his mighty influence, it is not difficult to conjecture."

In 1832 he went for a second time to New York, where the Tappan brothers and others purchased the Chatham Street Theatre and fitted it up for a church. Here he preached to thronging thousands for two or three years, until the site of the Broadway Theatre, which was destroyed by fire, was for sale, when his friends bought it, and erected, after plans suggested by himself, the Broadway Tabernacle. During the years at Chatham Street Chapel, so many were the converts, that they were urged to go into different parts of the city and establish new churches. The result was the springing up of seven young churches, which all flourished and grew, without however diminishing in the least the crowd that worshiped in the chapel. About this time need was felt of a religious newspaper, which should represent the advanced ideas in religious teaching, and aid Charles Finney in his work. Accordingly the New York "Evangelist" was established. Finney's morning sermons were reported for this paper; and when he could find time, he contributed other papers, on theology, practical piety, etc. These papers were afterward printed in a volume, under the title, "Finney's Lectures on Revivals," and twelve thousand copies were sold at once. They were afterward reprinted in England and France, and translated into Welsh and German, one London publisher issuing eighty thousand copies. The Congregational ministers of the principality of Wales appointed a committee to inform the preacher of the great revival that had resulted from the translation of this book into Welsh.

Those who built the "Tabernacle," and who were the leading members of the church, decided that it should be governed as a Congregational church. Accordingly, Finney took his dismissal from the presbytery, and became pastor of that church as a Congregationalist. He was ever after identified with this denomination, although, as has before been stated, very liberal in his views, and shunning anything like sectarianism in teaching and in feeling. In 1835, the college at Oberlin, Ohio, was founded, and Charles Finney was urged to take the chair of theology; the plan being to make the school ultimately a university, but proximately to fit young men for the ministry. He hesitated for some time;

In New York city. "The Evangelist."

his work seemed to him peculiarly that of an evangelist; but at last he consented to spend a part of each year teaching in this Western seminary, with the privilege of carrying on his labors in New York in the winter. This arrangement was carried out for two or three years, but was found to be too great a tax upon his strength, and the number of students greatly increasing in Oberlin, the duty to the college seemed paramount, and he resigned his pastorate in New York. He became pastor of the church in Oberlin, which for more than twenty years was the only church in the town, and finally numbered nearly two thousand communicants, so that it became necessary to divide it. For a number of years he thus increased in labors, as pastor of so large a church, as professor of theology, and during the vacation in college when his strength would at all allow, as preacher, toiling in other towns and cities, sometimes in the East, then again in the West, at Cincinnati and other places.

Twice during this time he went to England, where he preached in Houghton, Birmingham, Worcester, and in Whitefield's Tabernacle, Finsbury, London. This last place of worship His work in England. could seat three thousand persons. It was constantly filled, although week-day religious services were then almost unknown in London. Upon the first call for those who would like personal conversation upon the subject of the soul's salvation, to repair to a certain hall in the neighborhood at the close of the preaching, some fifteen or sixteen hundred persons thronged in, and filled the room to its utmost capacity. There was weeping and audible sobbing all over the house, as the preacher in the simplest and clearest way pointed out to them the duty of immediate and entire submission to God. This was only one of many evenings that followed in that large church in the midst of London, where he labored for nine months. He was often accosted in the streets, when walking in different parts of the city, by perfect strangers, who would say, "Beg pardon, Mr. Finney, but I can't pass you without stopping to thank you for the great good your sermons have done me." A rector of an Episcopal church attended the meetings several times, and then went to preaching with all his might to promote a revival in his own parish. He established meetings at twenty different places in the parish, and in a short time fifteen hundred persons were converted as a result of his efforts. When Finney left London, four or five Episcopal churches were holding revival services, and the number of converts was increasing. It was ten years before Finney went again to England. He found to his astonishment that the work had never ceased, but had been spreading in all directions. In 1858, after preaching a few weeks in Houghton, he went to Borough Road Chapel, London. Here he met with the same large success, and what is better, left the church so awakened and in earnest, that, for years after, they expected, and really did

have, conversions every week. Before returning home he visited Edinburgh, and also Aberdeen, with blessed results. After this he returned to England for a few months, preaching in Bolton and in Manchester. In the former place sixty mill-hands were converted in one evening, at a meeting held for their especial benefit in the mills. After two years of this constant and wearing labor, he returned to Oberlin, and resumed his teaching and preaching there.

On returning from the first visit to England, Finney had become president of the college, without, however, resigning any of his other duties. He continued to fill this place until a very few years before his death, when advancing years, and their usual infirmities, made it necessary for him to be relieved from some of his cares. He taught his classes until the end of the college year preceding his death, and preached but a very short time before the close of his life, with much power and earnestness. In the language of one of his pupils and friends, "He was for more than a generation the best known representative of Oberlin abroad, and its constant inspiration at home." He elaborated a system of theology which, while it was essentially the same as that taught by the advanced school of New England theologians, was yet so modified, and as he regarded it improved, as to deserve its cognomen, "Oberlin theology," and he upheld its doctrines with potent logic and earnest zeal. The principal characteristics of this system, as distinguished from those of other schools, cannot be better stated than in the language of an Andover (Massachusetts) theologian, in a "Critical Review of President Finney's Theological System." He says the tenets are: (1.) The human will is self-determining in its action. (2.) All obligation is limited by ability. (3.) All virtuous choice terminates upon the good of beings, and in the ultimate analysis on the good of being in general. (4.) The will is never divided in its action, but is at each instant either wholly virtuous or wholly sinful." The fitness of President Finney for this new field of work will be apparent if we recall the description of his mental traits already given. They were quickness of perception, clearness of discrimination, and logical acuteness. In addition to these he had an earnest determination to know nothing but the truth. On all these points there has been much discussion and difference of opinion, but the subject which excited most opposition, and on account of which many of his early friends and co-laborers withdrew their sympathy from him for a number of years, was the doctrine of sanctification. As regards exactly what he taught, there has been widespread and persistent misunderstanding. The doctrine grew naturally out of the position that the will is altogether sinful or altogether virtuous in every act. He claimed that when we obey God wholly, we are then as perfect as we can be, at that moment, in that act. But he never taught that a man was made holy by one act, so as always to remain so. He held simply

President of
Oberlin; his
theology.

that it is our duty to obey perfectly now, and to aim also to obey God the next moment, to watch and pray, to depend upon the Holy Spirit, to continue in obedience, and that this state of constant obedience is sanctification, and that by prayer and watchfulness, and the help of the Spirit, man may hope to attain to "the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus."

In teaching he encouraged discussion and inquiry in the freest manner, and if in the progress of the discussion he obtained any new light on a vexed question, he cheerfully admitted it, and made the change in his subsequent statements. At one time when his own words were quoted against the position he was maintaining, he smilingly replied, "Well, I don't agree with Finney on that point." He was always cordial and cheerful in the class-room, impressing upon all, however, the fact that his most earnest wish was for their spiritual insight into truth, and their personal growth in the divine life, that so they might teach others that which they themselves knew and had experienced. Later he compiled his theological lectures in a volume called "Finney's Systematic Theology." It was republished in England, and in the preface, Dr. Redford, a prominent theologian of Worcester, England, says, "As a contribution to theological science in an age when vague speculation and philosophical theories are bewildering many among all denominations of Christians, this work will be considered by all competent judges to be both valuable and seasonable."

The pastorate of so large a church, whose members were scattered over several miles of territory, would, in itself, seem occupation enough for one person. The pastor was necessarily obliged to place some limit to his efforts. He never made social visits, he never went out to dine or take tea with a neighbor. All his time and his utmost strength were fully taxed by his duties. Yet no call for sympathy or help was ever neglected. The sick could testify to his daily visitation, to the support afforded by his brief prayer at their bedside, and his kindly interest in their recovery. Up to the last day of his life, his horse and carriage were brought to the door whenever the weather was fine, that he might go to drive some hopeless invalid, or frail convalescent, out for the air. He was in every sense of the word the father of his people. He baptized their children, he married the young men and maidens, comforted the dying with strong words of faith and cheer, and buried the dead, not without tears of sympathy with the bereaved, but also with such assurance of hope and immortal life that they could not but be consoled. Two or three years before his death, at nearly eighty years of age, he resigned his pastorate, which he had wished to do for some time, but had been prevented by the universal protest of the church and of all his friends.

But he still preached occasionally, as he had strength, and to no one

As a pastor; his
tenderness.

would he ever delegate his mission to the poor, the sick, or those suffering under any affliction. The writer vividly recalls the fact of his coming in one afternoon about two weeks before his death, very tired, and much heated, and when asked where he had been, he replied, "To visit that sick girl away over on — Street." He walked about two miles on a warm August afternoon, because a sick girl wished to see him. It might readily be imagined that a man of such ready sympathies and strong enthusiasm would often be imposed upon, and much of his time wasted by unworthy calls; but his strong common sense always prevented that. One night, a little after midnight, the household were startled by the loud ringing of the door-bell. Mr. Finney himself arose and opened the door. A tall black man stood there, who said, "Mr. Finney, dey hab got de debil ober hyar in de school-house, and de Lord wants you to come ober and drive him away; de *Lord* wants you to come." Mr. Finney replied quickly, "Not *He*, at this time of night," and shut the door.

One lonely Sabbath afternoon, in the latter part of August, 1875, he spent with some of his children and grandchildren gathered about him, in singing sacred music and in loving converse. His voice seemed almost as strong and musical as ever; it was sweet and clear, and not at all tremulous. The little party broke up about five o'clock, with farewell kisses, and calling back from the gate, "We'll come over again in the morning, father." He retired about eight o'clock. Between ten and eleven he awoke in great pain, and after a few hours of suffering he entered Paradise, just as day dawned on the world which he had done so much to bless. To those standing about his bedside, who had been witnesses of his long, earnest, and laborious life, it seemed that through the pale dawn they heard a voice from heaven saying, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." — H. F. C.

LIFE XXV. ISABELLA GRAHAM.

A. D. 1742—A. D. 1814. ASSOCIATE REFORMED, — AMERICA.

THE American metropolis, unlike the great Old World centres in so many things, differs from them in this also, that in affairs of church she never has dominated the surrounding population. Leaders of religion have none the less abounded here, noble men and devoted women. Of the latter none better deserves to be remembered than Isabella Graham. The grandchild of one of the founders of the Secession church of Scotland, she justly belongs to the United Presbyterian household. Among all American leaders sprung of Seceder lineage, she may fairly be called the foremost woman, even as her pastor and almost son, John Mitchell Mason, whose name will often appear in this story of her life, may be reckoned the foremost man.¹

¹ For other leaders of Seceder lineage see Lives XVII. and XVIII.

To acquaint ourselves with the Christian body, in whose membership in New York city she will be found for more than a score of years, it will be necessary to return to events occurring in Scotland some years before her birth. In 1688 the Reformed, or Presbyterian, communion became again the established church in Scotland. The rights granted to it did not, however, include as much as was desired by many who had maintained their covenant with God and their brethren even unto blood. Yet the establishment of the church on the terms offered by the government was accepted by the vast majority. The few who rejected it set up an independent organization, calling themselves the Reformed Church, though better known as the "Covenanters" (1706). A few years later (1733), others, ministers and members of the state church, found its rule too oppressive to be borne. For, instead of giving the Christian people of a parish the election of their pastor, the state gave it to a "patron" who possessed property in the parish, and, perhaps, titled position. Besides, opposition was made by the state to freedom of doctrine. For these reasons, Ebenezer Erskine, with his brother and other ministers, and with many people, seceded from the state church, and set up the Associate presbytery. Like the Reformed body, they, and other detachments who joined them afterwards, had a second name, and were popularly called "the Seceders." They, too, as Dean Stanley says, stood essentially upon the Covenant. Both Covenanters and Seceders were, for evident reasons, well prepared to become emigrants from home and fatherland at a fitting opportunity. Indeed, not a few of their fathers had already, in the time of the last Stuarts, been sent for religion's sake across the ocean, doomed to hard labor in the colonies. When the war of independence began, there were in America a Reformed Presbytery, an Associate Presbytery of New York, and an Associate Presbytery of Philadelphia. By the close of the war these had grown very near to one another. The father of John Mitchell Mason, Dr. John Mason, of New York city, who had left his pulpit to serve in the army of Washington as chaplain, became an active agent in their union. All the Reformed ministers and all the Associate save two came together, constituting the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.¹ The two who held out, receiving help from Scotland, continued as an Associate church until 1858, when a further union took place, forming the present United Presbyterian Church of North America. This communion, in its early and grand characteristics,—deep religious enthusiasm; heart hatred of bondage, whether ecclesiastical or personal; extended intellectual culture for both men and women, and especially for ministers; strict Sabbath observance; strong

Covenanters,
Seceders, and
Associate Re-
formed.

Characteristics
of Isabella Gra-
ham's church.

¹ This was in 1782. Reformed ministers coming from Scotland continued the Reformed organization, which endures to this day, numbering, however, less than two hundred ministers in its two divisions.

church discipline; and scriptural as opposed to frivolous psalmody, — will be found nobly exemplified in the life of Isabella Marshall Graham.

Isabella Marshall was born in Lanark, in Scotland, July 29, 1742. From her mother, Janet Hamilton,¹ of whom she says, "Never was there such a mother, — her delight was with God, her closet was a Bethel, her Bible was her heart's treasure," Isabella early received religious impressions. In the woods of Elderslie, an estate (near Paisley) which her father had rented, she knew a bush under which, as she believed, she gave herself to God before she was ten years old. Upon reaching her eleventh year, having received a legacy of a hundred pounds, she asked that it might be applied to her education. She was sent (1752) to a boarding-school, in which she spent seven winters, receiving a training far above common for that day. At the end of her course of study she entered the communion of the Paisley church, of which John Wither- spoon (see Life VI.) was then pastor. At twenty-three Isabella married a physician of Paisley, John Graham, who was already, by a former marriage, father of two sons, both of whom became, at a later day, distinguished officers of the British army. "I was the wife," she wrote thirty-five years afterwards, "of a man of sense, sentiment, and sensibility, who was my very first love and lover, and that love ripened and improved with years."

When, two years after marriage, her husband was made a surgeon of the British army and ordered to Canada, she attended him on his journey. An infant son was left with her parents, who planned to follow and to find a home in America. The five years following, ever looked upon by Mrs. Graham as outwardly the most joyous days of her life, were spent in garrison in Quebec, Montreal, and Fort Niagara, four of them at the last place, near the mighty cataract. The husband receiving

She sees New York city for the first time.

orders to Antigua, in the West Indies, the wife bravely followed him through the forests, taking three infant daughters (the child left in Scotland having died there) and two

Indian captives, their servants, by the way of the Mohawk and the Hudson to New York city. She then, for the first time, beheld the scene of her future labors.

Severer discipline than she had yet known was still to educate her for her career in this New World metropolis. Within a year after reaching Antigua she was stricken by two profound sorrows, the death of her mother and that of her idolized husband. "At one blow," she writes, "He took from me all that made life dear, the very kernel of all my earthly joys, my idol, my beloved husband." A widow on a strange shore, with but slight resources, not amounting in all to a thousand dollars, Mrs. Graham resisted the urging of her friends that she sell her

¹ Her mother's father, a "ruling elder," the grandparent named above (page 740), was with the Erskines in forming the Associate Church of Scotland.

servants. A few months before she had uttered her mind on slavery in a letter to her husband, then away upon military service: "I am told that you have taken a number of prisoners. I know not if you have any right to entail slavery on these poor creatures. If any fall to your share, do set them at liberty." Now she writes of her two slaves to a friend in Antigua, "If it should please God to take me away in my approaching confinement, let Diana be sent with my children. As for Susan, I am at a loss what to do with her; my heart tells me I have no right to entail slavery upon her and her offspring. I know I shall be blamed, but I am about to be called to account by a higher power than any in this world for my conduct, and I dare not allow her to be sold. I therefore leave it to herself, either to remain here, or, if it be her desire, to accompany the children. She wrote at the same hour to her father in Scotland, commending to him her little ones. She included in her message her step-sons, saying: "Though I did not suffer a mother's pangs for them, Heaven knows how equally I love them with those that cost me dearer." She charged him: "Remember to give my love to all my dear children." To her brother, also, she sent tender words.

The widow, in her trial, found friends in Christians, even in some whose church names were very strange to her. "Do you remember," she writes to a friend, long afterwards, "how Finds friends in the West Indies. much I used to say about our dear Methodist society in Antigua, and the three holy, harmless, zealous Moravian brethren; and how the preachers gave each other the right hand of fellowship? . . . The Lord brought me into their fold a straggling lamb. These poor people nourished me with tenderness. . . . Never, never shall I forget the labors of love of that little society. How many such stragglers as I may be wandering in both East and West Indies, and may be restored by these precious missionaries! I owe them of my labors more than others. I send you a bill of fifty pounds."

Instead of death Mrs. Graham found in Antigua a higher and better life. She became, too, the mother of a son, and with her babe and her girls took ship to Scotland. Hastening to her father, she found him not in the "large ancient mansion in which she left him, but in a thatched cottage consisting of three apartments." By being surety for friends he had lost all his property. His health, too, had gone. His daughter added him to her family of four, and supported all of them, first at her father's house at Cartside, making butter and selling it, feeding her Vicissitudes in Scotland. children on porridge, and clothing them in homespun. Afterwards for two years she taught a small school in Paisley, near by. Her slender earnings, with a widow's pension of sixteen pounds, were all her income. The little capital brought with her she had invested, by the advice of a friend, in muslins, to be carried in his vessel and sold in the West Indies; but the ship was taken by the French. Of her situation

at Paisley she says, a few years after, "To this same town I returned a widow, helpless and poor, neglected and forgotten. I taught my little school, and earned my porridge, potatoes, and salt. I found myself totally neglected by some who once thought themselves honored by my acquaintance."

In the midst of her poverty it was suggested to her by the wife of an army officer to open a school in Edinburgh. In want of means, she was surprised by a remittance from the gentleman who had taken charge of her muslins, he having, without her knowledge, insured them, and recovered the insurance. She was thus enabled to remove to Edinburgh (1779), and to open a school. This she conducted with success for eight years. Among her near friends were the mother of Sir Walter Scott, then a mere boy, and the Viscountess Glenorchy. The death of the latter, her active patron and that of her father, helped sunder Mrs. Graham's ties to her native country. Her heart went out, especially since the war of independence was over, to America. She welcomed the suggestion of her old pastor, Dr. John Witherspoon, favoring her removal to the United States. "She had entertained," her daughter writes, "a strong partiality for America ever since her former residence there, and had indulged a sweet expectation of returning. It was her opinion and that of many pious people that America was the country where the church of Christ would preëminently flourish. She was therefore desirous to leave her offspring there." One serious mistake she seems to have made: she left her son, now fifteen, behind her, without his mother's care or sisters' restraint. The boy grew up with impetuous and roving spirit, after two years turned sailor, and five years later was last heard of upon a vessel which was taken by a French cruiser. Another child which was left by Mrs. Graham in Scotland prospered. This was the Penny Society, formed at her instance, composed of poor people, who laid aside each a penny a week as a fund to help them in sickness. It afterwards became endowed as "The Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick."

Mrs. Graham's apprentice work in schools and charities in Great Britain well fitted her to be a master workman in the New World, and in its greatest city. She reached New York September 8, 1789, and was welcomed by John Mason, by whom the church of her mother was nobly represented in America. In that church she at once found a home, and ties of love which she never sundered.

Although the chief reasons for the setting up of the separate bodies of the Associate and the Reformed had been left behind when Great Britain was left, yet there remained many arguments for clinging to the "testimonies" of two centuries. So John Mason and his friends maintained their denomination, and Isabella Graham labored in it, in the city of New York over twenty years. The Associate, the Reformed, and afterwards the

Finds home and welcome in New York city.

United Presbyterian churches became a reservoir into which precious streams from the "old country" flowed, and from which they have poured forth to bless all the communions and all the states of this land. Mrs. Graham worked by the side of John Mason three years, and then mourned his death as that of a brother. She had seen her two daughters (one having entered the church in Scotland) received into his communion. "Dr. Mason," she says, "was a city set upon a hill. He was with the army during the war after the evacuation of New York, and had great influence over the soldiers; preached the gospel of peace uniformly, but never meddled with politics, though he was fully capable. . . . I had the honor to close his dear eyes, and to shut those dear lips from whence so many precious truths have proceeded, and to mix with the ministering spirits who attended to hail the released."

If Mrs. Graham lost a brother in John Mason, she found an almost son in John Mitchell Mason, the successor of his father. He was now, at twenty-four, just completing his studies in Edinburgh. That they were after Mrs. Graham's heart, we cannot doubt, for his father had charged him, "Read Boston, Erskine, Harvey, the Marrow of Modern Divinity, and the Synod's Catechism" (all of them strong diet, approved of United Presbyterians). The young student, called home by his father's death, was accepted by Mrs. Graham and the rest as their pastor (1793). "Our young Timothy, John Mitchell," she writes, "is a perfect champion for the gospel of Jesus. The Lord has well girded him and largely endowed him. He walks closely with God and preaches like a Christian of long experience. He was ordained about two months ago in his father's church, and a few weeks after married a lady of eminent piety, and preached all day, both the Sabbath before and after. There is probably no church in New York where discipline is so strict, nor one which has so many communicants. He is reckoned a lad of great talents, and many, even of the idle and careless, go to hear him." Side by side with Mason, Mrs. Graham walked all her active years, and when at last she fell asleep, her fame was first sounded by the notes of his golden eloquence.

Mrs. Graham's New York school for young ladies was from the first a success. After three years she writes that "business" is good, "a house full of boarders and about sixty scholars." A description of her school says, "Her little republic was completely governed by a system of equitable laws. On every alleged offense, a court martial, as they termed it, was held, and the accused tried by her peers. There were no arbitrary punishments, no sallies of capricious passion. The laws were promulgated, and obedience was indispensable. The sentences of the courts martial were always approved and had a salutary effect." Mrs. Graham's work as a teacher may be dismissed with the statement that George Washington admired and patron-

*Relations to her
pastors.*

*Her great work
as a teacher.*

ized her school, and John Mitchell Mason said of it at her death. "Twenty-five years ago she opened in this city a school, the benefits of which have been strongly felt and will be long felt hereafter in different and distant parts of our country. She succeeded in that most difficult part of a teacher's work, the inducing youth to take an interest in their own improvement, and to educate themselves by exerting their own faculties." After retiring from her school Mrs. Graham's home was with her two daughters (the eldest having died). She felt always an exceeding tenderness to her children, as strikingly appears in her letters to her son and in her memorial of her departed daughter.

Mrs. Graham's philanthropy overflowed in her school. It was even more plainly visible in her connection with enterprises outside of her life profession. First may be named Dr. John Mitchell Mason's theological seminary, the first entitled to the name upon this continent. Receiving unexpected profit by an investment in city lots soon after coming to New York, Mrs. Graham writes, "Quick, quick, let me appropriate the tenth before my heart grows hard." Half of the tenth she sent to missions, as already described, the other fifty pounds she gave for a theological seminary. As this was in 1796, the year which Dr. Mason's biographer names as that when he conceived the idea of the seminary, Mrs. Graham's gift must have been one of the very first sums given to theological schools on this continent. Her pastor's anxiety for trained preachers, says his son-in-law, came from the fact that "the seceding portion were deeply imbued with evangelical spirit and earnestly desired to strengthen and perpetuate it." This sent Mason to Great Britain to seek aid. Mrs. Graham speaks of his mission in a letter to a friend (1801): "I wrote you that our dear Mr. Mason leaves us next month for Britain. His errand is to state the situation of this country, so greatly in want of ministers and of the means of educating ministers. Many of his people are dissatisfied, as he has two congregations to supply and a large family of his own. Why should he be the man? For my own part I think he is the very man. Though I love my minister, value his ministry and his person, I hope the general interest of Christ's body is more dear to me, and of infinitely more importance than my private comfort." Mrs. Graham followed closely her pastor's journey as he established "articles of correspondence" with the Scotch Seceders, and thus secured preachers for America, and as he gathered a thousand pounds, mostly in London, for his seminary, enough to secure its successful opening. This school, let it be noted, became the training place of such fathers of the United Presbyterian Church as Dr. John T. Pressly of Allegheny, who calls Mason "one to whom I am under inexpressible obligations," and Dr. David MacDill of Ohio, who as valedictorian took leave of Dr. Mason's school with the words, "To the seminary we say, If I do not remember

Her interest in
a theological
seminary.

thee let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth." How deeply MacDill, who was in New York city in Mrs. Graham's time, and others of the students esteemed her may be concluded from one of the brilliant editorials of MacDill in the "United Presbyterian." He says, treating of "Woman's Rights," "We admit no intellectual inferiority of the sex. . . . But the Christian church was designed to train up not a Semiramis, nor yet Queen Elizabeths nor Madame de Staëls, but . . . Isabella Grahams."

Not only in education, but in missions, Mrs. Graham was by her pastor's side, or ahead of him. Even while he was abroad, A leader in mis- sions. meeting Wilberforce and the great English leaders of foreign missions, and winning by his sermon on "Messiah's Throne" the declaration from Robert Hall, who heard him in London, "I can never preach again!" he was still receiving impulse from the quiet woman in New York. He writes from Great Britain: "I have just seen a letter from Mrs. Graham. She is up riding on her high places, but it is all from the expectation that glorious successes are about to attend the gospel. She reckons much on the commotions in Kentucky" (see Life XVIII.). As early as 1796 Mrs. Graham had obtained from England missionary periodicals, and had secured a score or so of subscribers for them. She writes that year to a friend of the forming of the New York Missionary Society. Was not this, which was for the Indians, the first foreign missionary society, strictly speaking, in America?¹ Moreover, she raised up a woman in her pupil and assistant, Miss Farquharson, who became (1805) "the first American missionary to foreign lands." How fully she was trained by Mrs. Graham may be concluded from the fact that after they both had left teaching they were for six years close companions in missionary work in New York city. Morrison, the leader of Christianity in China (Life XXXVI.), when in New York was under the roof of Mrs. Graham, and wrote her afterwards as "My ever dear mother Graham." Vanderkemp and other leaders of missions were known to her through their correspondence with her pastor. As an important event she noted in a letter to a friend that upon "the second Wednesday of February (1798), we commenced our first monthly meeting for prayer." Her zeal for foreign missions may be left with the inquiry, What woman was more eminently a pioneer of all the vast organized "woman's work for woman" throughout America?

Mrs. Graham's charity began, however, at home. In 1797 her house saw the forming of the Society for the Relief of Poor Wid- Her works of phi- lanthropy. ows with Small Children, of which she became first directress. She certainly could feel for such widows if any could. In the

¹ It is of course to be understood that more than one denomination had, as such, engaged in missions to the Indians, the Moravians having done so most notably. But had any association been formed within the American church before 1796 for evangelizing pagans as its sole or primary object?

spring of 1806 she presided at the organization of the first asylum for orphan children in the city of New York. Without waiting for a building the ladies hired a house, and Mrs. Graham or one of her daughters taught every day until means were raised to pay for a teacher. The next year a building was begun. She was throughout life one of the trustees of this asylum property, which was afterwards exchanged for the present beautiful property at Bloomingdale. In 1811 a Magdalene Society arose under a board of ladies which elected Mrs. Graham to the office of president, which she filled until her death.

Her efforts were called out not merely by the holding of office. She gave an afternoon each week for a time (1812) to teaching the catechism to the children of the Lancasterian School. She was for years a visitor of the New York Hospital, especially of the insane in it; also of the sick female convicts in the State's prison. She joined (1814) in a Society for the Promotion of Industry among the Poor, which employed several hundred women, paying them for their work. Of this she became a manager. She helped organize (1814) the young people working in factories near her home into a Sabbath Morning Adult School, which continued after her death as a Sunday-school. She visited in a season of distress upwards of two hundred poor families (1804-5). Besides looking after their bodily wants she distributed to them Bibles, and this before the time of the Bible Society, whose institution she afterwards joyfully recorded (1809). "I am not dealing in romance," exclaimed Mason, recounting in his funeral discourse her works; "the night would be too short for a full enumeration of her worthy deeds. Suffice it to say that they ended but with her life!"

To the spirit of a philanthropist Mrs. Graham added that of a patriot. Her patriotism. Yet even in the moment when the nation was lauding the departed Washington, she did not forget the deepest need of her country. While she joined to declare "great things were due him," she yet hoped little from adulators who were "bursting with gratitude to a creature, with enmity to a Saviour God." She was ever intent on making America a land pleasant to dwell in, depending much for this upon the ministry. "In this New World," she asked, "shall such men be reckoned of none account, and their labors of no value? No! The wealth of the Indies cannot balance their work!" At Rockaway Beach, Long Island, where she spent the last five summers of her life, and in different churches in New York city, she lent strength to her pastors.

She was approaching her seventy-second anniversary and was within ten days of it when taken severely ill. Two days before (Sabbath) she had taught in her school of adults, and sat at the Lord's table. The day before she had given religious lessons at the orphan asylum. Upon the fifth day of her illness she sent for an old friend, with whom she had an agreement that one should attend the other's dying hours. With a

sweet expressive smile Mrs. Graham welcomed her, saying, "I am going to get the start of you. I am called home before you. It will be your office to fulfill our engagement." Three days she sank, ever full of joy. "Yet I could weep," she said, "for sins against so good a God." When very low and able to say but one word, that word, accompanied with a smile, was "Peace." Within two days of her anniversary, July 27, 1814, she fell asleep. Her burial was without eulogy.¹ A month later Dr. Mason celebrated her memory in noble words, which were published under the title of "Christian Mourning."

Although Isabella Graham was a genuine product of the Secession churches of Scotland, cherishing their communion and their psalms, carrying in her pocket, as a part of her "Provision for Passing over Jordan," one always used by her pastor upon sacramental occasions, the tender one hundred and third, "O thou my soul, bless God the Lord;" she was nevertheless not the property of the "psalm-singing" churches only, but was given by them to the Church Universal, and especially to the women of the church in America, who look back to this Christian daughter, sister, wife, mother, lover of her kind, not indeed as a "saint," yet as "a witness and a leader."—H. M. M.

LIFE XXVI. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER.

A. D. 1772—A. D. 1851. PRESBYTERIAN,—AMERICA.

THE overflow of Scottish population into the northern parts of Ireland, which took place at various times, but reached a climax in the seventeenth century, resulted in the formation of what was virtually a new race, known as the Scotch-Irish. There was doubtless, in some instances, admixture of blood, but in many cases, as in that of the Alexanders, there seems to have been none whatever; yet the new settlers, whilst retaining the most strongly marked peculiarities of their ancestral stock, unquestionably laid aside some of the traits of their Caledonian forefathers, and acquired some of the characteristics of the southern Celt. Thus there were combined in happy proportion in the character of this stalwart people the best qualities of both the older races. There was one thing above all others, in which the Scottish immigrant refused to

¹ Funeral addresses were distasteful to her pastor, Dr. Mason. "When his son James died at Carlisle," says Dr. MacCartee, "I went there to attend the funeral and was requested by some members of the family to beg the doctor to allow an address to be made at the grave for the sake of his son's young companions in college. I did so. He at once replied, 'No, no, these things are so often abused.' Of course, I did not urge the matter. As the young men who served as pall-bearers lifted the coffin, the afflicted father exclaimed, in tones which those present can never forget, 'Young men! tread lightly, ye bear a temple of the Holy Ghost!' Then, overcome by his feelings, he dropped his head upon my shoulder and said, 'Dear MacCartee, say something, which God may bless, to his young friends.'" An address was made, and very soon a revival, powerful and precious in its fruits, began in the college and the town.

walk in the steps of the man of Donegal or Tipperary, and that was his religion. If it is true that the denizen of Southern Ireland is inflexible in his adhesion to the Church of Rome, it is equally true that his northern neighbor is not a whit less firm in his hold upon the tenets and usages of Protestantism. Indeed, wherever it has been carried, the name Scotch-Irish has come to be regarded as a synonym for the word Presbyterian.

Not content with their translation from one to another of the British Islands, large numbers crossed the Atlantic and joined the colonies that had effected settlements in America. One of these settlements was in the Valley of Virginia. Archibald Alexander was born near Timber Ridge, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County, Virginia, on the 17th of April, 1772. His father was of an honorable lineage, being a scion of the ancient house of the MacAlexanders of Tarbert, in Kentyre. His mother was Ann Reid, the estimable daughter of a wealthy land-holder of the same colony. Both of Archibald's parents were reputable and pious people. The house in which Archibald first saw the light was, like most others of that day, built of square logs, and was situated not far from a little mountain-stream, familiarly styled South River. When he was about three years old his father removed to the south of the North River, to what was known as the Forks, a name given to the whole territory lying between the James River and its north branch. The scenery of the fertile region in which the future theologian's boyhood was passed was in a high degree picturesque and romantically beautiful. Not many miles away was the famous Stone Bridge, or "Natural Bridge," as it is universally denominated, and in plain view rose the cerulean outlines of the House and the Jump Mountains. Archibald's father inherited from his ancestors a love of books, and in common with his Scotch-Irish neighbors knew the value of learning. Archibald was, like young David, "ruddy and of a beautiful countenance." From the first he showed signs of intellectual vivacity, and was selected out of a family of nine children as the one who was to receive a liberal education. Like the rest he was early put to school. His first teacher was "Jack Reardon," an English convict, who had been transported for crime and was a servant of his father. From him he learned little more, he says, than how to exercise his lungs. Then he fell under the tuition of one Stevenson, and afterwards of another Englishman and "redemptioner" of the name of Rhodes. He looked back upon the year under them with much satisfaction.

At ten years of age Archibald was placed under the guidance of the Rev. William Graham, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, who had set up, at Timber Ridge Meeting-House, the Liberty Hall Academy, a chartered institution which had been taken under the care of Hanover Presbytery, and was afterwards developed

By birth a Virginian.
His masters Graham, Priestly.

into Washington College. The school had existed before Mr. Graham came into the State, but at a point some six or seven miles to the east. It was now situated on the edge of Mr. Alexander's estate. The buildings had not yet gone up, and meanwhile studies were carried on in one of the upper rooms of Mr. Graham's house. Here it was that the blooming boy was admitted to some intimacy with classical learning. His master taught few books, and was in the habit of warning his pupils against the danger of forming their opinions from the number, or even from the weight, of the authorities that could be cited in their support, instead of adopting them as the result of their own independent reflection. Some of the young men took this advice kindly and profited by it, among whom was Archibald Alexander. To others it proved a stumbling-block.

Another of his masters, and the one with whom he was brought into the closest daily contact, was James Priestly, the usher, a man equally remarkable in his way, and one who stimulated to the utmost young Archibald's dawning genius and slumbering love of learning. Sometimes he would take the boys to a romantic spot, where a large spring breaks from the hill-side and pours itself noisily into the river below. Here Priestly would harangue his pupils in the words of Demosthenes, and with all the fire that could have been looked for in the Grecian orator. His wondering disciple, from whose recollections we make this report, says that when the sentiments he uttered were sublime, the gifted usher would be raised to such heights of enthusiasm as to be transported beyond himself.

Notwithstanding the advantage of such teachers, our young scholar made at this time what he conceived to be but humble attainments. This does not seem to have been the usher's judgment, though, for he spoke of him to his father as a boy of great promise. The school had become very corrupt, and Archibald had fallen into several doubtful (or more than doubtful) practices, though restrained by bashfulness or timidity (as he says) from going to the point of excess that had been reached by other of the boys. He also was favored about this time with the instructions of a new usher, Archibald Roane, afterwards governor of Tennessee. This was when he was entering upon the study of Horace. On the departure of Mr. Roane, Archibald fell more constantly than before under the tuition of Mr. Graham. The curriculum of studies was the same as Dr. Witherspoon's at Princeton. They had the same text-books, and transcribed Witherspoon's lectures on moral philosophy and criticism. It was the desire of the principal that Archibald should take a regular degree; and there was no doubt entertained of his ability to do so, as he had always been placed in the first grade, though he himself modestly ascribed the favor shown him more to his youth and small stature, and to his prompt answers, than to any solid desert. It turned out,

however, when his father came back from a journey to Fredericksburg, that he had made an engagement for him as tutor in the family of General Posey, of the Wilderness, twelve miles west of that city.

In this situation Mr. Alexander did a great deal of hard reading, and acquired at this time the foundation of all the accuracy he afterwards gained in the Latin language. In his latter years he has been heard to say that for half a century he had read more Latin than English. His reading of authors in the vernacular was miscellaneous and discursive. He addicted himself much to history and travels, and indeed everything that could give him information. His thirst for knowledge was at all periods of his life unquenchable. He tried to interest himself in Locke's Essay, but failed to comprehend it; and it was not till long afterwards that he disclosed his extraordinary proclivity for the science of the mind which became his favorite branch of study.

At General Posey's he met an aged Christian lady, Mrs. Tyler, a member of the Baptist Church, who gradually succeeded in turning his thoughts more and more into religious channels. She conversed with him, put books into his hands, and went with him to hear preachers. She was a lover of the writings of John Flavel, and naturally wished to put his books in the hands of her Presbyterian friend. Learning that Flavel was a Presbyterian he sought at once to discover what were his views of regeneration. He was a total stranger to works on the evidences of Christianity. He was not even aware that any such works had been written; though he had often heard of the infidel arguments, he had not hitherto paid any attention to them. Now he calmly interrogated himself as to the ground of his belief. This he felt all the more urged to do, as so large a number of intelligent Virginians, and others, had embraced the deistical views that had been propagated from France. Into a trunk of classical and scientific books that had been sent to him from home some kind lady had thrown a cheap pamphlet which he had often seen tossing about the house, and which he was now displeased to recognize. On opening it, however, he was at once arrested by the title, "Internal Evidences of the Christian Religion, by Soame Jenyns, Esq." The family had gone to church, and he sat down to read. The effect upon his mind was overwhelming. When he ceased, the room had the appearance of being illuminated. He had not been without transient religious impressions while yet a little boy in Augusta. Once the seriousness vanished instantly from his mind on hearing his parents speak slightly of the sermon. Now he began to be in concern. Before this he had often prayed mentally at critical times, but was not in the habit of secret prayer. Now, every fair morning, he went out into the fields to meditate. Having found some plots of green grass, shut in by thickets, and overhung by great beech trees, he made a booth or arbor with his knife; and used to resort to this sequestered spot

An aged lady
the agent in his
conversion.

with his book on the Lord's Day. On a particular Sunday evening the place became solemn and delightful to such a degree that he was loath to return home. This was not accompanied by a radical reformation of character. Mrs. Tyler was accustomed to make use of his services as a reader. One Sabbath evening he had been led to select Flavel's "Method of Grace," and the sermon on Revelation iii. 20, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock." The discourse was upon "the patience and forbearance and kindness of the Lord Jesus to impenitent and obstinate sinners." As he read on, his voice began to falter, and at length he laid down the book, rose up hastily, and with a full heart repaired to his little sylvan oratory. There he threw himself upon his knees; and after some minutes was overwhelmed with a flood of joy. He did not afterwards remember that he had at this moment any distinct views of Christ.

For a few days he walked carefully; but in a week his former feelings returned, and when he was tempted he transgressed as before. The recollection filled him the next day with unutterable anguish. The intercourse with Flavel and good Mrs. Tyler enabled him to comprehend better than he had done the cardinal doctrines of the Christian system. A little book, "Jenks on Justification by Faith," which fell into his hands about this time, had an effect not unlike the perusal of Soame Jenyns. Before he had been leaning on the old covenant; now everything appeared clear as if written with a sunbeam. A good sermon was a feast now to the ardent young inquirer. This year, 1788-1789, he afterwards regarded as an epoch in his spiritual history. If not actually regenerated, he was at this period much enlightened and savingly awakened. He now began to seek for the truth as for hid treasure. To John Flavel, he was wont to say, he certainly owed more than to any uninspired writer.

At the end of a year he returned to his native haunts among the mountains of Rockbridge. This was the era of the "Great Revival," as it was called, and the Presbyterians of the day were divided into the Old Side and New Side, agreeably to their inclination to frown upon or to encourage the awakening. The friends of Mr. Alexander belonged as a general thing to the Old Side. His pastor and old preceptor, Mr. Graham, had been invited across the mountains to witness the revival scenes, and took his former pupil along with him. On the way a novel and impressive sight presented itself. A large company of young people moved slowly by on horseback, singing hymns. Most of them were young converts, who had attended the Rev. Nash Legrand from Caswell County, North Carolina. They had traveled fifty or sixty miles in order to attend the sacrament, and were full of zeal and of solemn and tender feeling.

As soon as nearly all the people who were returning had passed, they espied the imposing figure of Dr. John Blair Smith, the son of the venerable Dr. Robert Smith, of Pequea, Pennsylvania, and a brother of

the famous President Samuel Stanhope Smith, of Princeton. The two clergymen saluted one another heartily. Mr. Graham was soon induced to coöperate with the movement; and his pupil never knew a man to be more transformed. They visited Prince Edward, and were hospitably received at Hampden Sidney, of which Dr. Smith had resigned the management into the hands of the Rev. Drury Lacy, of "the silver hand." Hearing much whilst on this journey of bodily convulsions, Mr. Alexander was much perturbed at the want of these physical manifestations in his own case. The travelers journeyed to the verge of "the mountain" again, into Bedford, and when they had arrived at Liberty were joined by a large party of friends from Rockbridge, among whom was Mr. Alexander's eldest sister. While at Liberty he went a little out of town to a thicket near a wood for meditation and prayer. Suddenly there came over him such a melting of heart as he never knew before or after. In looking back upon this experience in after life, the subject of these pleasing emotions was disposed to ascribe it to a quick change in the animal system, and to the relief arising from a flow of pent-up tears. This gush of feeling was succeeded by a sweet composure of spirit. He could not recall any thought of Christ, or much contrition for sin. In a few hours everything was as it had been before. He was gradually brought to the conclusion that his case was desperate, and that he would certainly be damned. This was a sober and deliberate influence, and produced no agitation. The justice of God, it seemed to him, could be satisfied in no other way.

On their return to Lexington the young disciples, in the simplicity of their hearts, fully expected an immediate outpouring of the Spirit among their neighbors and friends; nor were they wholly disappointed. Some, however, opposed the work of grace, and some good men looked coldly upon it. Much extravagance and some fanaticism had been mixed up with the revival, though in Virginia the preaching had been uniformly sound, and the measures resorted to were commonly Scriptural. One day in the forest, at the foot of a projecting rock in a dark valley, Alexander tasted the bitter cup of despair. He knelt upon the ground, and poured out a broken cry for help, when in a moment he had such a view of the crucified Redeemer as was without parallel in his after experience, filling his mind with joy and even transport. For a few days he was full of serenity, and yet he soon fell back into darkness. In the autumn of the year 1789, he made an open profession of his faith. His first communion was not on the whole a comfortable one. He greatly feared, lest he had eaten and drunk damnation to himself. The second approach that he made to the Lord's table was, however, an occasion of delightful peace and assurance.

In subsequent controversies about what were styled "new measures," there were some who called Dr. Alexander a cold recluse who had never

felt the glow of revival warmth in his own heart, little imagining in the midst of what scenes he had been awakened and converted. Soon after becoming a communicant he began to study for the ministry, and was sent as a ruling elder to Philadelphia, to the meeting of the general assembly, where he first saw Witherspoon and other leaders, and attended upon the debates with the keenest interest.

After the completion of his theological studies, he was licensed as a probationer for the gospel ministry, and was sent out by the synod of Virginia as a missionary into the sparsely occupied territory within their bounds. He was accompanied on this errand by a classmate, a young man of talents and piety. For six months they journeyed on horseback, going from house to house in the hospitable country. One night they had much conversation with James Shelburne, an old mill-wright, wearing a leathern apron, who (though an unlettered man) had become a Baptist preacher. They felt it to be their duty to question him as to his call to the ministry; but before he was done with them, the old man made them look with some doubt on their own call. Their way lay through Charlotte and Prince Edward, and after their separation Mr. Alexander took charge of the churches of Brien's and Cumberland.

Goes as a missionary through Virginia.

This region had enjoyed the pastoral services of the Rev. William Robinson, one of the pioneers, the Rev. Robert Henry, whose ministry had been greatly helpful to the blacks, and of that great man, the Rev. Samuel Davies, afterwards president of the College of New Jersey; and there were some who still remembered the incomparable eloquence of Whitefield, who had passed through the country. The conditions of life in the new settlements east of the Blue Ridge had produced many remarkable characters, some of whom are not unknown to fame. Others lived in greater obscurity. Col. Samuel Venable used to be likened by Mr. Alexander to Benjamin Franklin, and the Rev. Samuel Brown to Jonathan Edwards. In this region lived two of the greatest orators whom America has produced, — Patrick Henry and John Randolph of Roanoke. It so chanced that the subject of this memoir was present at Charlotte Court on the occasion of the meeting of these distinguished men for the first and only time of their lives at the same hustings. He was already acquainted with Henry (then old and infirm), and afterwards numbered Randolph among his hearers, he having been known to make a detour for the purpose of hearing Alexander preach. Among the intimate friends of this period were the eccentric but gifted Conrad Speece, a preacher of great originality and force, and the Rev. John H. Rice, one of the foremost men in the roll of the Virginia ministry, the founder of the Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward.

For a short time Mr. Alexander was president of Hampden Sidney College, which had fallen into a very low state. He was chosen by the Presbytery of Hanover a commissioner to the general assembly

which adopted the famous "Plan of Union," the repeal of which led to the disruption of the old church. Before returning, he went as a delegate from the general assembly (which at this period always met in Philadelphia, then the chief city of the land) to the general association of Connecticut, and took the occasion to make an extensive journey through New England, where he formed the acquaintance, and received the hospitable courtesies, of the venerable Samuel Hopkins, and others equally noted. Mr. Alexander engaged in amicable discussion with some of the leaders of the new theology, and seems to have made a favorable impression on the people with whom he was brought in contact. He preached everywhere, and always in the free and hearty style to which he had accustomed himself in Virginia, never taking a note into the pulpit. He had schooled himself to follow trains of premeditated reasoning, and was prone to indulge in graceful rhetorical embellishments. He was small, with a dark, piercing eye, and a flute-like voice that vibrated with emotion and penetrated to any distance.

Declining the appointment of Phillips professor in Dartmouth College, on his return to his native State, he was married to Janetta Waddel, a daughter of the celebrated James Waddel, of Louisa County, the "blind preacher" of Mr. Wirt's "British Spy," and an orator the accounts of whom seem almost fabulous, and remind one of the stories of Patrick Henry and Whitefield. In 1801 he had been invited to a pastorate in Baltimore, but did not accede to the call. A few years later he became the successor of Dr. Milledoler, in Philadelphia, with the pastoral care of the Third Presbyterian Church, in Pine Street. The people he ministered to were of simple manners, and contained many from the neighborhood of the navy yard, with a considerable proportion of shipmasters and pilots. The predominant ingredient was the good old Scotch-Irish element he was so familiar with. His labors here were faithful and most acceptable, though irksome, and were pursued in a climate unfavorable to Mr. Alexander's health. The studies of his earlier days were now much enlarged, and a goodly number of volumes began to fill the shelves of his library. Among other linguistic studies he took lessons in Hebrew, under a learned Jew by the name of Horwitz. During a great part of his life Mr. Alexander was in the habit of reading at least one chapter daily in the Hebrew Bible.

In the year 1812, Archibald Alexander was appointed by the general assembly professor of the theological seminary that had just been set up at Princeton. For a time the whole work of organizing the institution, under the plan of the assembly, was in the hands of Alexander, then just forty years old. He had no predecessor, and had scarcely a precedent. He devoted himself, not only to the outward administration, but to Hebrew, Greek, criticism, hermeneutics, and theology, including *dogmengeschichte*. This was the year

President of
Hampden-Sid-
ney.

At forty is
father of Prince-
ton.

of the war with England, which was carried on, however, almost exclusively on the high seas. Late in the following year he was joined by Dr. Samuel Miller, who was his colleague for nearly forty years, and with whom, during that entire period, he lived in unbroken harmony and tender love. Dr. Miller assumed the chair of history and polity. Never were two men more unlike. Dr. Miller had been formed on the stately model of President Stanhope Smith. He was not only a perfect specimen of the Christian gentleman, but was regular as a clock in all his habits, and singularly punctilious in his regard for all the niceties of the social rubric. He was a truly affable, learned, godly man, and a man of excellent ability. As time brought its changes, others were added to the faculty, as notably Dr. Charles Hodge, who was to exert such a mighty influence on the church, and whom his theological preceptor and associate likened to Calvin without his severity. Yet the older race of students naturally thought first of the two original professors. Dr. Alexander was now exactly at his meridian. He was at this time, as at all times, severely bound down by no rules, except such as are dictated by Christian propriety. Scrupulously clean, he seemed to give no thought to his dress. Though his study door was open to anybody and everybody, he was sometimes known to show amiable signs of weariness. He was in all things preëminently a child of nature as well as of grace. In the pulpit he was at his best when purely extemporaneous. A learned chief justice once styled him, jocosely, "the prince of Methodist preachers." Just at this point, a memorable change took place in his general mode of life. Although in his youth a bold and expert horseman, and one who lived much in the open air and in the saddle, he now confined himself strictly to exercise in his carriage, and as the years advanced became a voluntary prisoner to his study, and almost literally to his well-worn elbow-chair. A corresponding change occurred in his preaching. Until near seventy he did not take paper into the pulpit, except on the occasion of his trials before presbytery. Now he took to reading, and with a marked decline in the power of his delivery. At the close he used to push up his spectacles on his forehead, cast those lightning glances about him, and launch out untrammelled as if upon his native element. The raising of his glasses always acted on his auditors like a sudden burst of sunshine. The March winds preyed fearfully on his nervous system, and he was urged by Dr. Rice and other of his Virginia friends to consult his health and return to the South. He consented so far as to revisit the scenes of his more active experience, where he was received with open arms by attracted crowds, and where his preaching made an impression that is remembered to this day. Somewhat later he reluctantly declined an invitation to a chair in the Virginia Union Theological Seminary.

Mr. Alexander, from this time onward, buried himself more and more among the Latin theologians of the seventeenth century. His method

of teaching was partly by text-book and partly by lecture; partly, also, by animated criticisms upon the written theses of the students, as well as upon their oral discussions. He was surprisingly versed in geography and the exact sciences. His topographical faculty was something marvellous. He never forgot a road or a way-mark, and had the charges of his widely scattered pupils, and indeed the minutest localities of the entire country, so far as he was acquainted with it, mapped off in his mind with all the particularity of a drawn chart. He was still devoted to metaphysical inquiries, and paid great attention to the evidences and the canon, and brought out popular works on these subjects, as well as on the history of the Jews and the history of the colonization of Liberia, and in his later years an admirable treatise on ethics. The Rev. Dr. MacGuffey, long the brilliant professor of mental philosophy in the University of Virginia, once remarked to the writer, that whenever Dr. Alexander touched an intricate question in intellectual or moral science, it was "with the spear of Ithuriel." His elaborate reply to Dr. Murdoch on the "Atonement," and to Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, on the "Nature of Cause," were greatly admired for the fairness, the lucidity, and the cogency of their argument. Dr. Alexander was to some extent implicated in the ecclesiastical movements connected with the division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837 and 1838, into the branches known as

A peacemaker.

Old and New School, but always deprecated the agitation which made that division a necessity, and pursued a course throughout in his relations with both parties, that was marked by his characteristic prudence and wisdom. The position he occupied was a peculiarly trying one, and it is generally allowed that in his conduct he united candor and fairness with delicacy and Christian affection.

The last years of his life were uneventful, but abundant in labors in the professor's chair and among the congregations. In the class-room and in the conference on Sabbath afternoon, his eye would kindle and his face shine, and he sometimes, on these occasions, in reasoning and power of analysis, in lucid statement and ripe spiritual wisdom, seemed raised above himself, and spoke like one almost inspired. His sermons lacked much of the earlier pictorial quality, but if less graphic were, if possible, even more perspicuous and accurate, and certainly more profound. His *forte* was clearly in experimental theology. His knowledge of fallen human nature, especially when under the workings of the Holy Spirit, was so amazing that President Woolsey, late of Yale College, one of his pupils, has even ventured so far as to call him "the Shakespeare of the human heart." In person and manner he was said to resemble William Wilberforce, the English philanthropist and Christian author. The most obvious trait of his preaching was its simplicity. Children and servants could understand all he said. This was also the distinguishing trait of his whole character, "his utter simplicity." His modesty and self-forgetful *naïveté* were those of a little child.

When in his prime he was thin, though he afterwards grew more stout, with an inclination to corpulence; his complexion was clear, and his soft brown hair already beginning to be silvered, His personal appearance. albeit it never became altogether white; his countenance was wonderfully mobile and animated, and his eye that of an eagle. Latterly he had a stoop of the shoulder and a characteristic swaying, irregular gait. A broad cloak hung at an angle on one side, and he would dart sudden downward glances to the right or left. He was of mercurial spirits, and in the social circle and at the home fireside often full of vivacity, affectionate gayety, and banter. In his best moods it would be hard to find his equal as a *raconteur*.¹ He was however subject to fits of silence and depression. Few men were ever more deeply revered or widely loved. His life was hid with Christ in God. For an hour at twilight every evening, he suffered no interruption of his privacy, and was believed to be then engaged in devotional or serious meditations. His face came to show unmistakable traces of a mellowed Christian experience. His very appearance was that of a holy as well as aged and benevolent man. His colleague, Dr. Miller, preceded him to the other world; and Dr. Alexander, with all the solemnity of the eternal state in his manner, preached the funeral sermon on the occasion of his interment. He announced his own departure as near at hand, and made his preparations for the great journey as calmly and methodically as if he had been going back to Rockbridge, among his native mountains in old Virginia. It was a blessed sojourn in the land of Beulah. His influence was by this time second to that of no man in the church. The cloud of his distinguished and undistinguished pupils rose up to praise him in at the gate. The hour of his euthanasia was not long postponed. After the most impressive and gratifying testimonies of his composure and assurance, he was gathered to his fathers, and was buried by the Synod of New Jersey, then in session in Princeton, on Friday, the 24th of October, 1851, in the eightieth year of his age. And the whole church joined in the cry, "The chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof."²—
H. C. A.

¹ Dr. Alexander left behind him, besides his devoted widow, who did not long survive him, six sons and a daughter: James Waddel, William Cowper, Joseph Addison, Archibald, Samuel Davies, Janetta, and Henry Martyn. Of these, three are now gone, who once added to the indescribable charm of the circle at Princeton. James was the accomplished professor, in both the college and the seminary, where he succeeded Dr. Miller, and the gifted and beloved pastor of the Duane Street and the Fifth Avenue and Nineteenth Street churches. He was also a distinguished author. William was an able lawyer and legislator, and then the first president of a large insurance company. Addison was the well-known professor in the seminary and commentator on Isaiah, Acts, Matthew, and Mark. He was a rare linguist and brilliant genius. As a preacher he at times excelled most of his contemporaries. The two last named had a vein of original humor, and both were endowed with powers of memory that were almost unexampled. Dr. Alexander never appeared to better advantage than when chatting with his wife and children.

² See the charming narrative of his conversation in his last hours with the pastor of the church of his family, the Rev. Dr. William E. Schenck. (Sprague's *Annals*, vol. iv.)

LIFE XXVII. CHARLES HODGE.

A. D. 1797—A. D. 1878. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THE paternal grandfather of Charles Hodge, with his two brothers, emigrated from the north of Ireland in 1735, and settled in Philadelphia. They were by education Presbyterians, and by grace pious men, and gladly coöperated in the great revival which soon after visited the city of their adoption under the preaching of Whitefield. They were among the founders and first office-bearers of the Second Presbyterian Church, founded in 1740, whose first pastor was the apostolical Gilbert Tennant. Charles Hodge's father was a godly physician, whose health was broken by the exposures incident to his disinterested labors throughout the yellow fever epidemics occurring from 1793 to 1795. His mother, a descendant of French Huguenots, was born and educated among the orthodox Congregationalists of Boston. He thus writes of his own earliest life: "When my father died in 1798, he left a widow, little more than thirty years of age, and two children, Hugh Lenox, aged two years, and Charles, aged six months. It is no marvel that mothers are sacred in the eyes of their children. The debt they owe them is beyond all estimate. To our mother, my brother and myself, under God, owe absolutely everything. To us she devoted her life. For us she prayed, labored, and suffered.

His mother. "Our early training was religious. Our mother was a Christian. She took us regularly to church, and carefully drilled us in the Westminster Catechism, which we recited on stated occasions to Dr. Ashbel Green, our pastor. I think that in my childhood I came nearer to the apostolic injunction, 'Pray without ceasing,' than in any other period of my life. As far back as I can remember I had the habit of thanking God for everything I received, and asking Him for everything I wanted. If I lost a book or any of my playthings, I prayed that I might find it. I prayed walking along the streets, in school and out of school, whether playing or studying. I did not do this in obedience to any prescribed rule. It seemed natural. I thought of God as an everywhere present Being, full of kindness and love, who would not be offended if children talked to Him. I knew He cared for sparrows. I was as cheerful and happy as the birds, and acted as they did."

He received his classical education in Somerville, and at the academy in Princeton, New Jersey, and entered the college in the latter place in the fall of 1812, just after the inauguration of his old pastor, Dr. Ashbel Green, as president of the college, and of Dr. Archibald Alexander as the first professor of the new theological seminary of the Presbyterian Church.

His religious experience having gradually ripened, he, with his friend Kinsey Van Dyke, made a profession of faith in the Presbyterian church in Princeton, January 13, 1815, in the middle of their Senior year. The afternoon of the Saturday preceding there was a sergeant with a drummer in the town enlisting recruits for the then pending war with Great Britain. One student abruptly hailed another with the announcement that "Hodge had enlisted." "Is it possible!" was the response. "Yes, he has enlisted under the banner of King ^{He enlists.} Jesus." This stand, as Dr. Green judged, coöperating with other providential events, was influential in bringing to a crisis the great revival in the college which immediately ensued. One half of the previously unconverted students were brought to a knowledge of Christ, and among these several who were eminent in the Christian ministry, and life-long intimate friends of Charles Hodge: as John Johns, bishop of Virginia, Charles P. McIlvaine, bishop of Ohio, W. J. Armstrong, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, William James, Charles Stewart, etc.

Mr. Hodge entered the theological seminary under the instruction of those eminent servants of God, Drs. A. Alexander and Samuel Miller, in the fall of 1816. At the close of his course in 1819 he was selected by Dr. Alexander to be his assistant in teaching the original languages of Scripture. After having spent the winter of 1819-1820 in Philadelphia, preparing for his work under the instruction of the Rev. Joseph Banks, D. D., of the Associate Presbyterian Church, and having been licensed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, he commenced his work in the seminary in midsummer, 1820. In 1822, having been ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, he was elected by the general assembly professor of Oriental and Biblical literature in their seminary at Princeton.

In this department he labored with great diligence, and laid the foundation of considerable learning in the various special branches connected with it. But conscious of his need of greater advantages of instruction than were at that time afforded in America, with the permission of the board of directors, he left his family and his work in the seminary, and spent two years in special studies in Paris, Halle, and Berlin, ^{Studies in Europe.} from the fall of 1826 to that of 1828. He attended the lectures, among others, of De Sacy in Paris, of Gesenius and Tholuck in Halle, and of Hengstenberg, Neander, and Humboldt in Berlin. By a blessed providence he was thrown, in Halle, and yet more in Berlin, into a circle of most gracious and loving young Christians about his own age, as Tholuck, Otto and Ludwig von Gerlach, and others. Among these congenial spirits he was permitted to give as well as receive light and comfort. The intimacy and endearing tenderness of these Christian friendships is proved and illustrated by the letters he continued to receive for many years.

On his return to America, in the autumn of 1828, Mr. Hodge consecrated himself with renewed enthusiasm to his work as professor of Oriental and Biblical literature. He prepared extensive courses of lectures on Biblical criticism, hermeneutics, special introduction, sacred geography, etc. He delivered to the Junior class exegetical lectures on Paul's Epistles, an exercise which he continued twice a week without interruption for fifty years, to the end of his life.

In 1825 he had commenced editing a quarterly publication, entitled the "Biblical Repertory," designed to furnish translations and reprints of the best contemporary foreign essays upon theological and religious subjects. On his return from Europe he enlarged the scheme by making it the vehicle for original contributions to the same class of literature, adding to the former title that of "Princeton Review." He continued to be the editor and principal contributor of this review until 1868, having, as far as can be now ascertained, contributed one hundred and thirty articles, many of which gave to the review the larger share of its reputation and influence among the churches of America and Europe. The most important of these have been republished in Great Britain, and have been gathered into volumes and published in this country under the titles "Hodge's Essays," "Princeton Essays," and "Hodge's Church Polity."

These articles cover the whole field of theology and ecclesiology, and of the great practical, ecclesiastical, and moral questions of the day. From 1835 to 1868 he wrote every year a review of the action of the general assembly, which series all parties acknowledge have exerted a very powerful influence upon the current opinion and history of the church.

A writer on the "American Press" in the "British Quarterly Review" for January, 1871, says of the "Princeton Review:" "It is, beyond all question, the greatest purely theological review that has ever been published in the English tongue, and has waged war in defense of the Westminster standards for a period of forty years, with a polemic vigor and unity of design without any parallel in the history of religious journalism. If we were called to name any living writer, who to Calvin's exegetical tact unites a large measure of Calvin's grasp of mind and transparent clearness in the department of systematic theology, we should point to this Princeton professor."

Professor James McGregor, in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review" for July, 1874, says: "Greatness of nature has been exhibited in remarkable measure from first to last by the Princeton school in general, and by Dr. Hodge in particular. They have in their controversies been earnest, eloquent, warm, even passionate, but they have invariably spoken as true Christian gentlemen, who in relation to adversaries make due allowance for human infirmities. They have shown themselves to be manly men of the heroic type."

Dr. Charles P. Krauth, of the Lutheran Church, said at Dr. Hodge's semi-centennial commemoration, April, 1872, that he (Dr. Hodge) had always treated of the doctrines of churches differing from his own, "with candor, love of truth, and perfect fairness."

As a controversialist, for forty-five years, Dr. Hodge was characterized by preëminent self-consistency, persistence of convictions, and a uniformly consistent expression of them; by great As a controversialist. clearness of style and thoroughly logical arrangement of material, and consequent development of the principles adopted; by absolute fidelity to truth as he conceived it, and devotion to its maintenance, for the glory of Christ and the good of souls, without a shadow of a thought as to the approbation or the offense of men.

As a preacher he was instructive and edifying, but not popular. His sermons were elaborate expositions of some fundamental doctrine of the gospel, often exhibited on the side of experience and practice. He read them quietly, without gesture, but with great solemnity and tenderness of tone and manner.

As a man in all the manifestations of his inward life in his family, and with his intimate friends, he was a Christian of the type of John. He was reverent, tender, joyous, full of faith and hope and love. He spontaneously cast off whatever tended to depress him, and always looked on the bright side of things. When he looked Godward his attitude was adoring love; when he looked manward his face radiated benevolence. He was a life-long controversialist, because he believed that the truth as he held it was essential to the glory of God and the salvation of men. Yet he was devoid of all personal animosities, and he truly loved all, except in the few cases in which it appeared to him beyond doubt that the persons not loved were judiciously given up to be identified with the lies they taught.

As a teacher he had great power, which resulted in part from his character, and the reverence that excited, partly from the As a teacher. fullness of his knowledge and the clearness of his statements, and partly from his method. He possessed an almost perfect skill in practicing the Socratic method, in eliciting thought, and leading to conclusions by questions. He stimulated thought, and taught his students how to use their faculties, and brought them to fixed convictions through personal experience of the truth, and its relation to the conscience and the life.

In all these relations and functions his distinguishing attributes were great tenderness and strength of emotion, and power of exciting it in others; an habitual adoring love for Christ, and absolute submission of mind and will to his word; a chivalrous disposition to maintain against all odds, and with unvarying consistency through all the years of a long life, the truth as he knew it; crystalline clearness of thought and ex-

pression; and an unsurpassed logical power of analysis, and of grasping and exhibiting all truths in their relations. As he sat every Sabbath afternoon in the conference of students and professors, he spoke on all questions of experimental and practical religion, freely, without paper, in language and with illustration suggested by the moment. The matter presented was a clear analysis of the Scriptural passage or theme, doctrinal or practical, chosen for the occasion; an exhaustive statement and clear illustration of the subject; a development of each doctrine on the side of experience and duty, and a demonstration of the practical character of all doctrine, and of the doctrinal basis of all genuine religious experience and practice. As to the manner, the entire discourse was in the highest degree earnest, fervent, and tender to tears; full of conviction and full of love.

In 1835 he published his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans;" in 1839 and 1840 his "Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States;" in 1841, the "Way of Life," intended to instruct inquirers and young Christians as to the true nature of Christian doctrine on its practical and experimental side. It has been republished in England and translated into other languages, and thirty-five thousand copies have been circulated in America. Christians of all denominations have acknowledged their indebtedness to it. Dr. Hodge published his "Commentary on Ephesians" in 1856, that on First Corinthians in 1857, and that on Second Corinthians in 1859. His great life-work, "Systematic Theology," in three large octavo volumes, aggregating two thousand two hundred and sixty pages, was published between 1871 and 1873. These have had a large circulation in America and Great Britain, and are text-books, or books of primary reference, in many theological seminaries. In 1874 he published a small book entitled, "What is Darwinianism?" in opposition to the prevailing atheistic theory of evolution.

He was made Doctor of Divinity by Rutgers College, New Jersey, in 1834, and LL. D. by Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1864, and moderator of the general assembly in 1846.

From 1830 to 1840 he was afflicted with an obscure affection of the nerves of the right thigh. It was the cause of great pain immediately from the nature of the affliction itself, and mediately from the remedies resorted to by his physicians. He was for several years confined to a horizontal position, part of that time with his limb in an iron splint. He was lanced, and burned with the actual cautery, and treated with electric and cold baths. For some years his classes gathered round his couch in his own room. Afterwards he went to meet them, first on crutches, and then leaning on a cane. He used one reclining chair, occupying a fixed spot in his study for more than forty-five years, and his writing was done until comparatively recent days on a board supported by his left arm

and hand, while he was extended in an almost reclining position on his chair.

This affliction was acquiesced in by him with the utmost cheerfulness, and doubtless contributed much to deepen and sweeten his religious experience. It was by such means that his faith strengthened and became in appearance as vivid and as certain as sight, and that his sanctified affections went out in an ever-increasing flame of adoring love toward his Lord, and of holy brotherly kindness toward all Christians.

In 1840 Dr. Hodge was transferred to the chair of didactic theology, hitherto occupied by his venerated preceptor, Dr. Archibald Alexander. His special adaptation to this new chair had been strikingly demonstrated by his articles in the "Princeton Review" on doctrinal subjects, and by his "Commentary on Romans." His singular power in analysis, logical exposition, and effective polemics had become universally recognized. But it was one of the most conspicuous of the many favoring providences which distinguished his life, that he was at first constrained to turn his attention against the natural bent of his tastes and talents to the study of the original languages of Scripture, and to the practice of extended exegesis. It was doubtless largely due to the fact that for twenty years he was thus professionally engaged with purely exegetical studies that his subsequent theological writings were so predominately Scriptural in their form and spirit. The result has been that while his commentaries and exegetical lectures have been, to a marked degree, dominated by theological ideas, it is true even to a greater extent that all his theological statements and arguments are controlled by and suffused with the inspired Word.

From the date of his employment as assistant teacher of Oriental and Biblical literature in 1820 to his death in 1878, over three thousand candidates for the ministry of the various evangelical churches had passed under his instruction. The influence of such a man, exerted through so many channels for so long a time, must have been immense. It was, however, directly exerted through the class-room and through the press, especially through his numerous articles upon all the great matters of current ecclesiastical interest which appeared in the "Princeton Review;" and the ministry, through which class he reached his entire generation throughout the Christian world.

On the 23d of April, 1872, the fiftieth anniversary of his election as professor, there was observed in Princeton a semi-centennial commemoration or jubilee. Four hundred of his former students enrolled themselves as having come up from every part of the land to pay their respects to their aged professor. The faculties of all the Presbyterian theological seminaries, and several of those belonging to the Episcopal, Methodist, Congregational, Lutheran, and Reformed churches, were represented. All branches of the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain

Teaches three thousand clergymen.

and Ireland saluted him by letter or representative with expressions of their respect, confidence, and love. Episcopal bishops, venerable professors, and pastors of all communions sent him congratulatory addresses. Dr. Joseph T. Duryea, of Brooklyn, delivered an oration on "Theology as a Science." Dr. H. A. Boardman, of Philadelphia, delivered to Dr. Hodge, in the name of the directors and alumni of the institution, a congratulatory address.

"That you should live to see this mighty mechanism in motion, to guide into so many of its countless channels this broad stream from the Fountain of living waters, is a distinction so rare and so exalted that we cannot but look upon you as a man greatly beloved of God, and honored as He has scarcely honored any other individual of our age. . . . We render the praise to Him whose providence and grace have made you what you are, and given you to us and to his church. . . . Again, with one heart and voice do we the directors and alumni of the seminary, the faculties and graduates of sister institutions, the representatives of the other liberal professions, and your friends of every name and calling here assembled, congratulate you on this auspicious anniversary, and pay you the tribute of our grateful love."

In his reply, while defining the life-long principles of his senior colleagues, and of himself, he said: "When I was about leaving Berlin on my return to America, the friends whom God had given me in that city were kind enough to send me an album, in which they had severally written their names, and a few lines as remarks. What Neander wrote was in Greek, and included these words: Οὐδέν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, *nothing in oneself*; ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντα, *all things in the Lord*; ᾧ μόνῳ δουλεύειν δόξα καὶ καύχημα, *whom alone to serve is a glory and a joy*. These words our old professors would have inscribed in letters of gold over the portals of this seminary, there to remain in undiminished brightness as long as the name of Princeton lingers in the memory of man."

The singular perfection of such a life-work is due to the remarkable combination of a variety of elements: natural endowments of intellect and conscience and affections, divine grace, great diligence and supreme moral courage, felicitous circumstances, eminent position, and length of days.

He died June 19, 1878, in his eighty-first year; his nervous system exhausted, his physical life ran gently out, while his mind was as clear and his spirit as free and strong as ever. He died with all his family around him, as the setting sun glorifying the lower heavens, with the peaceful brightness of his faith and love. To a weeping daughter he said, "Dearest, don't weep. To be absent from the body is to be with the Lord. To be with the Lord is to see Him. To see the Lord is to be like Him." — A. A. H.

LIFE XXVIII. ALBERT BARNES.

A. D. 1798—A. D. 1870. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

ALBERT BARNES was born at Rome, New York, December 1, 1798. He died in the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1870. These two dates mark the earthly limits of ^{His birth.} an eminently useful and godly life. The life was begun in skepticism. It grew toward golden completeness under a profound conviction of the truth as revealed in the Word of God. It ended in full, unshaken faith. Its early years were uneventful. Its young and vigorous manhood was given to Christ. Its maturity marked a period of rare interest in the history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, linked itself indissolubly with that history, gave to the church one of the truest and purest of her living epistles, and gave to the world "The People's Commentator." Its eventide was a beautiful sunset; the Christ-like spirit seemed bathed in the glory streaming through the open gates of the city of God, as if he stood just this side the river, looking into the other country, "beholding the King in his beauty," and "seeing Him as He is."

Doubtless the early skepticism of Albert Barnes gave him, ever afterwards, that characteristic of clearness in perceiving, and of fairness in stating, the difficulties and objections of the disbeliever, which in so marked a manner appears in his published works. He was accustomed to say that doubts and difficulties born of his own questioning and skeptical heart had seemed to him to be of far greater force and magnitude than any he had ever seen suggested by rationalism and infidelity. An article in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, by Dr. Chalmers, entitled "Christianity," first commanded his assent to the truth and divine origin of the Christian religion. But he resolved to yield to its claims no further than thenceforward to keep aloof from its active opposers, and to lead a strictly moral life. One year later, in Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York, he experienced the deeper change ^{His conversion.} that set in entirely new channels the currents of his life. He became a Christian, gave up his fondly cherished plan of preparation for the legal profession, consecrated himself to the work of the ministry, and, upon graduating at Hamilton College in 1820, pursued a four years' course of theological study at Princeton, New Jersey, and was ordained and installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Morristown, New Jersey. After nearly five years in this pastorate, he was called to the charge of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, with which church he retained official connection to the day of his death.

Upon the ministry of this man of God was set early and abundant

seal. A revival of remarkable extent and power occurred during his ministry at Morristown. The windows of heaven were opened over that place, and all the region round about was refreshed with the copious shower. His pulpit and pastoral ministrations were also greatly blessed of God in Philadelphia, and frequent revivals marked the history of that long pastorate. These seasons of special interest were never superficial excitements. While always marked by deep feeling, it was rational emotion, born of profound conviction by the truth. For throughout his entire ministry, this Scriptural preacher held firmly to the persuasion, publicly avowed and acted upon in his first charge, "that injury is not done in a revival by a full exhibition of God's plan of saving men, according to his sovereign will and pleasure." The pulpit ministrations of Mr. Barnes were characterized by Scripturalness, clearness, fullness of treatment, fairness in dealing with objections, and thoughtful spiritual power.

There were four great movements that either originated or were brought to prominent public notice about the time of Albert Barnes's opening ministry. Upon each of these he left a powerful impress. The history of two of them cannot be written without conspicuous reference to his influence.

Of these four great movements, the temperance reformation was one. Promptly and decisively Mr. Barnes sprang to the advocacy of its great leading principle, entire abstinence from all intoxicating beverages. There were nineteen distilleries within the limits of his first parish when he began to preach. Liquor was extensively manufactured and sold in the region of country about Morristown. Drinking customs widely prevailed. What Mr. Barnes understood to be the truth of God on this subject, he fearlessly preached, and with such bold fidelity and persuasiveness as to effect a complete revolution in some of the most cherished and most fortifying habits of social life; while in nearly every one of the distilleries within his influence the fires were put out, to be rekindled no more.

To the principles thus early avowed, he adhered unswervingly, giving them public advocacy on all suitable occasions till he died.

Another of the great movements that came to conspicuity in the first half of the present century, and which at last culminated in civil war and emancipation, was the antislavery movement. Mr. Barnes's first critical study of the New Testament, there in the quiet of his home at Morristown, led him to feel and to say that the gospel was an epistle of deliverance to the captives; that to give liberty to the slave and restore him to freedom was to confer the highest benefit and impart the richest favor; and that by the freedom of the truth all prison doors would finally be opened and all chains of slavery broken. From that time onward he never hesitated, from the pulpit and by the press,

in the clearest and most unmistakable terms to express his convictions on the evils, the crimes, the wrongs of slavery. He was no enthusiast or fanatic in this matter. He was not in anything. Behind his boldest and freest and most radical utterances there was no passionate excess of feeling,—only the calm, sober conviction of a truth-loving, earnest, conscientious man of God; and to give that conviction embodiment in speech on fit occasion, at whatever risk and at whatever cost, was as much a matter of course, with him, as to eat his daily bread. He never uttered a word in public or in private in favor of any illegal interference with the institution where it existed. What he did and all that he did, beyond endeavoring to secure a constitutional change of the laws, was done as a preacher and a commentator, by a candid and thoughtful exposition of the Word of God in its application to the duties and the rights of man. In his pulpit and in his notes, he never sought popularity by silence. Turn to any page of his commentary, where there is a passage regarded as bearing upon the subject of slavery, and there it will be seen that he ever consistently entered a calm but vigorous Christian protest against this at that time strongly buttressed and gospel defended, but in his judgment most abominable, institutional iniquity.

He lived to see America without a slave, and he entered heartily into the work of educating and elevating the long-enthralled race.

A third great movement, assuming importance in the early years of Mr. Barnes's ministry, was the Sabbath-school. His discerning mind saw that an emergency had arisen in the es-
The Sabbath-school.
 tablishment and rapid spread of this new institution. He was struck with the need of a plain and simple commentary on the gospels, which could be put into the hands of teachers, furnishing them an easy explanation of the sacred text. He at once, while still at Morristown, entered upon those Scripture studies, the fruits of which
First Commen- tary.
 were subsequently given in "Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Gospels, designed for Sunday-School Teachers and Bible Classes." This first venture bore date, Philadelphia, August 25, 1832. It is perfectly safe to say that no single book has gone into so many hands as a help to the understanding of God's Word in the instruction of the Sabbath-school. He little dreamed then that the purpose thus formed, and upon the prosecution of which he thus early entered, would make his name a household word wherever the English tongue is spoken. He had no thought, in the unambitious effort to give simply the results of the critical study of the gospels, and by avoiding all abstruse and scholastic discussion to afford a useful interpreter to the young and the unlearned, that he was to place himself foremost among Bible commentators in the number of his readers, and to go around the world like the beautiful feet of morning, publishing in various languages his exposition of the word and work of Christ. He gave the early

hours of morning to this work of exposition. Promptly at nine o'clock every day, he left it and turned to his more direct pulpit and pastoral duties. By the preparation of these first notes, the steps of this good man were established in that quiet path where he "prevented the dawning of the morning" in communion with God and in the careful and prayerful study of his holy Word for well-nigh forty years.

The habit of spending a small portion of each day in annotating the Scriptures grew to be a pleasure and a preference, and he continued it until in 1834 appeared his "Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Acts of the Apostles," and on the Epistle to the Romans. One book after another followed, as this man of method persevered year by year in his study of the Word, until, to his own surprise, he found himself at the end of the New Testament. During these years he had also written his annotations successively on Isaiah, Job, and Daniel. Subsequently his "Notes on the Psalms" appeared. Meanwhile other works in the line of his ministerial labors were given to the press. His pen was never idle. Among his more important published works are, "The Way of Salvation," "The Atonement," "Lectures on the Evidences," and "Life of St. Paul." He lived to see edition after edition of his commentaries exhausted, until more than half a million of volumes were sold in his own country, and perhaps even a greater number in England, Scotland, and Ireland, while translations of many of his notes were made into the languages of France, Wales, India, and China. This remarkable result is the fullest proof that the life-labor of Mr. Barnes met a wide necessity. The man needs no other monument commemorative of his faithful toil. Without any original design on his part, when no eyes were turned to him in expectation of any grand achievement, an overruling Providence selected the instrumentality, prompted to the conception of the early task, inspired a love for its enlarging way, guided the steps of the faithful expositor, and led to the completion of a work which, in extent and fidelity and beneficent influence, is one rarely allotted to man. He ended his exposition of the Book of God, February, 1868, with these memorable words: "I cannot close this work without emotion. I cannot lay down my pen at the end of this long task, without feeling that with me the work of life is nearly over. Yet I could close it at no better place than in finishing the exposition of this book; and the language with which the book of Psalms itself closes seems to be eminently appropriate to all that I have experienced. All that is past, all in the prospect of what is to come, calls for a long, a joyful, a triumphant *Hallelujah!*"

It was indeed a long task, and the Christian world, with one voice, says it was well done.

His commentaries are adapted to the people. They meet, as they were designed to meet, the common mind. They are charged with com-

mon sense. They are free from the processes of critical study, yet they furnish ample proof of it in its results. They are eminently spiritual and practical. With faithful exposition of the letter of the Word is woven a happy discerning of the mind of the Spirit. They bear abundant witness to that true communion with God which, their author testified, if he ever had it in his life, was closely connected with those calm and quiet morning hours when his mind was brought into close contact with the truth inspired by the Holy Ghost. They are pervaded by those qualities, and they possess those characteristics which made them the best — as they were deservedly the most widely appreciated and most generally used — Scriptural expositions in any language for the ordinary reader.

A fourth great movement, with which Mr. Barnes's whole ministerial life was influentially connected, was that which led to the Theological division, and at last to the reunion, of the Presbyterian movement. Church. It looked toward such an adjustment of human liberty and divine sovereignty as would secure for personal responsibility a profound emphasis, while still exhibitiv of man's absolute dependence upon God's sovereign will and pleasure for salvation. It was aggressive and yet conservative. It involved a change in the methods of presenting gospel truth, and a change in traditional terminology.

Some men saw in it a grave peril to sound theology, threatening the integrity of the entire Calvinistic system. Others viewed it as a wholesome effort so to state the great doctrines of grace as to be loyal to the truth on the divine side, while giving the human will a more responsible activity. Beyond a doubt, the extreme of the movement as seen in New England, and possibly in other quarters, swept men to an assertion of human ability, and of related truths, out of all harmony with the recognized teaching of Calvinistic theology.

The controversy within the Presbyterian Church was long and bitter, culminating in the division of the church in 1837. These were painful years to Albert Barnes. But through them all he bore himself with a firmness that never passed by its excess into obstinacy; with a gentleness that never degenerated into weakness; and with a patience that was never ruffled. Tenaciously holding to what he believed to be the truth, expressing with no "bated breath" his own convictions, condemned by a lower judicatory, but acquitted at last by the highest court known in the church, he came out of the conflict as he had entered it, with a character untarnished and a name above suspicion or reproach. However men may have differed as to the soundness of some of his doctrinal statements and positions, they did not differ as to the purity of his motives and the guilelessness of his spirit.

Mr. Barnes remained conspicuously connected with what was known as the New School Branch of the Presbyterian Church, until in 1869

the separate bodies came together again, in substantial and catholic unity, on the basis of the common standards—the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechism. With pen and tongue, through press and pulpit, this laborious and able man of God unquestionably contributed largely, by his temperate and balanced presentation of the agency of God and man in redemption, to that state of things which made the reunion of the Presbyterian Church possible, and which so happily characterizes the union as actually accomplished. And whether or not all would express themselves as in accord with his “views” and terminology,

Fidelity to truth. all will most certainly believe this public avowal which he made late in life: “I have aimed in my ministry to declare the whole counsel of God. I have embraced the Trinitarian system of religion and the Calvinistic system, and have not concealed the features of these systems from the world. I have endeavored to set forth the doctrines of human depravity and of the atonement and of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Ghost. I have defended the doctrine of decrees, of election, of justification by faith, and of future retribution. I have endeavored to show to men that they could be saved by no merit of their own, and that their own works will avail them nothing in the matter of justification before God.” Surely, he not only “fought a good fight,” but he “kept the faith.”

As he approached the close of his life, his own testimony was that “the objects of eternity became overpoweringly bright and grand.” Yet he did not lose his interest in this world, as the scene of the development of the great plans of God. He cherished to the last the cheerfullest views of the world, of the certain progress of the race, of the destiny of man. “Never,” said he in his seventieth year, “never in the history of the world, did young men enter on their career with so much to cheer them, to animate them, to inspire them with hope, to call forth their highest powers for the promotion of the great objects which enter into the civilization, the progress, and the happiness of man. The opinions of a man at seventy years of age have been long maturing, and he is not likely materially to change them. I shall cherish these views till I die, and I shall close my eyes in death with bright and glorious hopes in regard to my native land, to the church, and to the world.”

He was full of years and full of honors when God called him to the higher honors of the skies. What shall we say of such a man? He was distinguished by a rare balance of faculties. He had also a rare command of his faculties. He was “conscience incarnate,” a man for the stake, if need be, but not for a compromise of what he believed to be the truth. Yet his heart was full of charities withal. His affectionateness and childlikeness won for him a peculiarly tender regard. As a friend he knew no guile, there being deep-rooted in his heart every ten-

der and sympathetic virtue. As a man, he was singularly regardful of the rights of man, and was always the champion of all that were oppressed and that were of low degree. As a patriot he loved his country too well to defend her in wrong. As a pastor he won and kept his people's hearts. As a reasoner he was calm, comprehensive, logical. As a commentator he was remarkable for simplicity, clearness, and fidelity. As a preacher he was instructive, convincing, balanced, and bold, never breaking faith with truth. As a man of God he witnessed a good confession, and dying the death of the righteous, he passed into "the better country." The fragrance of his name fills the whole earth. — H. J.

LIFE XXIX. THOMAS HEWLINGS STOCKTON.

A. D. 1808—A. D. 1868. METHODIST PROTESTANT, — AMERICA.

THIS eminent Christian was born at Mount Holly, Burlington County, New Jersey, June 4, 1808. His ancestry was respectable, intelligent, pious. His religious views were decidedly Methodistic, his inclinations and preferences having been influenced by his social surroundings, as his grandfather's family, his father's family, and his early associates were connected with that denomination of Christians, himself uniting in that church fellowship in early life. His attachment to the Wesleyan doctrines and means of grace was ardent, unflinching, throughout his life; nor did his dissent from the Methodist Episcopal Church order ever dull his affection for the denomination, or interfere with his pure love for those who preferred and sustained its ecclesiastical arrangement.

His opinions of church order, that led him into dissent from the ecclesiasticism in which he was trained, grew out of the peculiarity of his mind, and his close observance of the Scripture history, impressed as he was with the evident facts that our divine Lord forbade ^{His father.} mastery, requiring brotherhood, rejecting hierarchy, and demanding ministry, service. Accordingly, when "his father, William S. Stockton, son of two of the earliest Methodists in the State of New Jersey, — 'a simple-hearted, active-minded, observant, thoughtful, honest, earnest, zealous, sanguine American freeman and Christian, desiring and aiming only to do good, and setting so much value on all great rights and interests as to be willing to toil and make sacrifices in their behalf,' — originated in 1821 the 'Wesleyan Repository,' open to the discussion of such reforms as were deemed desirable in the ecclesiastical polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a time when the son was of an age to become deeply interested in such matters, this publication and the controversy growing out of it led to radical views by Thomas Stockton on church government."¹

¹ *Memorial Discourse*, by Rev. J. G. Wilson.

In the same tender, loving, excellent discourse from which we have just quoted, we have the views of Stockton as to the comparative merits of spiritual and ecclesiastical Methodism. "Primitive Methodism appears to have been the purest and most useful revival of the truth as it is in Jesus, ever known in the history of the church. Even in its present numerous and diverse forms, I think it may be said of it, with entire propriety, at least in relation to our own country, that, if Providence should decree that only one of the existing systems of Christian agency should remain in existence after this night, there is reason to desire that it might be, and to believe that it would be, the great Methodist system; the most hopeful of all, by far, in view of the salvation of the people at large. But originally Methodism was only spiritual. Since then it has become ecclesiastical. Its spiritual character has always been its glory. Its ecclesiastical character has always been its shame. From the beginning, its government has been an intermitting volcano, starting, at various intervals, into flaming eruption, and filling the circuit of its power with saddest devastations. Alas, for all man's governments! Alas, for all over-government; all unyielding government, all idolized government! Would to God that Christ might be confessed all in all, that the time might be hastened in which 'the government shall be upon his shoulder' and nowhere else, in which his people shall be 'not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,' and to no one else."¹

He was no partisan; party spirit, machinery, schemes, he held in utter abhorrence. His mind, his heart, he knew to be open to the eye of God, and he never concealed them from the eye of man; any one who wished might know his aims and desires. Honestly endeavoring to be instructed by the divine word, he was never ashamed of what he had learned, but was ever ready to impart the sacred lessons to others, in the firm faith that true wisdom was to be derived from no other than the holy, copious source of all truth.

Having selected medicine as a profession, he commenced the study of it under Dr. Thomas Dunn, of Philadelphia, where he was then residing, but Providence had made a different selection; for the "Wesleyan Repository" having attracted the attention of Revs. N. Sneath, Asa Shinn, Samuel K. Jennings, Alexander McCaine, John S. Reese, and many others of the Methodist Episcopal ministry and laity, a reform in the government, so as to admit lay representation, in connection with the previous demand for an elective presiding eldership, and diminution of the episcopal prerogative, was insisted upon; terminating in the expulsion of some of the reformers in Baltimore and elsewhere, and compelling a distinct organization of another church, known as the Methodist Protestant Church, with lay representation and elective presidency, and without bishops.

Forming of the
Methodist Prot-
estant Church.

¹ *Memorial Discourse*, page 21.

This movement involved William Stockton and his son, of course, and they identified themselves with and took part in the moulding and outset of the new organization, of which they were sincere and self-sacrificing supporters, their pens, purses, and persons surrendered in hearty allegiance, as might have been expected of men of their integrity and piety. Young Stockton, after preaching a few times in Philadelphia, in 1829, was received as an itinerant into the Maryland annual conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, and appointed to a circuit on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where his deep piety, his innate gentleness of manner, his extraordinary eloquence, and his inimitable style of preaching, secured the affection, admiration, confidence of the crowded audiences who attended his wonderful ministry of the glorious gospel of Christ. His pure Christian character, his exact truthfulness and integrity, his affectionate disposition and fraternal bearing, with his transcendent ability in the pulpit, — in connection with the prudence, talents, and marked ability of the superintendent of the circuit, Rev. Dr. John S. Reese, of sainted memory, and the meekness, pious deportment, learning, and ample ministerial endowments of their youngest colleague, the so much regretted Rev. Charles W. Jacobs, — fixed the eyes of very many upon the young church in which these excellent and gifted men ministered, and won for it popularity and support. The public saw that these ministers were true Christians, true Methodists, differing from others of that name not at all in doctrine, but only in ecclesiastical order, and gave them respect and support.

In 1830, Stockton, then but twenty-two years of age, was appointed a delegate to the convention which formed the constitution and discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, and was stationed in Baltimore, superintendent of the two churches there comprising the station; his ministry drawing crowds of intelligent, appreciative auditors, and occasioning the conversion of many, and their adhesion to the young denomination. In 1832 he was returned to the Eastern Shore, and made his home in Easton, Talbot County, where his memory is still cherished by his surviving contemporaries. In 1833-1834 he was stationed in Georgetown, District of Columbia, and elected chaplain to Congress, where vast multitudes attested his popularity and unsurpassed power as a proclaimer of the gospel, which glowed in his heart and gushed in wondrous sweetness from his lips. He was pronounced to be nature's orator, and his gifts were regarded as extraordinarily eminent.

He was again stationed, 1836-37, in Baltimore, at St. John's, which had become a distinct charge. It was thought at this time by the best medical skill that his lungs were so much diseased that his stay upon earth would be limited to a few months. It is remarkable that when this opinion was communicated to him by his sympathizing and faithful physician, he could not credit it; he appearing to feel within him a

decided contradiction, an instinctive assurance that more days would be allotted him; and this remarkable experience re-occurred twice in other cities.

The general conference of 1828 elected him editor of "The Methodist Protestant," the official paper of the church, published weekly (as at this day) in Baltimore; but he could not consent to certain rules of publication established by the book committee, the controlling authority, and he declined the position, resigning his superintendency of St. John's, and removing with his family to Philadelphia. Here he preached in the hall of the Philadelphia Institute, Filbert Street, with his accustomed power and success; organized the First Methodist Protestant Church, 1839; dedicated their house of worship, a fine structure built at the corner of Wood and Eleventh streets; and ministered therein with great popularity and usefulness, until 1847, when he was invited to the Sixth Street Methodist Protestant Church, Cincinnati, where he remained the greater part of three years, exerting his usual commanding influence. Early in 1849 he was elected president of Miami University; but, while that position was very desirable for many reasons, he decided that duty required him to decline it, which he did, and remained at his post. Certain great plans for extending his influence beyond the limits of the specific church he was serving, and the Methodist Protestant Church generally, occasioning dissatisfaction, he resigned his superintendency December 24, 1849, and commenced services in the Unitarian chapel, where, though known to be a clearly pronounced Trinitarian, he was treated with a kindness that he ever after spoke of with grateful recognition. He next occupied the Masonic Hall, where he had more space, and for the use of which he had cause to express his sense of obligation; for he was the open opposer of all secret associations, although some of them embraced many of his most esteemed and beloved brethren and friends.

In the midst of his efforts in these unusual pulpits and engagements with the press, he received an invitation from St. John's, Baltimore, then an independent Methodist Protestant church, under the pastorate of Rev. A. Webster, D. D., to the position of co-pastor, with no other obligation than to preach in the evening of each Sabbath. He accepted, went on, commencing his labors to crowded congregations, and continued among those loving, admiring friends, with much usefulness, until 1856; when, after having aided in sustaining the pulpit of the Fayette Street Reformed Presbyterian Church, after the death of Rev. John M. Duncan, D. D., until they could find a pastor, he again returned to Philadelphia, where he continued to try to be useful, preaching and publishing, until 1860; when he was once more elected chaplain to Congress, and reelected in 1862.

In 1865, after a happy union of thirty-seven years, he was separated by death from his beloved, faithful wife, the mother of his eleven chil-

dren; to which last fact he thus alluded, upon presenting her with a copy of Mrs. Welby's Poems: "Your poems, my dear Anna, are in *eleven* volumes. *Two* of them the Lord was so pleased with that He has put them, in gold binding, on a pearl shelf in his own library in heaven. The other *nine* are yet with us, awaiting his approval. May I stand by your side when you see them *there*, in one complete and beautiful collection."

The few years of his own further earthly stay were passed in great physical debility, but with no failure of his intellectual force or brilliancy. He bore clear testimony to the excellency of the gospel and the power of divine grace; conversing with his children and Christian friends, in his usual serene and instructive manner, until October 9, 1868, when he departed to his rest.

His intellectual endowments were wonderful; equally so were his oratorical gifts; the exact sympathy between his soul and body constituting him the most graphic and overpowering of preachers. His imagination was apparently inexhaustible; equal, as his auditors felt, to any demand upon it: from any high point, from which it might be supposed further ascent was impossible, he gracefully rose with the ease and freshness of an incipient flight. The same might be said of his logic and rhetoric; and to use those great powers, he had the most suitable instrumentality, in his tall form, dignity of manner, large expressive eye, clear voice of wonderful compass and force, perfect enunciation, the most pliable facial muscles, and such angelic sweetness of expression in his countenance, that at times he seemed to be unearthly.

The church in whose organization he took the deepest interest contains the elements that he approved, and in its communion he continued throughout life. Methodistic in its doctrines, means of grace, and modes; but in its order, non-episcopal, with an elective presidency, a regular itinerancy, balanced by a full lay representation; so that both the lay and ministerial delegates to the general conference, the legislative body, are elected by the votes of the ministers and laymen of the annual conferences, voting by order; a majority of each order being necessary to the election of any delegate, lay or ministerial. The progress of the church was embarrassed awhile, as in the case of others, by the slavery agitation, causing a serious division from the Southern conferences; but since the war this has been all harmoniously adjusted, and the several sections are once more acting in happy and prosperous union; their statistics entitling them to rank among the leading denominations of American Christendom. This result Dr. Stockton did not live to see; but though the Methodist Protestant Church was never just what he, or any of its founders, desired, yet he deemed it the most liberal form of Methodism, and continued his identification with it to the close. His heart longed for a union of all the

Characteristics
of the Meth-
odist Protestant
Church.

denominations of Christians, that the unity of spirit might be manifested in a unity of form; sectarianism disappearing, vanishing out of sight, substituted by blessed Christian unity; "that they all might be one;" the one Church of the one Lord; Christ the Master, Christians brethren: as it will be in the end, and as is now the tendency, evidenced by the mutual attraction of all evangelical denominations, as they pleasantly and efficiently coöperate in active exertions for the spread of the gospel, at home and abroad. — A. W.

LIFE XXX. JOHN TAYLOR PRESSLY.

A. D. 1795—A. D. 1870. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THE United Presbyterian Church of North America represents a type of Calvinistic Presbyterianism in close resemblance to that of the earlier history of the Church of Scotland. It was formed by a union of elements of secession from that church whose aim it had been to preserve some of its best attainments. The Reformed Church of Scotland, or, as sometimes called, the Covenanter, was constituted of those who refused to acquiesce in the Religious Settlement of 1688, mainly because of its annulling some of the covenant obligations of the church and kingdom of Scotland. The Associate Church of Scotland, sometimes called the Seceder, came into existence by the secession of 1733, in maintenance of the rights of congregations and the interests of the "marrow doctrines" of the gospel as endangered by the patronage and moderatism of the times. Men of both these churches appeared in this country before our Revolutionary War. After the independence of our nation had been secured, most of the ministers and members of these churches entered into the union which gave origin to what became known as the Associate Reformed Church of North America. Two ministers and several congregations of the Associate Church did not enter this union, but kept up its continued organization. They were soon strengthened by large accessions from the mother church in Scotland, and speedily grew into a strong and influential body. Both of these churches prospered — the Associate and the Associate Reformed — and worked each by the side of the other, sometimes talking and negotiating for union, but without avail until 1858, when they united on the basis of the Westminster standards in connection with a specific testimony for such doctrines of them as had suffered perversion or neglect, and against some of the more flagrant errors and evils of the times.

Thus came into existence what is now known as the United Presbyterian Church of North America. And nothing more is needed to indicate its distinctive character than the brief statement made of its origin

and the ecclesiastical elements from which it was formed. It is stoutly Calvinistic in faith and Presbyterian in order of government. The Psalms of the Bible, in the best possible version, are its authorized system of praise. Its laws of fellowship guard carefully the purity and good order of the church. In old-fashioned fortitude it arrays itself against all flagrant immoralities and evils, of whatever form and however formidable. It is uncompromisingly antislavery, and was so when slavery so dominated the land as to make even churches foster and defend it. And now it arrays itself with like faithfulness and fortitude against the scarcely less formidable evil of oath-bound secret societies, the great social evil of the times, demoralizing the church as well as society at large. In all respects it seeks to maintain the claims of God, the supremacy of his law and authority in all the relations of life.

Among those who acted a leading part in organizing this church, and in maintaining the principles it represents, no one was more conspicuous than John Taylor Pressly. He was born in Abbeville District, South Carolina, March 28, 1795. His ancestors were among the best people and most influential in the early history of his native State. It has been truly said of him, "He was an honored member of an honored family." In a large connection of such families his father and mother, David and Jane Pressly, were distinguished for intelligence and godliness. Their home was one in which the Lord dwelt and in which his name was honored. In such a home, where Christian instruction and Christian example were combined in forming the best home influence, the subject of this memoir was born and grew up to manhood. Every member of the family, including three brothers who became ministers of the gospel and two others who became distinguished physicians, and two sisters, one of whom became the wife of a minister and the other of a physician, gave to the world a useful and honored Christian life.

John, however, was the central figure of the family, and became the most distinguished. In early life he gave promise of his after eminence in piety and learning. He made a profession of religion while quite young, and as early manifested a love of study. His first church membership was in the Cedar Spring congregation, in connection with the Associate Reformed Synod of the South. He began his studies in an academy in the immediate neighborhood of his home. Afterwards he entered Transylvania University, Kentucky, where he was graduated in 1812, in the eighteenth year of his age. Long before this his mind had been turned to the ministry of the gospel. Determined to have the best theological training then to be had in this country, he repaired to the seminary in New York, at the time under charge of the famous Dr. John Mitchell Mason [see Life XXV.]. There he completed a full course of

United Presbyterians.

Pressly's family

three years' study, and returning home in the spring of 1815, he was licensed by the Second Associate Reformed Presbytery of South Carolina, as a probationer for the ministry.

For a year he devoted himself to missionary work, traveling on horse-
His work in the South. back through several of the Southern States, and so far north as Pennsylvania and New York. On his return home, in the early summer of 1816, a call awaited him to take pastoral charge of the congregation in which he was born and was baptized, and in which he had made a profession of religion. This he accepted, and on the 3d of July of that year was ordained and installed as its pastor.

His pastorate of this Cedarville congregation continued for fifteen years, peaceful, pleasant, and prosperous. He had done his work as a preacher and pastor in a way to bind his people to him in the strongest and tenderest bonds of respect and affection. His heart was bound just as strongly to them. God had blessed his relation to them, and blessed his work among them. He would have been satisfied and glad to close his life in their service. But God had other work for him of more importance, and with a wider range of influence, and made the call to it so clear and conclusive as to be imperative. Hard as it was for him to be separated from a people endeared by so many precious associations, he could but obey.

He had become widely known, not only as a great preacher himself, but as one eminently qualified to educate preachers. The brethren of his own synod had recognized this, and had invited him to become their theological professor. He did not see his way clear to give consent. Soon after the Associate Reformed Synod of the West had its attention turned to him for a similar work. It had established a theological seminary at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1825, that had begun a work of great promise. Its chair of theology had been made vacant by the death of its first professor, Dr. Joseph Kerr. After searching diligently and prayerfully for one to fill this vacancy, the synod with entire unanimity elected this rising man of the Synod of the South. In all the proceedings which resulted in his election, and in the manner of it, the leadings of Providence were manifest. Deeply impressed with a sense of the divine call to this work he obeyed, and at once began his preparations to engage in it. He was elected on the 10th of October, 1831, and at the opening of

Begins his work in Western Pennsylvania.

the next year, the 5th of January, 1832, appeared in Pittsburgh, and the week after entered on the duties of his professorship. His singular fitness for the work was soon recognized and widely known, and added a new and great attraction to the seminary. Students were drawn to it from all parts of the church, North and South.

His powers as a preacher were as soon and as generally felt, and caused no little rivalry among the vacant congregations in the vicinity of the

seminary for his pastoral services. A congregation recently organized in the neighboring city of Allegheny was the most convenient, and, although at the time among the youngest and feeblest of the congregations seeking his services, was preferred. Its call, made October 15, 1832, was accepted. At the next meeting of the synod the seminary was located in Allegheny, instead of Pittsburgh.

The pastorate now begun was one of the most successful of modern times. The audiences increased week by week. The membership multiplied correspondingly. In a short time, the little congregation had grown into one of the largest and most influential of its denomination, or indeed of any denomination, in the vicinity. A new and larger church building was soon required to accommodate the swelling numbers; and still another, larger and more commodious, with the finest auditorium in the twin cities, was built before Pressly's death. His pastorate of this congregation, covering thirty-eight years, was remarkable for an unbroken confidence and affection between pastor and people. They were a mutual joy and rejoicing to each other. To his people there was no preaching like his, or deportment so truly and nobly Christian. His influence over them seemed unbounded. We cannot wonder at the success of his ministry among them. So strong in the hearts of his people, so strong in his own character, so mighty in the Scriptures as he proved himself to be, and withal so watchful, faithful, and tender as a pastor, the wonder would have been if the results had been less. And not in his own congregation merely did the effects of his work appear.

While it so prospered, other congregations by overflows from it were gathered around it, which have since become large and influential. The present strength of his denomination in and around the two cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny is largely due to the power he put forth for it. And it is, perhaps, not claiming too much to say that other evangelical denominations owe much to the influence of his life and work. He impressed himself on the whole religious community in which he lived. When he died people of all the denominations felt that a great man had fallen in Israel.

He died on the 13th of August, 1870, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fifty-fifth of his ministry, leaving a memorial in his work and a fragrance in his name through which his memory has been made dear to countless hearts.

A man of such prominence among his brethren and such usefulness in the church, it must be believed, had some uncommon elements of power. Everything in him and about him as he stood among men, and in every sphere in which he moved, marked him as a His personal appearance. man above the general average of men. He had a commanding personal appearance. He was blessed with great bodily strength in stately form, and moved with a dignity, even majesty, that commanded attention

and admiration wherever he appeared. In social life his presence was always felt as that of a great man, above all as a man of God.

His mind seemed to be formed on a corresponding scale, and capable, with ease, of an amount of work under which most men would have sunk. The magnitude of the mental work through which he went, without any apparent difficulty, was wonderful. For sixteen years he had the whole work of the seminary in connection with the most arduous pastoral labors. Part of this time he edited a religious newspaper. And all this time he had a leading part to act in the councils and the management of the general work of his church. And with all this, done with scrupulous punctuality and completeness, he found time to contribute largely to the periodical literature of the times, and to prepare several volumes on disputed points in theology. The man who could do with ease all this work must have had no ordinary power. Something, it is true, must be credited to his order of working, so systematic as to have a time and place for every part of it, each part receiving the needed attention at the proper time. This was a mental habit with him, into which his naturally strong and facile mind readily fell. It shows the value of system, but it also shows the greatness of the mind that so worked and to such grand results.

His preaching was of the best style of the pulpit, that which threw its whole force into the exposition and application of the Word of God. There was nothing of the sensational or rhapsodical in his style. It made no pretense of meeting the ideals of those who think of pulpit powers as made up of dazzling human thought set in the forms of a fastidious rhetoric and delivered with the studied arts of oratory. It was the simple, clear, earnest preaching of a man who knew and felt that it was the truth of God that was the means of saving souls, and who gave all his power to explain and impress this truth on the minds and hearts of his hearers. He was remarkable for clearness of conception and expression. Here, perhaps, was his great power as a preacher. But he had also a good delivery. His fine personal appearance, his strong, sonorous, and well modulated voice, and his action, always dignified and solemn, gave to his delivery power approaching the magisterial. He excelled in expository preaching. While no man knew better than he how a sermon should be constructed to best bring out the truth and force of a text, he delighted in explaining the Word of God in its connection and continuity, and much of his preaching was of this kind. He has left rich products of his expository studies, which, it is hoped, will yet be given to the public.

As a professor of theology he had few if any superiors. It was here

that his clear, comprehensive, richly furnished, and finely disciplined mind appeared at its best. He was a master in every department of the course of study, and made his instruction so

His work as professor.

clear that only the veriest dullard could fail to understand him. The great principles of theology, as taught by him, appeared as verities not to be questioned. So they were seen, at least, by his students; with them he was oracular. They venerated him as a teacher, and loved him as a father. Some among them have finished their work and have gone to the reward of the labors for which he trained them. But hundreds of them still live, holding his name in most affectionate remembrance, and showing in their work the impress of his teaching. Through them he being dead yet speaketh. It is as if his voice were still sounding in the church. It is more. It is the influence of his life and work going out in varied and multiplied channels in the interest of sound doctrine and the saving power of the gospel.

It is not for us to know now how far that influence will yet reach; how many, in its widening circle, it will bring into the kingdom as the ages pass; or how many will be in the world of glory as the grand result. All that must be left to the revealings of eternity. It is enough now that we have the instruction and animation of the example of a man who lived such a life and left such a living memorial of himself. — D. R. K.

LIFE XXXI. JOHN EGEDE.

A. D. 1686—A. D. 1758. LUTHERAN, — GREENLAND.

WHENEVER anything notable has been done for the kingdom of God, it will be found that the task has been performed through a single individual. Some one person has conceived the enterprise, having been equipped and prepared for the work in some peculiar way. This is true of the mission in Greenland. Its never-to-be-forgotten leader, like Von Westen, the pioneer of the mission to Lapland, was a Norwegian.

In the southern part of Seeland island, a region noted for its beautiful forests, green coves, and glassy lakes, lived in the sixteenth century, in the parish of Egede, a preacher of some note, ^{Egede's family.} named Hans Colling. His descendants adopted the name Egede (from Eich, or oak) from the village in which the family resided. A son of the house, Paul Egede, moved at a later period to Norway. He was a civil officer in the Nordland district, and the parish of Tenjen. His wife bore him a daughter and three sons. The eldest one was the renowned John Egede, born January 31, 1686.

As a youth, John studied in Copenhagen. When twenty-one (1707) he preached in Waagen, in the parish of Salten, and in Nordland. He there married his excellent wife, Gertrude Rask, who has won with him an immortal name. He now first heard of the settlement in earlier days of Greenland by emigrants from Iceland, of the establishment there of

a church with bishops, and that for centuries the country had been separated from the civilized world and had sunk back into heathenism. Egede supposed that the present inhabitants were descendants of Norwegians or Icelanders. He was filled with the thought of rekindling in Greenland the quenched flame. He could not rest. This was the day of the new dawning of mission activity in the evangelical church. Frederick Fourth, of Denmark, had sent missionaries to Tranquebar, to lead the heathen there to Christianity. Thomas von Westen had begun his blessed work in Lapland. The Moravians had been awakened to think of missions through the visit of Zinzendorf to Copenhagen. Mission efforts, it is true, were detached, and in a measure unintelligent. Yet the seeds which were to grow to the great tree had already been planted in the soil of the church.

How long Egede carried in his heart the thought of his enterprise, what obstacles he met in his home or in his neighborhood, how often his hopes were frustrated and himself laughed at as a fanatic or dreamer, how often doubts entered his own heart whether his burning zeal for the reviving of dead souls in Greenland was not a device of the devil, and how frequently he went for support to the Word of God, there is not time to tell. The sweetest victory which God gave him was in his wife, Gertrude Rask, who had detained him from his enterprise through considerations such as flesh and blood had presented to her. Her will was changed so that she was filled with as great longing to go to Greenland as was her husband. She grew to be his staff, arousing his courage; his comrade, never desponding, never fainting even in the sorest of life's emergencies.

At last we find Egede, after ten years of enduring trials, oppositions, and disappointed expectations, with his wife and four little children setting sail, May 2, 1721, from the harbor of Bergen. Three vessels and forty-six persons now, after hard enough effort, accompanied him to the land of his desire. The 12th of June they could descry the coasts of Greenland, but they were surrounded by fearful icebergs which threatened to crush their ships, nor could they find any way through. The shipmasters lost courage. The sailors wanted to turn and go home, the peril was so great. It seemed, even to Egede, that God had forsaken him. In this hour of need Egede appropriated the promise of the one hundred and seventh Psalm to those "that go down to the sea in ships." He got comfort too from the story of Paul's shipwreck. His prayers were answered. The vessels found their way through. The land of his heart and his prayer was reached. They landed July 12th, on the island of Imeriksok, at the west extremity of the district of Baals. He named the place Good Hope (Godthaab).

With what eyes must Egede have looked upon the poor inhabitants of this ice-encircled coast, in whom he had expected to find the descendants

After ten years
sails for Green-
land.

of the old heroic Northmen! For he had before him an entirely strange race, with a peculiar language, of a construction different from every other known tongue. There is not space here to describe the Esquimaux. Subsisting upon the coasts of Greenland and Labrador by the taking of seals and of fish, and by hunting, they, happy in their conceit, called themselves men (Inuit), all others aliens (Kablunät). Their conceptions of things spiritual were very limited. They had few names for all that could not be seen by the eye. Their "Angekokks," or "medicine-men," shrewder than the others, wielded a kind of rule over them. Other government was unknown. Communism in earnings and enjoyments was everywhere the rule. Their dwellings were low huts of mud in the winter, and tents of skin in the summer.

Egede, with the untiring industry which had distinguished him at home, labored for the poor souls for whose sake he had left his fatherland and his office. With immense labor he mastered the Greenland tongue. He brought his children up with the Greenlanders that they might acquire the language and the accomplishments upon which the people prided themselves. He found an especial helper in his son Paul, who was afterward his successor, and the maintainer of the mission. There is something very affecting in the way in which he dealt with the Greenlanders in reference to divine truths. He had his son draw pictures of Bible personages and events. He would then explain them as well as he could to the attentive listeners. He received Esquimaux children into his family to gain through them the language and the affection of their parents. He did not shrink from staying in the fearfully stinking huts of the people. He and his faithful wife knew nothing save love and patience, the fruit of their faith in Him who had loved and called them. What trials of faith did Egede not have to undergo! His circumstances at home had compelled him to seek the support of the Bergen trading company, and of the Danish government. This connection of trade with the mission, of an established church authority with a work of Christian love, became a scandal from which the mission in Greenland has even now hardly recovered. When business was unprosperous, the merchants threatened to withdraw their support. At last this actually came to pass. Commerce had no thought of promoting Christianity, and often sent to Greenland immoral, depraved people, who tore down by their scandalous lives what Egede had builded up. The government had undertaken both the Greenland commerce and the Greenland mission. It knew as little about one as about the other. One grand plan of colonization after another, unsuitable every way, was projected, and soon came to an end. The colonists sent over were men and women from houses of correction, who soon put an end to themselves. King Frederick Fourth dying (1731), his successor Christian the Sixth, seeing no material returns from Greenland, at the commence-

An Esquimaux
to the Esqui-
maux.

ment of his reign issued the strict command that all the colonists should be withdrawn, and that all Europeans should come home. This was to Egede a fearful blow. The germs and blossoms which even now were appearing would all be destroyed! He could not bring himself to agree to forsake Greenland, neither could his dear wife. Lying upon a bed of sickness, she strengthened her husband, and persuaded from eight to twelve persons to remain with him. Resting on God, who is rich to all who call upon Him, Egede's faith was not put to shame, though it had many a trial. Terrible inward struggles came upon him: his soul was beset with anguish. He thought that he was forsaken of God. Though comforted by his comrades and children, he could not find repose "till his God pitied him, rescuing him from hell, and bringing him again to life." It was a misfortune too that the king, again inclining to the mission (1733), gave permission, at the entreaty of Count Zinzendorf, to the Moravian Brethren to settle in Greenland. Their coming was a blunder, not only because the ways of the Moravians, who gather the people about them in one spot, were ill suited to the Greenlanders, who as nomads must go from place to place in order to get a living, for which cause the Moravian colonies are still the very poorest; but also because Egede, who at first welcomed the Brethren, became suspicious of the orthodoxy of the Moravians, as did many in that day. Out of this grew an unedifying correspondence between Egede and the Moravians, the latter taking his well-meant words angrily. Even till to-day there is no hearty union of the Danish and Moravian missions in Greenland. They labor not with each other, but alongside of each other.

Still God's Word made quiet progress. Many souls were won by the Great Fisher of Men through the hand of his faithful servant. Two losses, however, affected Egede's heart very painfully. A Greenland boy, the only survivor of six who had been sent (1731) to Copenhagen, came back, alas, bringing with him the small-pox. One of Egede's darlings, Christian Frederick, sickened and died, as did the boy. Quickly the disease spread, raging fearfully among the natives, who had never known such a plague. There died at Good Hope five hundred within a few months. Those infected hurried from place to place, in spite of every entreaty and warning, and carried the pestilence north and south. From two to three thousand were sacrificed to sickness, despair, and ill ways of living. At this period of fearful trial, the love and patience of Egede and his wife shone forth in the clearest light. Who can avoid being amazed, seeing husband and wife nursing the sick, taking them into their home, seeking out everywhere the poor, giving them bodily help and Christian consolation, and putting the dead in their graves? Egede lived as it were in a graveyard. "Was he right in not leaving the country in 1731? Was not the trial a divine chastisement?" This question came to him when he beheld the great desolation which the

sickness had produced. The sorrowing laborer was comforted of God by finding so many of the dying who in their last hours thanked him for their souls' salvation, and so many of the living who now opened their stubborn hearts to the gospel. Thus this sorrow was made a door through which many entered into the kingdom of God.

A still severer trial came to Egede before he was able to lay down his pastorate in Greenland. His faithful companion in joy and in sorrow, Gertrude Rask, succumbed to the fatigues of the hard life and the seasons of severe sickness. She fell asleep in the arms of her dear ones, happy in her faith in her Saviour. Egede felt deeply her loss. He knew what she had been to him in times of struggle and of want, of suffering and of trial. He was thankful though afflicted, for he comforted himself in the departure of his wife by the sure hope of their joyful reunion.

Meantime his son Paul had finished his studies in Copenhagen, had been ordained, and had come back to Greenland (1734). Egede could commit the work into his hands. The government granted leave to the weary wayfarer to lay down his office and come back to Denmark. He gave a farewell address (from Isaiah xlix. 4), under which the hearts of the Greenlanders, who flocked from all sides, grew warm. He felt that he could do something at home for his cherished field, and with his weakened strength could do nothing more in Greenland. With the remains of his wife, of one son, and of two daughters, he left the scene of his care and sorrow on August 9, 1736, and reached Copenhagen September 9th, where in the Nicolai Church he found his faithful companion a grave.

He toiled in Copenhagen for the Greenlanders in many ways. Laborers for the mission were needed. At his motion a Greenland seminary was begun, in which those who would go to that land as missionaries could be instructed especially in its language. He was given the oversight of the mission. The mission college was supported by the state. We will not here consider how little his enterprise was promoted by this college. The dear old Egede found his labor in it repugnant. He asked and received his dismissal (1747), and settled in Stubbekjøbing, on the Island of Falster, with his married daughter. He there spent the evening of his life, till upon November 5, 1758, he was called to his Master. He was buried in Copenhagen by the side of his first wife, for he had married a second time (in 1740). His funeral discourse was preached by pastor Dorph from the significant words, "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe." Egede had labored for half a century, and at his death was seventy-two years of age.

The memory of the just is blessed. Egede's children labored in

Egede's son
takes up the
work.

Greenland a long time. We find among them Paul Egede, a name never to be forgotten, John Egede Saaby, Henry Christopher Glohn, and others. In the closing decade of the last century and the first of the present, the love felt to the people so far away was chilled by the cold wind of rationalism. The mission college slowly died. With few exceptions, the men sent out were youths who had passed their examinations in Copenhagen only tolerably, and went to Greenland to establish a claim to some place at home. The indestructible power of the gospel is shown in that Christianity which was preserved and advanced in Greenland chiefly by simple native catechists, who united fishing and hunting with their work, yet struck its roots deep into the soil. The population has not diminished, but increased. There are from nine thousand to ten thousand souls, who through God have become a changed people. When life was reawakened in the church at home, it sent fresh germs of life to Greenland. The laborers there, now, according to the judgment of the present writer, who knows them well, are faithful servants. At eight stations, four in North Greenland (Upernivik, Omanak, Jacobshavn, Egedesminde) and four in South Greenland (Holsteinborg, Godthaab, Frederikshaab, and Julianehaab), there are ten ordained Danish ministers, and about forty native catechists. The Moravians also have five stations. Though the mistakes may have been many, yet the faithful founder of the mission shall join one day with a great multitude, saved in Greenland, to sing, "Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen." — C. H. K.

LIFE XXXII. DAVID ZEISBERGER.

A. D. 1721—A. D. 1808. MORAVIAN,—INDIANS OF AMERICA.

CHRISTIAN missions seem most successful when they raise a strong nation out of savagery, giving it new life and Christian civilization, thus introducing it to history. Yet they deserve our sympathy as well when they turn their love to a people near extinction, though they achieve little save to brighten at least its life evening by the trust and love of the gospel.

Such a people are the various tribes of American Indians. To Germany, to the brotherhood of Herrnhut, especially, accrues the merit of having shown them the kindness of Christ. This mission had, however, to contend with peculiar difficulties. These sprang far less from unsusceptibility or opposition on the side of the Indians, than from the feuds which prevailed in the period of which we have to speak. For not only

a constant strife existed between French and English for the mastery in America, but there arose also the great war in which the colonies struck for independence. In addition came the intrigues of European traders, who found that the conversion of the Indians hurt their business, and took advantage of military disturbances to calumniate the Moravians and to make them suspected by the English government. Thus on their missions there came frequent storms ever and again, wasting their field of toil when it stood out in fairest bloom. Such was the scene of the activity of the remarkable man of whom our story tells.

David Zeisberger was the son of a wealthy and pious farmer in the village of Zauchtenthal, in Moravia, where he was born April 11, 1721. Like many of their faith, his parents sought escape from the persecutions then waged by the Romanists of Bohemia and Moravia. They found refuge and welcome in Herrnhut, the newly founded colony of Count Zinzendorf [see page 472]. Soon, however, they journeyed on to America, whither many of their country people had gone before them. Their little son David they left behind under the care of the brethren in Herrnhut. When he was fifteen years old, Zinzendorf took him upon a journey with himself to Holland and placed him in the Moravian settlement of Herrndyk. The boy felt hampered by the strict discipline prevailing. He ran-away, accompanied by ^{A runaway boy.} a youthful relative of like feeling, and embarked for America, the captain of a vessel giving him his passage. He gave his parents a surprise, not wholly pleasant, by his unexpected arrival.

The Brotherhood, engaged since 1733 in evangelizing the Indians, had in 1743 established a colony named Nazareth, some sixty or seventy miles to the north of Philadelphia. Two years earlier (1741) they had founded Bethlehem, on the Lehigh, a tributary of the Delaware. Thither David traveled, little impelled by that holy trait of love to the Master which so characterized his people. Yet even there, being asked if he would not be a Christian, he answered decidedly, "It will come, and all shall see that I am a converted person." But in his twenty-second year he gave no evidence of conversion. He was counted of no use for the purpose of the mission.

When, therefore, Zinzendorf, who had visited the Brotherhood in Pennsylvania, was returning to Europe (1743), it seemed advisable to let Zeisberger go also. He was moved to accompany the count; already the travelers were on board; the anchor was weighed. A companion of the count, David Nitschmann, asked Zeisberger if he were glad that he was going to Europe. "No," was the decided answer, joined with the confession that nothing was such a heart-desire to him as to be a Christian. "Then stay," was the advice of the kind brother. Zeisberger at once left the ship and returned to Bethlehem to remain in the forests of America.

Not long was it till the glimmering spark in the heart of the youth was kindled into a glow. Once there was sung in a meeting of the Brethren, —

“Abyss of love! eternal, blest, revealed in Jesus Christ profound!

How burns, how flames each fiery crest, whose measure mind has never found!

What lov'st Thou? Race of sin and shame. What sav'st Thou? Sons who curse thy name.”

The words vanquished the young man's heart. Tears of penitence and gratitude rolled from his eyes. The love of God to sinners made on him a living indelible impress, turning his soul newly and powerfully to Christ.

His resolve was quickly taken. He would carry the gospel to the savages. To them — poor, hopeless, despairing heathen — he would announce the comforting message of God's grace, which blesses all who by faith embrace the Crucified. In an incredibly short time he acquired, with help given him by a missionary, the language of the Mohegans. With a little trouble he learned, by going among the Iroquois, the dialect of that widespread and powerful nation. Thus prepared, and full of the courage, perseverance, and patience of one whom Christ's love constrains, he began the work which he had made his life's task. It was not his design to take a settled station. His view was a broad one. He would labor among the tribes as such, and thus give his work permanence. He had found that the Indian races, especially the Delawares and the Iroquois, or “Six Nations,” though frequently hostile to the whites, maintained treaties and friendly relations among themselves, and showed to missionaries living with them toleration and kindness.

Zeisberger was fitted, by his knowledge of the languages and customs of the Indians, for dwelling among them. In his love for them he adopted their way of life. In the hunt he killed the game with ready and skillful hand. He applied himself to their household arrangements and to Indian architecture. He thus gained everywhere among them immense regard and peculiar influence.

The mightiest among their tribes was the Iroquois, whose national affairs were treated in a gathering of chiefs held in Onondaga, on the south bank of Lake Oneida. There was the council-house, an edifice reared of lofty forest trunks, interlaced with bark of trees. In this, around a blazing fire, the chieftains gathered for consideration of their public matters after certain solemn forms. Thither we see Zeisberger journey oft repeated times, in the first period of his activity, through pathless wildernesses without inhabitants, going through a thousand dangers to mediate treaties and alliances by the council fires of Onondaga. He was assigned a place of honor among the chiefs, and as he knew by his mighty gift of language how to touch their hearts, his judicious counsels usually prevailed.

*Zeisberger by
Lake Oneida.*

His first journey to Onondaga was with Bishop Spangenberg, who in 1745 visited the Moravians in America. One day, all means of subsistence in the forests failed the pilgrims. They were exhausted by hunger and fatigue. Spangenberg turned to Zeisberger, and said affectionately, "My dear David, get your fishing tackle ready, and catch us a mess of fish." The other declined, since there could be no fish in such clear water, especially at that time of year. Spangenberg said, "Inasmuch as I ask it, my dear David, fish! Do it this once, if only out of obedience." "Well, I will do it," he said, but thought in his heart, "The dear brother knows just nothing about fish; and, indeed, it is out of his line of business." But when he cast his net, how was he surprised at once to find it full of a multitude of great fishes! The hungry men not only supplied their hunger, but by drying the rest at the fire made quite a provision for their further journey. "Did I not say to thee," Spangenberg asked with a smile, "that we have a good heavenly Father?"

Zeisberger strove with untiring zeal to Christianize some Indians whom he had gathered into a flourishing settlement. Telling them of God's love in Christ, and supporting his words by his love, he found his way to the hearts of the poor children of the forest. They heard their teacher's voice, even when it scourged them. They obeyed it as it called them, as was sometimes necessary, from relapse into their former mode of living. Once as he thus spoke, "as fathers talk to their children," a chieftain owned his instant overwhelming power, and said, "My brother, I feel subdued even as a little child." The glowing apostle-like fervor of Zeisberger forced him into the deepest forests and remotest wilds. Thus he reached Goshgoschink on the distant Ohio. The people were credited with having no equals in blood-thirstiness and wickedness. They put captives to death by the most refined cruelties. But even over them Zeisberger, through Christ's love, gained an influence. True, his counsels were at first little heeded. His life was sought. He had to dwell, his adherents with him, one whole winter in a blockhouse to escape their attacks, and at last was driven from this also. But the seed of the gospel which he had sown rooted itself even in such soil as this. The Goshgoschink council in solemn assembly agreed that every one in the village should be allowed to hear the gospel; that Zeisberger's pardon should be asked for the injuries inflicted on him, and that he should be assured of all friendship. They said, proud, blood-thirsty warriors, that they were his brethren; his God should be their God; they were ready, too, whithersoever he would go, to go with him.

Zeisberger's quiet labors in converting and training the Indians were often hindered. Through traders from Europe hostile tribes were stirred up against the mission settlements. Attacks occurred more than once, ending in horrible massacres. Calumnies against the missionaries were

carried to the government, bringing on them legal persecution. More than once Zeisberger felt constrained to flee with his newly won church, like a second Moses, through endless wildernesses, deep into the densest forests of America. He would save his people from perdition at the hands of Christian civilization. The hardships of such journeys were unspeakable. The wanderers press through pathless wilds, climb mountain ridges, cross rushing rivers, often exposed to sore dangers from hostile Indians. Victuals failing, the adults allay hunger by ill-tasting roots, the children by the peeled-off bark of the slippery elm. They obtain help of God even in these extremities. Often they are strangely delivered. At last the wanderers reach a resting-place, under Zeisberger's leadership; a new settlement is made by the industry of his flock. Neat cabins, fields, and gardens, with a little church, meet the gaze. Leisure is granted the preacher to train the community, instructing them by Scriptural selections, and by hymns in the Delaware and the Mohegan. Thus, for more than a quarter of a century, Zeisberger labors, with unspeakable efforts and invincible energy of mind, to plant Christianity, by means of love, among the poor natives, and to guard it when planted from growing dangers.

In 1771 Zeisberger met Netawatmis, chief of the Delawares, a remarkable man, of strong and decided character, and was invited by him to form a new settlement on the Muskingum, far beyond the Ohio. The invitation was accepted. The colony of Schönbrunn rose (1772) and thrived splendidly. Netawatmis then invited the Indian communities elsewhere established, of which some stood in rich bloom, to join Schönbrunn. So under Zeisberger's lead a little Christian state was erected in the deepest forest, an oasis in the spiritual waste of Indian heathendom. The number of converted Indians reached four hundred and fourteen. A new and joyous life of faith and love prevailed. The chief's family became Christian. Netawatmis himself, although he attended divine worship constantly, to his sorrow could not decide to acknowledge Christ. Another chief of the Delawares, Killbuck, also called White-Eyes, resembling his comrade in valor, magnanimity, judgment, and moral character, was won to the gospel side. The new converts grew in spirit, in knowledge, and in strength of believing. Zeisberger was and continued the soul of all, flourishing among these sons of the forest as a patriarch in the midst of his family, respected, loved, and revered by all. He was wont to name these the golden days of his life.

They were of short duration. Netawatmis died in 1777. When he felt his end near, he summoned the chiefs and counselors of the Delawares. He expressed to them his wish that all the Delawares receive the gospel, and suffer not the name of Christ to perish from their nation. They promised him to fulfill, as far as possible, his desire. Then he called

Zeisberger settles
in what is now
Ohio.

Zeisberger, and begged him to tell something more of the love of Christ. In the midst of the missionary's prayers, offered with tears and deep groans, the old man closed his eyes. All the chieftains stood tremblingly about the couch of their dead leader; then White-Eyes spoke, the Bible in his hand:—

“My friends, you have just heard the last wish of our dead chief. Let us obey him. We will kneel down before God who created us, and pray Him that He will be gracious to us and reveal his will. As we cannot tell to those yet unborn the holy covenant which we have sworn by this corpse, we will pray the Lord our God that He will make it known to our children and children's children.”

To the funeral of the chief came a numerous embassy of the Iroquois. Tribe jealousy was forgotten. Iroquois and Hurons approached with Delawares in silent grief the place of burial. The chief of the Iroquois embassy wrapped the body in clean buckskin, and strewed the grave with oak leaves. Zeisberger was among the mourners, wearing a Delaware dress. As the earth covered his friend's body he wept bitterly, before the eyes of all, an outburst of feeling to which the others by their rules were strictly forbidden to give way.

After this the war of American independence broke out. The missionaries, led by Zeisberger, employed every means to keep the Indians neutral. Nevertheless parties rose among them, creating variance between the tribes. An English governor at Detroit, below Lake Huron, incited the Indians against the Americans. Thus the missions were in danger from different sides.

Zeisberger, with his people, quitted the sweetly flourishing Schönbrunn, having first destroyed the dwellings and the church to save them from pagan outrage. For a time he dwelt in a settlement near by. His life was threatened, and was saved as by miracle. He made a journey to Bethlehem with this result, that at the desire and request of the brethren, he took in his sixtieth year a wife, Susanna Lekron. Returning, he and two helpers were taken by a British agent, named Eliot, and were put in chains. All the villages of the Christian communities were destroyed, their churches thrown down, and the dwellings burned. Only on the pledge that they would promptly emigrate with the Christian Indians to the Sandusky River, were the missionaries set at liberty. With sorrowful hearts the little persecuted band looked back at the wasting of their dwelling-place on the Muskingum, where the grace of God had been so richly shown them, and the gospel had made so blessed a progress, and arrived after an endlessly painful and perilous roaming of four weeks on the southwest bank of Lake Erie. Here a place of dwelling Zeisberger by Lake Erie. had been assigned them by the British commandant. It was sterile and inhospitable. Winter was at the door. Yet the persecuted band did not lose courage or cast away hope.

Soon the missionaries were summoned to Detroit before the British governor to answer accusations. With three associates Zeisberger, in this inclement season, had to undertake the laborious journey. Benumbed by cold, tormented by hunger, with clothing rent and soiled, carrying their luggage upon their backs, the messengers of Christ entered Detroit. They had to wait for hours before the governor's door. They were then directed to a French family, by whom they were kindly entertained.

An Indian chief named Pipe was set up by the governor as Zeisberger's accuser. He came into court, carrying in his left hand a stake, upon which were two human scalps all bloody; but he and his comrades failed in the work of accusation. He explained rather that the missionaries were good men. The father (the governor) should speak good words to them. The missionaries were acquitted by the governor, and assured by him that their Christian labors pleased him. They were allowed to return to their people, were supplied with clothes and other necessaries, and told that a door of welcome would ever be open to them.

The much-trying men gladly turned to their abode on Lake Erie. Deep distress was soon after experienced. The cold had greatly increased. Their provisions were almost exhausted. They were in danger of dying from the rigors of the climate. Some of their number were sent off to their former home on the Muskingum to collect some grain left there, and to bring it. They fulfilled their errand, and were returning when an American scouting party of several hundred white men made their appearance. The Indians, since they were peaceful, thought that they had nothing to fear. The whites seeming friendly, the Indians joined their ranks. But scarcely had they approached when the others claimed them as prisoners, and bade them prepare within a few hours to die. In Christian resignation the Indians asked one another's forgiveness for wrongs which they perchance had done; then kneeled down and prayed fervently together. Resolutely they said to the inhuman mob, "We have commended our spirits to God, and He has given us firm confidence of heart that He by his grace will receive us into his heavenly kingdom." Thereupon a daring villain snatched up a heavy hammer, and dashed in the skulls of fourteen of them. He reached the hammer to another with the words, "My arm gives out, do you make haste." And so were miserably slain ninety poor victims, reddening with their martyr-blood the earth. A few only escaped to carry the news of this act of infamy to their brethren. The heathen Indians, stirred deeply by this horrible murder, swore bloody revenge, which they also took. To Zeisberger it was the heaviest blow that ever befell him.

Meantime the British governor had assigned the missionaries a suitable tract of land on Lake Huron, for their settlement. The

Zeisberger lives
in Michigan.

gospel there found an entrance into the surrounding tribes, the savage Hurons and Chippewas. The hostility of the Huron chiefs

prevented, however, the secure carrying on of these mission efforts. When, therefore, the American Congress, at the making of peace with the Indians, expressly reserved for the Christian converts the lands on the Muskingum possessed by them before, Zeisberger with his entire community, which had again increased to the number of three hundred or four hundred souls, decided to emigrate to the old loved residence. Twelve years lasted the journey, which was hindered now by the fury of the elements, now by disturbances breaking out anew. At last it was permitted our hero, the old man of seventy-six, after seventeen years' absence to set foot again upon the place of his love and his longing. He now called it Goshen, because he viewed it as the preparation place for his heavenly Canaan. There, in unbroken peace, he lived from this time on, honored and beloved of the poor Indians whose souls he had won for Christ, a teacher and model also for the younger missionaries.

Gently, yet perceptibly, the marks of an advanced old age came upon him. First, his feet refused him service, a sore trial to one who was accustomed by their help to carry about the bread of life. He yet had strength at eighty-seven to exchange letters with distant friends, and to undertake corrections of his writings upon the Onondaga and Delaware languages. At last he could not do even this. He became blind. Now he could only from his adoring heart exercise his mind upon the manifold grace of God which he had experienced in his eventful pilgrimage.

In October of 1808 he felt that the end was nigh. His sickness was painless. But one thing caused him unrest, the spiritual condition of the Indians. His children in Christ, clinging to him so fervently, entered in small companies to his couch. Closing days in East Ohio. "Father," they said, "forgive us everything whereby we have caused thee pain. We will yield our hearts to the Saviour, and live for Him only in the world." The venerable man believed, exhorted, and blessed them. "I now depart to rest from all my labor, and to be at home with the Lord. He has never yet left me in need, and now, too. He will not fail me. I have reviewed my whole course of life, and have found that there is much here to be forgiven." After a silent prayer, he exclaimed, "The Saviour is near. He will speedily come to bear me home." In the midst of the singing of spiritual melodies which the Indians began, he gave up his spirit.

Zeisberger lived to almost eighty-eight. Sixty-seven years he devoted with marvelous love, perseverance, and power to his ministry among the Indians. By his natural gifts, by his acquirements in the speech of the Indians, by the great influence he gained among them, by his decided and energetic disposition, fitting him to rule, he could easily have controlled the Indian tribes, and, by taking part in the war, have won fame and power. He preferred the quiet triumphs of the gospel, amid peculiar poverty and obscurity.

By the love of Christ which moved him, by the power of the Word, by zeal and courage, by self-denial and endurance, he became a truly apostolic character. As we look over the results of his preaching the gospel to the unfortunate Indian folk, the sorrowful question forces itself upon us: Were these poor aborigines of the New World so utterly unfitted for civilization through Christianity and religious training? Or weighs not their destruction as a sore crime on the soul of European Christian humanity? — K. F.

LIFE XXXIII. CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SCHWARTZ.

A. D. 1726—A. D. 1798. LUTHERAN, — INDIA.

THIS German name, with its memories, takes us away to the East Indies, that ancient land of wonders in nature and in art. Since the year 1000, its allurements and treasures have stirred blood-stained conquerors and greedy merchants from western lands to every art of deceit and violence. It was also to learn from those lands how beautiful upon its noble mountains and over its fertile valleys “are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth.” The Apostle Thomas, Christian tradition says, was the first apostle of the Indies. From him the “Syrian” Christians, who were found by the Portuguese explorers upon the coast of Malabar, traced their descent. It appears certain, that for more than fifteen hundred years there existed along the coast, from the northern extremity of India up to Malabar, a Christian church in the midst of the heathen. It received its bishops from the patriarchs of Babylon and Antioch, until the Portuguese and Jesuits (1599) brought them by their artifices under the Church of Rome, which was before unknown to them. Christian Armenians, too, were early found doing business as merchants in India. Rome and her Jesuits, led by Francis Xavier, a great man of his kind, “converted” the Hindoos by hundreds of thousands, to the papal church. They adopted the garments, manners, and customs of the pagan priests in order to achieve their end the more easily. The Portuguese were compelled to give way to the Dutch. But these, too, used secular means to make Protestants of the people rapidly and superficially. The seed of the life everlasting was not sown.

A genuine gospel mission was begun in India for the first time through the agency of Frederick Fourth, king of Denmark, when that nation obtained from the rajah of Tanjore the city of Tranquebar, upon the eastern coast. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a German, was recommended by August Francke, of Halle, to conduct a mission

Modern missions
in India.

in that territory. Supported by Denmark, Halle, and England, he performed great labors there from 1706 until 1718. His work was further carried on by Schultz, who completed a translation of the Bible into Tamil, which had been commenced by Ziegenbalg. After 1740 it was aided by Fabricius. Between 1706 and 1750 some eight thousand souls — Hindoo, Moslem, and Romanist — were brought to the evangelical faith. This success gave encouragement for pushing the work forward. A new instrument for this end was already chosen of God in Germany. By him the object sacred to the friends of Christianity in England, Denmark, and Germany was to be promoted in a most blessed way through almost half a century, and through the period of the first triumphant advance of the British flag in that large population of one hundred and twenty millions. His name was Christian Frederic Schwartz.

He was born October 26, 1726, at Sonnenburg, in Prussia. His parents were persons of estimation. His mother, dying when he was a child, consecrated him to the service of God. The excellent teacher of the Latin school in his town trained the boy early to the fear of God, and to silent prayer. Christian would often go away from his comrades to a solitary place to seek of God the forgiveness of his sins. The father, an intelligent and devout man, strictly exhorting his son to be sincere and self-denying, went with him on foot to the high school at Küstrin, where Christian became a diligent student, though chiefly with a view to secular ends. The impressive sermons of Pastor Stegmann counterbalanced the influence of frivolous companions. The family, especially the daughters, of a lawyer who was a friend of the leaders of the University of Halle, directed the youth to religion and to reading of a beneficial kind. He was attracted especially to August Francke's "Blessed Footprints of the Living and Almighty Creator" (as these were seen in the work of his famous Orphan House in Halle. See page 464). At two different times, when attacked by serious illness, Christian resolved to give himself entirely to God. His good resolutions were, however, not yet firmly established. When twenty years old he went to Halle University. Elected as a teacher of the Orphan House, he was strengthened in mind by the evening prayers which he was asked to conduct, and by the devotional meetings, led by Pastor Weiss. He now was enabled, with help from Francke, to resolve to live wholly for God. The text of his first sermon, "Master. . . . at thy word I will let down the net," was in harmony with the profound humility of soul and childlike trust in God's Word which he afterwards exhibited.

The youth was at this time led by Schultz, the missionary, who was then putting through the press at Halle the Bible in Tamil, to engage in the study of this southern Indian language. Little by little Christian entertained the thought of becoming a missionary. He heard with pleasure that Francke was looking

Schwartz at
Halle; becomes
a missionary.

about among the students for new recruits for the Indian mission. The resolve was awakened within him to offer himself for the work, if he could gain his father's consent. The elder Schwartz had different plans for his first-born. Yet after brief reflection he yielded, contrary to general expectation, and gave to his son, who had come to entreat him, his blessing, bidding him in God's name to forget the father's house and the fatherland, and to go and bring souls to Christ in the far-off country.

Schwartz came back with joy to Halle, having resigned magnanimously all claim to his patrimony in favor of his brothers and sisters. A few days after this he was offered a lucrative pastorate in Germany. But he had put his hand to the plow, and would not look back. He was ordained in September, 1749, with two others, in the Lutheran consistory at Copenhagen. In December, he went over to London, and by February 1, 1750, was ready to sail. For a whole month his ship was kept in the harbor of Falmouth by adverse winds. Other ships, which were at that time on the open sea, were in many cases wrecked. Schwartz recognized the first of his deliverances from danger. He was enabled to overcome seasickness and a severe attack of fever. He passed the months in study of the Scriptures, in other useful studies, and in prayer, till, on July 17th, he saw the coast of Cuddalore lying before him in all its glory. Not long after he had landed, his ship went down in a tempest. Schwartz and his comrades, in excellent health, reached Tranquebar July 30th, and were heartily received by the brethren. He there acquired the Tamil so rapidly that he was able in four months to preach his first sermon in the language in the church of Ziegenbalg. He plunged into his work. He began simple catechetical lessons with the youngest children in the Tamil and Portuguese schools. He carefully instructed two classes of candidates for church membership. The same year he introduced four hundred of these inquirers into the church through baptism. He addressed himself immediately afterwards to those journeyings which he so long continued throughout all southeast India as far as Ceylon. He published the glad tidings of salvation among Hindoos, Moslems, and Christians, in city and in country, to friend and to foe, in cold and in heat, in war and in peace, day and night, with a thousand-fold return of blessed results.

There we behold Schwartz sitting and teaching one day under the shadow of a majestic banyan of seventy paces circumference; another day under a little hut builded by himself of the leaves of the palm-tree; now upon a turf seat by the wayside, now in front of a pagoda, chafing in spirit at the wild excesses of superstition, while he addresses the deluded devotees in friendly way, adjuring them, "not as contemned, but as brothers, children of a common Father," to think upon making their peace with God! Again we hear him speaking upon the rampart of a fortress, amid the whirling clouds of dust, of repentance and of belief in the Lord, or singing in the palace of a mighty prince, whom he wins by

his Christian friendliness and frankness of address, the German hymn, "My God, to Thee my heart I give." Again he is standing at a threshing-floor, speaking to the natives busied in threshing out their rice, or is teaching the keeper of a garden to cultivate spiritual fruit, or he is in the hospital with the sick, or with the Brahmins on the bank of the sacred river, in the city gate, in front of the great mosque of the Moslems, or among the wounded in the English camp, where he hears an English soldier, who has followed his flag thirty-two years, in reply to the question, "How long hast thou followed the Lord Jesus Christ?" answer, "I have not yet entered his service." To-day Schwartz is on shipboard, and Moslem sailors listen to his stories of the life of Christ. To-morrow he is among Romanists, and they lend an ear to the man of peace. A prominent Hindoo, in conversing with him, said, "Thou art a priest of God to all kinds of people." He did indeed contrive, as did Paul, to be made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some.

The talents of Schwartz for mission work were so evident from the beginning that he was soon intrusted with the oversight and leadership of all the Christian congregations and schools south of the River Carery. Amid the noise of the war that was raging between England and France, he pushed on his work in and around Tranquebar. The pagans in many places received him with marked respect, and of their own accord contributed toward his support. But the Danish colony of Tranquebar was too narrow a place for his efforts. He went on foot, a friend with him, to the populous city of Tanjore, and there obtained leave to preach the gospel in the palace of the prince. Aided by British officers he builded in the great city of Trichinopoli a chapel and a school as the beginning of a station. In the year 1766 this charming and well-situated place was made his especial field of labor. Only eternity can unfold all the work done by him here or from here as a centre, all that he became to natives and Europeans, from Madura and Madras, even to Tinnevely, attracting co-laborers to him and imparting blessing to all ages and classes. His cordial nature, his affable address, his stores of information, his eloquence upon both religious and worldly matters, was for decades afterwards a delightful remembrance in the minds of those who met him. One man, who had been greatly prejudiced against Schwartz, furnished, after years of acquaintance and friendship, the following description: "The very first sight of the man made it necessary to lay aside prejudices. His clothing was generally pretty well worn, and out of the fashion. His form was above the average in height, well built, erect, and unassuming in its carriage; his complexion dark but wholesome, his hair black and curly, his look full of strength and manliness, gleaming with sincere modesty, straightforwardness, and benevolence. You may conceive the impression which even the first sight of Schwartz would make upon the

Becomes leader
of missions in
India.

minds of strangers." When he had fully mastered the copious, difficult language of the ancient intellectual and wealthy Tamil folk, he for five years studied thoroughly their entire mythology and literature, which proved incalculably useful to him in instructing and convincing the people of Malabar. He also acquired the Portuguese at Tranquebar, so that he might approach the large numbers of this nation scattered over India. In Trichinopoli, where Schwartz was cut off from all outside society, except for a time that of the missionary Dame in Tanjore, he accomplished a great deal with but very small means. Content with an apartment in an old Hindoo edifice, in which there was enough room for himself and his bed, he accepted with a cheerful countenance as his daily bill of fare a dish of boiled rice with a few vegetables. A piece of dark cotton cloth, woven and cut after the fashion of the country, was the clothing of his body the year through. Free from every care of earth, his only wish was to do the work of an evangelist among the poor Hindoos. The catechists, whom he raised up from among them, ate at his table, supported out of his yearly income of six hundred guilders. The great English garrison of Trichinopoli having no religious instruction or worship, Schwartz became interested in them. It must astonish every one who knows the English soldiery in India, to know that the missionary succeeded in winning over the entire force to the side of the gospel. At first he gathered them to public worship in an old out-building. But they soon decided that they could afford a part of their pay to erect a church edifice. Only a man like Schwartz could, with the small sum given him, have erected a beautiful, lofty, roomy structure. Besides, he builded a mission-house and an English and Tamil school, to which he applied the year's pay given him as chaplain of the garrison by the government of Madras. He declined a considerable legacy left him by an officer to whom he had imparted religious instruction. He refused the presents of the prince of Tanjore. For a missionary must show under all circumstances that selfish ends do not control him in his labors for the gospel.

Schwartz enjoyed good health the most of the time in this torrid country. The peace of heart which won him no boisterous delights, but a quiet, profound, constant joy, upheld and strengthened his body as it grew old. Under the Almighty's protection, he again and again was saved from great peril. Once, for example, when he had risen before daylight, he sat down near a very venomous serpent, but was not touched by it. At another time (1772), when the powder magazine of the fortress blew up and the ground was strewn with ruins and with dead bodies, he with his catechists, pupils, and church members remained unharmed. It was to be expected that Schwartz should turn to Christ thousands of people, tender children, rough soldiers, gentle youths, and hoary old men. He was found everywhere with comfort and aid, hastening to the wounded

and sick in body or in soul, and that in trying times and amid the terrible devastations of war. In Trichinopoli he lived to see how first twenty and then thirty soldiers covenanted to give themselves truly to Christ, and then supported their spiritual father by visits to the sick, but especially by an upright life among the heathen. After the year 1778, Schwartz made his permanent residence in Tanjore. His abode in Tanjore.

This city, built on what was counted holy ground, was a favorite abode of Hindoos, and was adorned with the most splendid pagoda in India, as well as with the wealthiest pagan institutions. Before this period Schwartz, from his knowledge of the language and public affairs of the country, and also from his disinterestedness and courage, had been made a mediator between the English government and the pagan princes. He was now most respectfully solicited by the English to go (1779) on an embassy to the rude conqueror, Hyder Ali of Mysore. Schwartz turned the journey to Seringapatam to account everywhere, preaching peace through Jesus Christ. At the court of the terrible foe of the English, he immediately won the public confidence. When, upon his return, a present of money was forced upon him by Hyder Ali, he gave it to the English government. When he was bidden keep it, he asked that it should be appropriated to the building of an English orphan asylum in Tanjore. He also builded a church in that city for the Tamil congregation. When Hyder Ali, deceived and enraged by the British, ravaged with an army of one hundred thousand men the province of the Carnatik, bringing all the horrors of war, famine, and death upon the field of Schwartz's labors, the latter proved himself an angel of deliverance to both soldiers and citizens. For seventeen months more than eight hundred hungry people came every day to his door. He collected money, prepared and distributed provisions to both Europeans and Hindoos, at the same time seeking to administer to them spiritual consolation. Such an impression had been made by him personally upon the terrible Hyder Ali, that the latter, amid his bloody victories, gave the strictest orders to his officers "to suffer the venerable Father Schwartz to go about everywhere without hindrance, and to show him all kindness, since he is a holy man, and will not injure me." Thus "the good father," as the pagans called him, could continue his peaceful seed-sowing among the hostile camps which had spread over the whole country. It was his intercession which protected the city of Cuddalore, in the face of the savage hosts of the enemy.

Schwartz was chosen by the English government (1785) a member of the council of administration for Tanjore. For his noble services in this office he was granted a British pension of one hundred pounds annually. When the old prince of Tanjore was given an heir to his crown, Schwartz was proffered the guardianship of the prince. He declined, naming instead the father's brother, Ameer Sing. The latter, in acknowledgment, gave him the revenues of a village for his Christian schools and orphan

children. When Ameer Sing behaved badly towards Sersudscha, the crown prince, Schwartz was obliged to become guardian, and to take a large share in the unsettled affairs of the state. He brought about an improvement in the administration of law and of finance, and an increase of the revenues. He was surrounded from morning till night by natives of every condition, whose disputes he settled; by needy widows, whom he employed in spinning and in other labor; by poor girls, who did knitting while he instructed them; by young catechists and missionaries, to whom he gave wise counsels. Besides all this, he engaged in preaching and in founding and conducting the schools of the province, the means for which he received from the old rajah of Tanjore, whose confidence he retained undiminished through a space of thirty years.

Thus Schwartz at seventy years of age remained in his full strength, a German oak in the land of the palm. His position grew ever more lonely; his old friends were gone; he was forewarned of his departure through a disease of the feet. Schwartz had remained unmarried (would that other missionaries could consent to forego marriage, at least at the start), and yet was most thoroughly adapted by his social, loving nature to enjoy the married life. He was prostrated for three months by a painful sickness connected with the trouble in his feet, and was thus prepared for the end of life. Still he was able to join with strong voice in the hymn, "Christ is my Life," and to say that he was ready either for further labor or for a speedy departure. He submitted everything to the will of God. He commended his spirit to Him who had redeemed him. Then singing, in concert with his brethren about him, the hymn, "O Sacred Head now Wounded," with head erect and lips open, he expired in the arms of a faithful and affectionate native assistant, at four o'clock on the morning of February 13, 1798. The court of his home resounded with loud weeping, when the people gathered there heard of the death of their comforter and father. Prince Sersudscha hastened thither to behold the form of his loved guardian. At the grave the sobs of the multitude hindered the singing of the burial hymn. The prince erected in the city where he lived a marble monument "to the revered Father Schwartz." Upon a granite tablet in the chapel of the mission he placed also an inscription in English verses, praising his "father" and expressing a desire to be worthy of him. In later years the prince, though lacking courage to become a Christian, endeavored to honor the memory of the deceased missionary by pious institutions for the young and the sick. The East India Company in 1807 erected a monument to the patriarch of Christian missions in Hindostan, in St. Mary's Church of Fort George at Madras. But the most precious memorial of his work for the missions in Southern India, to which he left all his property, was the multitude whom he led to a Christian life, and the company of valiant men whom he trained to carry on the work.

Guardian of the
prince of Tan-
jore.

Dies while sing-
ing.

When Gericke as missionary went to South India in 1803, he saw the fruits of the seeds sown by Schwartz. Whole villages came to him for instruction. He baptized thirteen hundred pagans, while his catechists formed eighteen churches, and baptized twenty-seven hundred persons. There have since been found, in sixty-two villages surrounding a church erected by a Hindoo woman whom Schwartz baptized, more than four thousand Hindoo Christians. — H. V.M.

LIFE XXXIV. JOHN THEODOSIUS VANDERKEMP.

A. D. 1747—A. D. 1811. REFORMED, — AFRICA.

IN the latter part of the last century great interest began to be awakened in England in mission work among the heathen. This led to the forming of the London Missionary Society in 1795. Their first efforts were directed to one of the South Sea Islands. Their attention, however, was soon turned to South Africa. But how and where could they find a suitable man to lead the way into those trackless wilds, and undertake to introduce the gospel to the most barbarous and degraded of human beings? While the directors of the society were asking this question, the Lord was preparing an answer by raising up for them, in the person of John Theodosius Vanderkemp, of Holland, a pioneer who should be worthy of the grand and Christlike enterprise they had in mind.

He was born in 1747, at Rotterdam, where his father was a minister of the Reformed Dutch Church. For the first five years of a liberal training, John went to the university in Leyden. He then entered the army, where he served for sixteen years, and An army officer. rose to be captain of horse and lieutenant of the dragoon guards. Leaving this service, he went to Edinburgh to pursue his studies in the university there. Thus helped he became distinguished in the study of philosophy, chemistry, indeed in all the sciences, and made himself acquainted not only with the ancient classics but also with many of the best languages of modern Europe. Returning from Scotland, he entered upon the practice of medicine, wherein he rose to great repute and esteem. From this time on, the hand of the Lord becomes more manifest in preparing the way for his entering upon one of the most arduous and self-denying enterprises to which, in those days, man could be called.

During his studies, though a member of the church of his fathers, he became much tinctured in mind with infidelity. Having come now to maturity of years, he retired with his wife and only child to a residence in the country, where he sometimes amused himself in sailing with his family on the river. On one of these occasions a sudden storm burst upon them, upset the boat, and left only himself to be barely rescued

from the watery grave into which his two nearest relatives sunk to rise no more. His faith in infidel sentiments was now shaken; he got new views of Christ, and heartily embraced the entire gospel system.

Being now called to the charge of a large hospital, during a war with France, he ministered alike to the bodies and the souls of his patients, with great acceptance and success. The sick esteemed him as their father, and the servants obeyed as children. The hospital closing at the end of the war, he began to lead a retired life and devote himself to his Oriental studies, and to the completing of a commentary he was writing on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.

In this way was the Lord raising up one who, by great firmness of character, distinguished talents, much knowledge of human nature, and eminent attainments in general culture and religious experience, should have his soul kindled to a glow with a desire to raise the standard of the cross in one of the wildest, darkest parts of the earth. Reading an address which the London Missionary Society had put out, he became deeply interested in the subject of missions. At fifty called to his life-work. Parts of the address made such an impression upon his mind that he fell upon his knees and cried, "Here am I, Lord Jesus; Thou knowest that I have no will of my own, since I gave myself to Thee." And again he says: "I heard the voice of the Lord saying, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' Then said I, 'Here am I, Lord, send me.'"

He wrote to the directors of the society in London, offered his services, was examined and at once accepted, and on November 3, 1797, was ordained a missionary to South Africa. Returning to Holland to settle his affairs, he was the means of forming two missionary societies in his own country,—one at Rotterdam, called the Netherland Missionary Society, and another at Friesland, both to coöperate with the society in London in the cause of African evangelization. Meantime, three other men, Messrs. Kicherer, Edmond, and Edwards, became interested in the subject, offered themselves, and were accepted and appointed as fellow laborers with Dr. Vanderkemp.

On the 23d of December, 1798, all embarked for Africa. The Hillsboro, in which they took their passage, was a convict ship, and chosen by them for this reason, that they might have opportunity to render humane and Christlike service to some of the most wretched and abandoned of men, on their way to their mission field. And for such service there was much occasion. When a pestilent fever broke out among the convicts, this man of God and friend of humanity, with his intrepid brethren, ceased not, day or night, to minister to their wants and distresses, both temporal and spiritual, exposing themselves to all the dangers of infectious and putrid disease to alleviate distress, and pluck, if possible, the perishing as brands from the burning. Nor were the prayers and labors vain, for ere they reached the Cape several gave evidence of a saving change,

while some who died on the passage went hence in the hope of a blessed immortality.

March 31, 1799, Dr. Vanderkemp landed at Cape Town, and was kindly received by the governor and the other Europeans whom he found there. During his stay at the Cape, a ^{Lands at the} _{Cape.} deep interest was awakened in mission work, and a society, called the South African Society for Promoting the Spread of Christ's Kingdom at the Cape of Good Hope, was formed. Here, too, the doctor gave a portion of almost every day to Christian work among the slaves, Mohammedans and Hottentots, "some of whose hearts," says he, "were evidently baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, though the customs and rules of this country did not allow them to be baptized with water."

The London society had committed the direction of the mission to the doctor himself; but his good sense, humility, and generous nature soon led him to ask to be released from this distinction and exclusive responsibility, as he believed that the cause which was to him most precious could be best served by having a perfect equality established between himself and the brethren associated with him.

Having procured the needed oxen, wagon, driver, leader, and other outfit for a long journey and continued abode in a wild and barbarous region, received the presents and best of benedictions from the slaves who had enjoyed his ministry, and been encouraged and strengthened by the prayers of all the good whose acquaintance he had made, on the 22d of May, 1799, the doctor took a tender and gracious leave of the Cape. For a few days, the route of the four missionaries was the same, and took them through a most delightful region. But coming to Rodezand, Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards went to the Bushmen, while the doctor and his coadjutor, Edmond, set off anew and alone, May 29th, for Caffraria. They soon entered the Carrow, where, for eight days, journeying through a dismal wilderness without ever seeing a human habitation, they were exposed to a great variety of perils; now from the straitness and roughness of the passage between mountain ridges, now from the savage Bushmen who lived by plunder, and now from the wild beasts that often disturbed their slumbers and kept them on the alert at night.

Arriving at Gamka River, June 12th, they passed a restful night and joyous day with a Mr. De Beer. Their journey from this place onward was very fatiguing, and fraught, too, with no little danger. The weather was cold, the country was infested with wild beasts, and their lives were often imperiled by pillaging men, Bushmen equipped with poisoned arrows, and more to be feared than the leopard and lion. They reached Graaf Reinet June 29th, and had a most hearty welcome. And here, too, as in every place, they failed not to reward the hospitality shown them by earnest, loving labor in preaching Jesus Christ, day by day, publicly and from house to house.

The shorter the pendulum, the quicker and stronger the beat; so the nearer the doctor drew to his long-sought field, the more his zeal and courage enlarged. And well it was so, else the now rapidly increasing difficulties and dangers had been too great for his triumph over them. Having spent a few days of delightful intercourse and labor with Christian friends at Graaf Reinet, on the 10th of July he set forward for the dark places that lay beyond, which, just now, were overflowing with deeds of cruelty. Colonists, Hottentots, and Caffres were in a state of anarchy and strife, so that the danger of the missionary's being waylaid, robbed, and murdered was constant, often imminent. Yet nothing daunted, he pursued his journey with the utmost diligence, and took every opportunity to preach the gospel to the different races and classes he met, sometimes in crowds, along the way. Ten days' travel brought him to the Great Fish River, which at that time was the southern limit of Caffre land.

From this point he sent a delegation of three men to ask permission of the Caffre king, Geika, to come and visit him. After a Meets the king of the Caffres. week's absence the messengers returned with a favorable reply, bringing the king's tobacco-box for a passport to him. But such were the hostile movements of the rebel Caffres, stealing the doctor's oxen, and threatening his life and the lives of all his company, that he was compelled to wait for more peaceful times. After a month's delay he started again, though the perils of the way still remained. "But," says the doctor, "the more the difficulties and dangers were mentioned, the more I was excited in mind to go forward, and found my faith increased." Three weeks of eventful and wearisome travel brought him to Geika's residence. After some delay his Caffrarian majesty made his appearance, having his ministers of state by his side. His lips and cheeks were painted red, his body covered with a long robe of leopard skins; in his hand he held an iron kiri, while on his head he wore two diadems, one of copper and one of beads. Receiving the tobacco-box, which had been sent for a passport, now filled with beads, he gave it to his attendants, but spoke not a word, and hardly winked an eye. After half an hour's mute audience, an interpreter appeared, and the king, taking his seat upon the ground, with his captains by his side, deigned to open his mouth. Dr. Vanderkemp stated to him the object of his mission. Geika replied that the time of his coming was very unfavorable, as all the country was in a state of confusion, and advised the missionary not to think of remaining with him, yet gave him permission to unyoke his oxen and pitch his tent. The king had been prejudiced against the missionaries, being told that they were spies and assassins, and had enchanted wine with which to kill him. For more than a fortnight they waited in suspense and pressed their suit, but got no permission to remain. Indeed everything seemed forbidding, and violence began to be feared. "But," says the doctor, "I found my rest and strength in the Lord, and got much comfort from his Word."

One more attempt being made, the king yielded, confessed his neglect, said he was at fault, but had been very much occupied with the festivals of his marriage; adding that he was glad that God had put it into the hearts of these men to come into his country. "So then," said he, "let Tinkana [Dr. Vanderkemp] take the field on the other side of the Keis Kammer River, and be free to go and come in my country as he may please." The missionaries immediately set off for the station assigned them, and reached it October 20, 1799. Having selected a spot for a house, felled a few trees, and cut some thatch for building, "I kneeled down on the grass," says the doctor, "thanking the Lord Jesus that He had provided me a resting-place before the face of our enemies and Satan, praying that from under this roof the seed of the gospel might spread northward through all Africa."

The doctor soon opened a school in which he taught the English and Dutch languages to eleven pupils of various nations. And now, early in December, just as he is beginning to get fairly settled in his work, a deputy from the governor at the Cape arrives at Geika's, sends for the doctor, and begs him to withdraw from Caffre land till more peaceful times can be restored. But Geika will not consent to his leaving, and is so offended with the messenger from the Cape that he is barely prevented by his mother and uncle from killing him on the spot.

Soon after this, December 29th, the doctor's colleague, Edmond, took his departure and went to the Cape for the purpose of prosecuting a design he had long cherished of going to India, Alone in Caffre land. thus leaving Dr. Vanderkemp to struggle alone with the many difficulties that beset his work. The parting was very fraternal and tender. Having gone together over the river, they knelt and wrestled for a time with God, in prayers and tears, after which Mr. Edmond departed; while the doctor, having given him his last and best benediction, went upon a hill, and with a lingering eye followed his wagon for about half an hour, till, as he says, "It sunk behind the mountains, and I lost sight of him to see him no more."

The doctor returned to his cheerless home with a sad yet resolute and hopeful heart. His labors and dangers during the succeeding year were many; but his faith and courage were set in God, by whose watchful providence he was saved more than once from impending death, and through whose gracious aid he was joyously permitted to see his labors blessed. Teaching school and preaching the gospel continued to engage his time and strength. The king himself sometimes expressed a desire to be instructed, and once remarked that "he imagined one time or another he should be a Christian," adding also that "his mother and another woman wished to be instructed in the Christian religion." For a time he put himself under mission teaching, and attended school with the children. But he was still the slave of superstition, ignorance, and caprice, so that,

in April, after the doctor's situation had come to be somewhat comfortable, and his labors more apparently effective, he ordered him to remove. This broke up the school, and interrupted important plans, but was in some respects overruled for good.

His attendants and pupils now included the three races of Hottentots, Caffres, and colonists. At length, one of the former, a Hottentot woman, named Sarah, began to give evidence of a work of grace in her heart, and was in due time baptized, together with three children. "And oh," says Dr. Vanderkemp, "how did my soul rejoice that the Lord had given me in this wilderness, among tigers and wolves, and at such a distance from Christians, a poor heathen woman with whom I could converse confidently of the mysteries of the hidden communion with Christ. Oh, that I may not be deceived! Lo, my winter is past; the voice of the turtle is heard in the land." Others expressed an interest in the Christian faith, and some gave such evidence of a change of heart as greatly encouraged him in his work.

But this development of interest in the gospel seemed to arouse all the greater opposition and prejudice against the missionary and his work. More than once did Geika determine on the doctor's death; and it was known that, on one occasion, he actually came with an armed force to murder him and his people. Forbearing, however, to narrate the accounts we have of the bloody deeds which the cruel and freakish king and his servants were instigating and perpetrating, it is enough to say that the lives of all who indicated attachment to Dr. Vanderkemp, or had taken up their abode near his station, whether native or European, were so much endangered that at the close of the year they determined to leave the country and seek a place of more security. As there was reason to doubt if this could be safely done by any open or direct move, those who

Hunts elephants to save his life. had the enterprise in charge resolved to go out privately, or under the guise of hunting elephants. They invited the doctor to accompany them. To this he was at first opposed; but seeing all his people bent on leaving, he finally consented to go with them, and so continue his labors among them. The company numbered some sixty souls, all more or less under instruction, besides many of the wild yet well-disposed Caffres, who, however, eventually turned back to the old homes.

This wandering mode of life, men and women, flocks and herds, being generally on the move during the day, and passing their nights, if possible, where grass, woods, and water could be found, continued for more than four months. But the doctor rested not from his mission work; nor did he fail to find repeated manifestations of religious interest among the people of his charge. And now, as ever, the doctor showed himself no respecter of persons, having under instruction men, women, and children from some four or five tribes and nationalities, — English, Hottentot, Caffre, Tambookee, and some of a mixed blood, Dutch and native. In

this and in other ways, during these wanderings, the doctor had the best of opportunity for prosecuting his study of the natural, social, and civil history of that new and hitherto unexplored field,—the soil, climate, animal and vegetable life of the country, as also his study of the language, religion, manners and customs, population, and government of the people. For broad and valuable research in these fields, his taste, genius, and varied learning gave assurance of eminent fitness, while the rich results achieved gave proof of great industry and perseverance.

Arriving at length at Graaf Reinet, May 14, 1801, the doctor had a cordial reception, and was rejoiced to meet several missionaries, among whom was Mr. Read, who had just been sent out from London to assist him. The doctor was soon invited by the elders of the church in this place to settle over them in the ministry. But he declined the call and continued to give himself to mission work, especially among the wretched Hottentots, many of whom, in constant danger of being seized in their defenseless and secluded homes and held as slaves by the Dutch colonists, had fled thither for protection. The doctor's congregation soon came to number about two hundred. But his attention to this class of heathen roused a spirit of speedy and violent opposition among the colonists in the vicinity, many of them resorting to arms and threatening to burn and destroy the town, unless the government would put a stop to the proceedings of the missionaries. The doctor promptly interposed his conciliatory offices, and was at length instrumental in having the rebellion brought to an end.

His congregation of Hottentots kept up and continued "to increase in number, knowledge, and grace." The school which he was teaching increased also, so that by September it had come to number sixty-two. The situation was now so promising that the missionaries resolved to erect the buildings necessary for making this a permanent station. The government gave a piece of land for the purpose, and the buildings were erected. But another rebellion being set on foot because of the privileges afforded the natives at Graaf Reinet, Dr. Vanderkemp proposed to have some new place selected for a Hottentot settlement, to which this wretched and persecuted people might be removed, where they could be effectually shielded from the wrongs which the envious and wicked Boers were continually practicing upon them, and where, too, they could be not only educated and Christianized, but also taught industrial habits and useful pursuits which would procure a better means of subsistence and make life more comfortable. This plan was approved by the government of the colony, which granted for the settlement a piece of ground near Algoa Bay. So hearty and generous was the approval which Governor Dundas gave the plan, that he sent a shipload of articles from Cape Town, to be used in laying the foundation of the institution, and in support of the people for a time on their first arrival at the new settlement.

On the 20th of February, 1802, Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read took their departure from Graaf Reinet, with a part of their congregation, which, as they journeyed on, was somewhat increased, so that when they arrived at the chosen settlement, "Bota's Place," March 5th, it numbered one hundred and sixty Hottentots. The station, or farm, was about three miles from the bay and seven from Fort Frederick. It combined many advantages, and the buildings were such as to allow of the missionaries entering at once upon the work of instruction. Very soon, however, it was found that the stagnant water of the place was injurious to health. Dr. Vanderkemp was so affected by this and by a severe rheumatism as to be laid aside from active service and confined much of the time to his bed for nearly a year. The principal care of the station now devolved upon his faithful and indefatigable coadjutor, Mr. Read.

But this new settlement, like the former, was subject to much hardship and peril from the malice and assaults of the colonists. Such were the tumults and injurious reports raised, that Governor Dundas eventually forbade the missionaries receiving any more natives into the institution. In September, the governor visited them, and was so much impressed with the good they were doing and the danger they were incurring, that he advised them to take quarters in Fort Frederick, from which he was just then removing the garrison. They at first declined; but having been repeatedly attacked by their enemies, and had many of their cattle stolen and some of their people killed, they retreated, with their people, into the fortress, and remained there for some months. Yet the work of the Lord went on, so that from September to April the missionaries reckoned more than twenty hopeful conversions among the Hottentots, some of whom Dr. Vanderkemp baptized sitting in his bed. At the time they were compelled to take up their abode in the fort, the institution had increased to three hundred souls; but this number was somewhat diminished by the removal.

About this time the colony passed from the rule of the English into the hands of the Dutch again, and the new governor, Jansens, went through the country, inquiring into the causes of its calamities. On this tour his mind was much prejudiced against the missionaries, but on meeting them and seeing their work, he became at once convinced of the utility of their labors, and proffered assistance in the way of forming a new station. The place chosen was about seven miles north of the bay, and took the name "Bethelsdorp," or village of Bethel. The missionaries and their people took possession of their new station about the 1st of June, 1803, and now for the first time after his long sickness, the doctor began to enter upon active duties and take charge of public worship. The station was laid out in the form of a parallelogram, and the borders were marked off into squares for Hottentot dwellings. In the centre they built a church, to which were attached

Found's Bethels-
dorp.

four wings for the use of the mission families. On the 2d of July, just a month from their entering upon the new field, the church was ready for religious service and for the school. Much success attended their efforts, so that at the close of the year the missionaries say, "The Lord's work, to the glory of his name, has this year been conspicuous. Heathen darkness has fled before the gospel light, and the power of converting grace has triumphed over the power of Satan, in the hearts of these pagans to whom we have been called to preach the gospel of Christ."

During the next year, 1804, the work went on with less of interruption, yet the malignant opposition of the Boers, though restrained, was not much abated. Under date of April 2d, the doctor writes, "The congregation of our church increases continually, also the power of grace, by which the Lord from above gives evidence that our preaching is not in vain." And again, under date of November 1st, "The work of converting grace still continues, and now and then, as we trust, a pearl is added to the crown of Jesus. In the course of this year, I have baptized twenty-two adults and fourteen children. The whole number of our church members is forty-three." The number of people at Betheldorp, at this time, was three hundred and twenty.

The following year, the loud and long-continued clamor of the Boers against the mission was such that early in March the doctor was summoned to the Cape, and there detained till it seemed probable that the missionaries would be compelled to leave the colony. For this they had begun to make preparation, purposing to go to Mozambique or Madagascar; when early in January, 1806, the colony came back into the hands of the English. The missionaries were now allowed to remain and resume their labors, and the doctor was sent back to Betheldorp, in one of the wagons which the English general, Sir David Baird, had taken from Governor Jansens. Arriving at the institution, "We find," says the doctor, "to our joy and comfort, the work of converting grace going on prosperously and with power."

Some of the more advanced of the Hottentots now began to go out and labor, as mission helpers, among their countrymen in the colony, and in so doing were much blessed of God. In 1807 a good religious interest began to be manifest among the Caffres, who had now been brought under the teaching of the missionaries at Betheldorp. The following year, 1808, an outstation was formed at Stuurman's Kraal, and put under Mr. Read's care. The population at Betheldorp had gradually increased until a second and now a third square had been carried round the first. The fields were covered with cattle, which numbered some twelve hundred head, besides sheep and goats. The number of houses in the squares was between seventy and eighty, each house averaging not less than ten souls. The people, men and women, became industrious, the children were trained to diligence and to useful habits, the girls were

taught knitting, among other things, and in one year earned in this way no less than two hundred and seven dollars. In short, the institution now attained to such a growth, solidity, and strength, that the doctor began to consider the question of leaving it soon to the care of some other missionary, that he might devote the remainder of his own days to the work of the Lord in some nation as yet ignorant of the way of life. One plan he had in mind was to make a tour to the northeast, beyond the limits of Caffraria, for the purpose of commencing a chain of mission settlements, which should extend along the east coast of Africa, the first of which, after Bethelsdorp, should be among the Tambookees, on the north of the Caffres. Or, failing to find the way open in this direction, his desire was to attempt a mission in Madagascar.

Waiting instructions from England, Dr. Vanderkemp continued his work at Bethelsdorp, meantime projecting a plan for an asylum where neglected children might be cared for in a proper manner. During the year he made a visit to Stuurman's Kraal, when many were deeply affected by his preaching, and gathered to hear him in such numbers that the meetings had to be held in the open air. The population at Bethelsdorp had now become a thousand, and many who had been enemies to the missionaries now came to receive instruction at their lips. The governor of the colony, Lord Caledon, also took a deep interest in the work and offered every possible assistance.

In 1810 Mr. Read made a journey into Caffraria, where the people gave him a joyous reception, and asked him to send them a missionary. Kind inquiries were made concerning "Tinkana," and a strong desire expressed to see him. To the discerning, reflecting Caffre, still untaught as he was, the doctor's good name seemed all the more fresh and fragrant for the years that had passed.

In one of Mr. Read's letters to the directors in London, he refers to the great cruelty which the Hottentots are continually suffering at the hands of the Boers, and tells how Dr. Vanderkemp had been so affected by a knowledge of it, in several instances, that within a period of three years he had paid about five thousand dollars out of his own pocket to redeem some of these wronged and wretched creatures from bondage. In this and in every other possible and proper way did the doctor give his voice so eloquently against oppression, and so earnestly did he plead the cause of humanity, as to inaugurate a struggle which, though long continued, yet, through the subsequent persevering efforts of Dr. Philip and others, finally culminated triumphantly in the Hottentots' effectual deliverance from their chains. When a committee was appointed by Lord Caledon to investigate the numerous charges of cruelty and murder brought against the colonists in the vicinity of Bethelsdorp, Dr. Vanderkemp was summoned to the Cape to testify as to what he knew of the matter. The result was that his excellency

A deliverer of
the oppressed.

had no doubt as to the truth of the charges, and appointed commissioners to visit the several districts where the bloody crimes had been perpetrated, and bring the guilty to the punishment they deserved. This effective exposure of the grievous wrongs so long practiced upon the Hottentot race was one of the last public services which the doctor was able to render that people, whose deliverance from thralldom, both temporal and spiritual, had now been the object of his solicitude for more than a decade of years.

Missionaries having arrived from England to take charge of the work at Bethelsdorp, Dr. Vanderkemp began to prepare for the new mission he had long had in mind, and was directed to the choice of Madagascar as the more open of the two or three fields to which his thoughts had been turned. But while he was waiting an opportunity to engage a passage thither, the great Head of the Church accepted the will for the deed, and turned his thoughts to another region. Having had about a week's intimation that his end was drawing near, on the 15th of December, 1811, after having briefly testified to the assurance of his faith in the grace and providence of God by saying, "All is well," he went to enjoy the eternal rest and bliss the Lord had prepared for him in heaven. The number of his years was about sixty-four, the last thirteen of which he had devoted with great fidelity to the service of his Master, in one of the most self-denying fields within the knowledge and reach of God's people at that day.

Doubtless it would be saying too much — more than can be said of any man in this life — to claim that in the memorable subject of this narrative the critical eye could never have seen any imperfection. To err is human; the sun itself has its spots. On the other hand, who will question the opinion which one well acquainted with his life, character, and labors has expressed, that, "for combining natural talents, extensive learning, elevated piety, ardent zeal, disinterested benevolence, unshaken perseverance, unfeigned humility, and primitive simplicity, Dr. Vanderkemp has, perhaps, never been equaled since the days of the Apostles"? Well does the venerable Moffatt say of him: "He came from a university, to stoop to teach the alphabet to the poor naked Hottentot and Caffre; from the society of nobles, to associate with beings of the lowest grade in the scale of humanity; from stately mansions to the filthy hovel of the greasy African; from the army, to instruct the fierce savage in the tactics of a heavenly warfare under the banner of the Prince of Peace; from the study of medicine to become a guide to the balm in Gilead and the physician there; and, finally, from a life of earthly honor and ease, to be exposed to perils of waters, of robbers, of his own countrymen, of the heathen, in the city, in the wilderness."

Thus lived, wrought, prayed, and prevailed the untiring, unselfish Vanderkemp, the great apostolic pioneer in African missions. — L. G.

LIFE XXXV. HENRY MARTYN.

A. D. 1781—A. D. 1812. EPISCOPAL, — PERSIA.

“BEHOLD an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile” is a description in few words of Henry Martyn, one of God’s soldiers, who was made perfect through suffering, and now shines forth as one of the noblest and most lovable characters in the whole missionary history of the church in modern times. Nature and grace combined to make his character beautifully symmetrical, and to stamp it with a completeness such as is rarely seen. He was an acute mathematician, and yet a great lover of poetry; an accomplished scholar, and yet a simple Mary-like spirit; thoroughly versed in the master-works of Greece and Rome, and yet more thoroughly a master of the Holy Scriptures; a loftily soaring, and yet a deeply penetrating mind; at ease in his work, yet always pressing forward; earnest, yet cheerful; withdrawn from the world, yet delighting in existence; extremely conscientious, yet not painfully so; of ardent affections, and yet chaste; a man of thought, but just as truly a man of action! After he had once found the peace of God which passeth understanding, he lived every day penitently and prayerfully studying the Scriptures, devoted to the honor of his Redeemer and the salvation of his fellows, rejoicing with them that rejoiced, weeping with them that wept, harmless and simple as a child, high-spirited and strong as a man complete in Christ Jesus. He therefore lived a precious life within a few years; filled not with deeds outwardly dazzling, but with labor the glory of which is hid with Christ in God, and will be revealed in his own good time.

Henry Martyn was born in 1781, at Truro, in the county of Cornwall, England. Of hopeful promise, he was set apart to be a scholar. He acquired learning with great facility and with an increasing ambition. Boasting himself, as a youth, of having never lost an hour, he was disposed to be jealous and quarrelsome whenever he failed of the principal prize. The gentle endeavors of a Christian sister were of no avail. The reminder of a friend that we must learn first of all to honor God seemed to him mere foolishness. Invitations to repentance and humility only vexed him, until the sudden announcement of the death of his loved father came upon him like lightning out of a clear sky. His sister wrote him that the last words of the dying man were, “All is vanity; the only excellence is humbleness and child-like belief upon God’s grace in Christ Jesus.” She told him how their father had thought especially of his absent son, and had implored for him a humble heart and the favor of God. The lightning entered Henry’s soul, and burned up with clear flame the wood, hay, and stubble, heaped together in the mind of the youth so full of worldly knowledge. In his humility he began to cry to God. His open Bible

presented to him the command, "Enter in at the strait gate." His soul in fear resolved from that day onward to seek life along the narrow path.

When not twenty years old he passed his public examinations with great credit, especially in mathematics. He was kept of God from enslaving himself anew to his wicked foe, selfish ambition. He retired from school, and entered the higher school of prayer and of study of the Scriptures, in the quiet of his home, under one of his father's friends, with a few excellent young men as his companions. He resolved to be a clergyman. But he was not content to labor as such at home. Through descriptions of the apostolic zeal of Brainerd, the valiant American missionary, of the achievements of Schwartz, of Germany, in the East Indies, in near half a century of effort, and of the deeds of Carey, who rose from a shoemaker's bench to be a doctor of divinity, Martyn came to feel that he too must enter upon the work of foreign missions. Through conflict of soul and fervent prayer he became assured that Martyn becomes a missionary. he was appointed of God to this labor. He placed himself under the society recently established in the Church of England for missions in Africa and in the East. In the mean time, by devoting himself to the work of preaching, he gained experience in the care and comfort of souls, and in the relief of the poor. He filled his places of preaching to overflowing. He was kept from self-exaltation not only by prayer, to which he gave half his nights, and by meditation, to which he gave all his Sabbaths, but also by temptation, which Martin Luther once called the third fountain of strength to a disciple. He, with his sisters, lost their patrimony, so that his heart's desire to be a missionary seemed overthrown. Yet his prayer was, "Not as I will, O Lord, but as Thou wilt." At last he saw the longed-for yet trying hour when he was to leave his fatherland and his friends, to go to the land which God should show him.

He received ordination in London, being in his twenty-fourth year. With deep emotion and holy purposes he took leave of his parish. He used the time at his disposal to acquire the necessary foreign languages. When he embarked at Portsmouth his people gave him a compass as a keepsake. On his knees he prayed that the Word of God might be their guide and his through the wilderness of earth to the home in heaven. He spoke a last farewell, having formed his purpose to live and to die on distant shores. He did not forget upon the voyage his obligations to his fellow-voyagers. In the face of contempt and indifference he gathered about him every day a little company whom he awakened and strengthened. In tempest and in pestilence he stood by his post. At the Cape of Good Hope the troops landing had to go to meet the enemy. Martyn joined himself to one of the divisions, to tend and to comfort the wounded. The unfortunate ones were helped by his encouragements and prayers. Having remained for a time with loved companions in Cape Town, now held by the British, he sailed on to India. He went to work

in Madras, glad in God, though deeply burdened by the condition of the people. "Oh that one soul might be led by my agency to Christ," was his single request. The rays of the Indian sun, to which he was not used, and the deep death shadows in which the people of the beautiful land were reposing, tried Martyn severely. Only his faith, overcoming the world, could have upheld him in soul and in body. Madras was not to be his abiding home. He had to go to Calcutta. After a stormy passage he was received by friends there gladly. They gave him shelter in a forsaken idol temple, which was turned by Martyn into a chapel. He was called to pay his tribute to the hot climate in a severe sickness. Afterwards he began his work of preaching, with courage. The story of the cross made him both friends and foes. He got encouragement from the former and discipline from the latter. He soon removed to his own especial field of labor, Dinapore, a city of forty thousand inhabitants.

Martyn made use of every opportunity to acquire the living language of India and also the old Sanskrit, intending, with the help of a native, to prepare a version of the Bible. His first effort in Dinapore was for setting up schools for the Hindoos. He soon had five schools, attended by a great number of children. Four times every Sunday he taught Europeans and natives the Bible, either in public or in private. The free feast was loathed by "cultivated" Christians and Moslems. Among the poor and the sick of the hospitals was there some longing for the bread of life. The Hindoos seemed dull and almost unfitted for a pure Christianity through the erroneous lessons of Romanist missionaries. These beginnings in hope and in fear were very arduous. The far-away, solitary man rarely heard from his friends. From home came distressing news. His best loved sister, his helper in Christian attainments, had died. A young lady, very dear to him, whom he with the advice of friends sought for his life's companion, did not yield to his desire. Yet he now only the more completely and exclusively gave himself to think of God, forgetting all beside, and to conform his life wholly to the dying of the Lord Jesus.

The finishing of his translation of the New Testament into Hindoo gave Martyn great delight. He at once devoted himself with all his might to the Persian and Arabic, in order to translate the Bible into these languages. He read the Koran in company with an Arabian scholar. He wished to fight Islam with its own weapon, for which there was abundant opportunity.

Though frail in body, he listened to a call to a field yet farther removed. He journeyed thither day and night even in the exceeding heat. He had little bodily strength left him. But the strength of God was made perfect in his weakness. He began his labors without wearying. His time was filled up with preaching, praying, Bible exposition and translation, and visits to the hospitals. His first public sermon to hea-

thens was delivered at the close of the year 1809. A crowd of begging Hindoos had gathered about him. Martyn read the first part of Genesis to them in his Hindoo version. Speaking to them simply of God, the Almighty Father, Creator, and future Judge, he was received with loud approbation. At times as many as eight hundred persons would gather about his door. One time they were deeply moved by a sermon on repentance, which he based upon the destruction of the city of Sodom.

The translation of the Bible into Persian, made under Martyn's directions, did not satisfy those who were judges. He therefore resolved to go to Persia and to Arabia, in order to subject his Persian version which was finished, and his Arabian To Persia to finish the Persian Bible. which approached completion, to a thorough revision, and to correct mistakes in accordance with the judgment of learned natives of the two countries. With his weak frame holding his stout soul, he took leave of India in his longing to carry the gospel to the Persians and Arabians. Upon June 9, 1811, he arrived at Shiraz, the Persian literary capital. Hardly recovered from the exceeding fatigues of the journey, he began a new translation of the Bible into Persian. He was lent assistance in this by Said Ali, a member of the self-deifying sect of Mohammedans, known as the Sofis. With him and his comrades Martyn held many discussions upon grace and truth. He reached Ali's heart especially when they were going through the twelfth chapter of John. The Persian involuntarily exclaimed in wonder at Jesus loving his disciples so dearly. Tears filled his eyes as to him — a seeker, as he said, "from his youth up" — Martyn imparted the true religion, and bade him yield his soul to his dear Lord and Redeemer. Beneath the budding vines, by the clear river, under the shade of the citron, Martyn, in the stillness of the Sabbath, meditating upon the Scripture and singing holy songs, withdrew himself from the cares and toils of his witness-bearing, which he purposed continuing as long as his tongue could move. His presence in Shiraz excited great noise. The scholars resorted to him, and he received them. He was at hand for a public discussion with the most noted masters of the Koran and the leader of the Sofis. His noble character, his fearless frankness, his profound and clear replies, left abiding marks in the souls of many of his hearers. His words exerted quiet power even at banquets. When the chief of a Persian school wrote a work in defense of Mohammed, Martyn met him at once with a bold reply. The impressions made by this and others of his writings cannot be described. Long after, it became evident for the first time how many had been led by Martyn to direct their thoughts to Christ.

As soon as his translation of the New Testament was sufficiently advanced, Martyn began to turn the Psalms into Persian. After he had succeeded in this he went from Shiraz by way of Ispahan to the court of the Persian sovereign, to present to him the two volumes. On the

way some stout conflicts arose with learned Mollahs. Martyn bore witness fearlessly. Not a hair of his head was hurt, although the others cried in rage, "See, he has blasphemed God." Sick in body he reached

The Shah receives Martyn's Bible.

Tabriz and found the English ambassador. The latter presented the translations to the Shah, by whom they were well received, and afterwards carried them to St. Petersburg.

Printed in that city, the books came back to Persia in a thousand streams of life and blessing.

It was Martyn's choice to live and to die among the pagans for whom he labored. But his frame, shattered by toil and by the climate, refused to serve him. He therefore resolved to build himself up in his native air, and afterwards with new strength to go preparing the way of God among the heathen. With great difficulty summoning up his energies, he left Tabriz for Constantinople and far-off England. Passing Mount Ararat robed in green, he thought, as he looked upon its sides, of Noah, and prayed for a propitious voyage through life's rude storms, and for a happy landing upon the everlasting hills. He reached Erivan. In the Armenian cloister of Etschmiadschin, he strove to stir one brother, Serafino, to a reform of the church in Armenia. He passed by Kars in the land of the rude Koords, and came to populous Erzeroum. As he journeyed he sent touching letters home. His cherished diary, also, was a silent witness to his precious spiritual life and aspiration. When oppressed by disease in Erzeroum, he heard the flying news that the plague was in Constantinople, and in the cities on his way. With death in front of him, and death behind him, he cried, "God, thy will be done, be it life or death, if Thou only remember me!" He could not remain still. When racked by fever he was obliged to follow his merciless guide in a rapid ride through forests and swamps, mountains and vales, not a soul near him, in that strange land, in whom he could put confidence. In a little village where the horses were changed, he took a seat in a garden, thinking quietly and joyfully of his God, his companion in loneliness, his friend and comforter. "Ah, when will time make place for eternity! When will appear the new heavens and the new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness! There nothing unclean shall enter. No evil such as has made men lower than wild beasts. There shall be seen or heard none of those vicious things which increase and embitter here below the sorrow of one who is dying." These were the last words which he wrote in the diary which he left behind him. Reaching Tokat, near Sinoupe,

His lonely death in Tokat.

he had to lay down his pilgrim staff in the midst of his days and of his journey. He died October 16, 1812, when not thirty-two years old. His lonely grave is marked by a simple stone with an inscription. More enduring than stone or bronze is the memorial which he established in hearts — how many they were! — which he led in the way to heaven. Every New Testament and every Psalter

which the Hindoo or the Persian reads in his own language is a remembrancer of the confessor and faithful witness, who spared not himself nor counted his life dear to him as he stood true to his Master until death. Evangelical missions, when asked for martyrs, can quietly and securely point to the hero whose bones whiten in Tokat. — H. V.M.

LIFE XXXVI. ROBERT MORRISON.

A. D. 1782—A. D. 1833. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN,— CHINA.

THE scattered notices found in the writings of the peoples in Western Asia concerning the civilization, numbers, power, and arts of the Chinese are too fragmentary to enable us to gather a clear idea of the real knowledge which was undoubtedly possessed of that race up to the time of Christ. The distance between the valleys of the Euphrates and the Yangtse was so enormous that the difficulties of travel by land or sea prevented direct trade and intercourse between their inhabitants; and hence vague and absurd rumors and notions of each other's manners and resources came to be received as authentic history. These notices on the part of the Occidentals generally indicate a high ideal of the Chinese, while the few records extant in their books show a profound ignorance of the Caucasian nations. It is with this exalted conception in mind, therefore, that the remarkable prophecy respecting the land of Sinim, found in Isaiah xlix. 12, foretelling the introduction of the gospel into China, should be read. It seems meet and proper, too, when we reflect on the antiquity, populousness, and institutions of this land, that this earliest certain mention of it should be a promise of its belonging one day to the Redeemer's kingdom.

In the earliest days of the Christian Church, the labors of the Apostles and their near disciples were directed to the lands lying beyond Parthia, into Bactria and India, if we may trust the early Syrian records collected by Assemanius; but it was not until the Nestorian Church had separated from the Eastern as a distinct branch, in the fifth century and afterwards, that any systematic efforts to preach the gospel among the Chinese were commenced. What plans those churches adopted to maintain the missionary societies, select or train their agents, support and guide them when in the field, and keep up that mutual knowledge and sympathy in themselves and their missionaries, without which both would become disheartened and fail, we have no satisfactory records. The probabilities are that the risks of travel through Central Asia, along the valley of the river Tarim, and across the Desert of Gobi into the regions of the Yellow River, interfered with regular intercourse, and compelled the missionaries to depend chiefly upon their own resources and converts to

keep up their work. Yet it is a little strange that the records and results of the labors of the Nestorian missionaries among the Chinese for a period of nearly eight hundred years, between the sixth and fourteenth centuries, should be confined to a single tablet, erected at Si-ngan fu in A. D. 781, containing a few thousand characters; and to scattered notices by Marco Polo, Abu Said, and Carpini, of some weak churches in Peking, Chinkiang, and Hangchan. No translations of any part of the Scriptures, no tracts, apologies, hymns, or creeds used by them, and few or no quotations by native heathen authors from such writings, have yet been met with in China. No ruins of churches or monasteries, nor any vestiges of tombs of eminent men, have yet been pointed out as having once belonged to the *King Kiao*, or Illustrious Religion, as this faith was called. The most reasonable explanation is that both priest and people gradually fell away into the form, from having lost the power, of the Cross. Possessing no version of the Bible from which they could learn their duty and their hopes, they relapsed into idolatry.

The extent of the missions commenced in Northern China by the Roman Catholics under Corvino and his successors, A. D. 1300-1369, during the Mongol dynasty, need not be detailed; for their churches seem to have been swept away amidst the troubles ensuing on its destruction by Hungwu, founder of the Ming dynasty. The meagre accounts left to us indicate that their work was chiefly confined to the Mongols, into whose language the New Testament was translated; but no permanent traces existed when Matthew Ricci and his associates arrived in Canton, in 1581, and resumed the work. That work has been carried on since Ricci reached Peking, in 1601, to the present time, with the skill, energy, and perseverance which characterize the papal church, and the number of the converts is now to be reckoned by hundreds of thousands. Their cathedrals, churches, convents, chapels, schools, asylums, and workshops, suitable to their plans and needs, are scattered throughout the eighteen provinces of China.

But with our ideas of what constitutes the essential elements of the mission enterprise as commanded by Christ, we cannot select Ricci as the typical name to be associated as leader with the church of God among the Chinese. In all the human qualifications of a leader, he will bear comparison with any name which can be mentioned as connected with the cause of Christianity in China; but neither he nor his associates or successors have distinctly preached the evangel of a free salvation through faith in Christ. They have never prepared and systematically given the Word of God to the people in their own language; have never put it in front as the revelation of God to man, which he must read and obey, because it contains the only and sufficient law, guide, and sanctions for his conduct here, and the foundation of his hopes hereafter. Besides this initial defect in their plan of missions, the Roman Catholics there,

as elsewhere, have put forward the names of Mary and various canonized saints so prominently that the converts hear and think more of them and their virtues than they do of Jesus; and this misplacement is further strengthened in ignorant minds by the images and pictures set up in all places of worship. The second commandment having been expurgated, the converts know no prohibition restraining them from paying the same worship to these new images which they had paid to their old idols; and this notion of the essential likeness between the two is confirmed by the similar ceremonies conducted by the Buddhist priest in his pagoda to the foreign priest in his church.

Notwithstanding the inculcation by the Roman Catholics of most of the great truths of revelation, we must still decline to look upon them as having laid the foundations of the church of Christ in China. They had the field wholly to themselves up to about 1845, and during nearly two hundred and fifty years spread themselves over the land, acquiring power, wealth, and official position, to a degree which alarmed the government, and often led it to adopt harsh measures to repress their schemes and diminish their converts. Judged by their fruits, however, they have all along, in a few most vital points, laid aside the commandments of God to hold the traditions of men; and their work must therefore be tested by that righteous trial to which God will bring it at last, and show whether it has a place in the living temple of his redeemed.

It is for these reasons that we have selected the name of Robert Morrison to lead this notice of the foundation of the church of Christ in China. Though he died only a comparatively short time ago, the interval is long enough to judge his life-work candidly; for the subsequent changes there have been so great as to throw his life and times back into the past almost as much as if he had lived a century ago. He landed at Canton when the restrictive policy of the Chinese government was in its full strength, and its spirit of seclusion was upheld by the equally restrictive system of the British East India Company. The open propagandism of Christianity was impossible at that date, and its profession entailed suspicion, imprisonment, perhaps death, on a native. The *simulacrum* of imperial power at Peking began at that date to show in every part of its organization that the energetic hand of the Emperor Kienlung no longer guided and strengthened the showy bark of state, which, in the next generation, would collide disastrously with the successor of that same East India Company. It was time for the preparatory work of making translations and dictionaries to begin, and for proof to be given that the Chinese language could be made to convey the message of God to that race.

Robert Morrison, the son of James and Hannah Morrison, was born January 5, 1782, at Buller's Green, Morpeth, in Northumberland, and was the youngest of eight children. His youth was spent at Newcastle-upon-

The true leader
of the church in
China.

Tyne, and he was early apprenticed to his father in the trade of a last and boot-tree maker, until he began his regular studies for the ministry. He enjoyed the counsel, example, and constant nurture of godly parents while at home, and was a favorite of his mother, who looked to him for her support in declining years, and whom he dutifully served until her death in 1802. His parents were not numbered among the learned or honorable, but they taught him the Holy Scriptures from a child, and his pastor explained their truths, and catechised him in his knowledge of them. On one occasion, in his thirteenth year, Mr. Hutton tried him on the Scottish version of the one hundred and nineteenth Psalm, which Robert repeated throughout without making a mistake, although not allowed to do this at one effort. A memory so retentive was well adapted for acquiring the Chinese language.

In 1798, at the age of sixteen, he joined himself with the church in which his father was an elder, and soon after turned his thoughts toward the ministry. His opportunities at that time for study were very limited. His daily labors in the shop were continued from six in the morning till the same hour in the evening, in order to gain an hour in the forenoon for recitations in the classical languages. His tutor, Mr. Laidler, a minister of the town, so cordially seconded his efforts to fit himself for his work that eighteen months after he was able to enter Hoxton Academy with creditable preparation.

A youth spent in such an uneventful manner furnishes no striking incidents for the biographer. It is like the natural and steady growth of an oak, which by and by endures and resists the storms and winters because its roots have struck deep in the earth. During the time young Morrison was at this academy, his purpose matured to become a missionary; and the record of his feelings and hopes shows how honest and earnest he was in his studies and devotions, all bringing him to one conclusion. His offer was accepted by the directors of the London Missionary Society in May, 1804, and the next month he was taken into their training institution at Gosport.

An extract or two from his letter to them is worth quoting: "About seven years ago, I was brought to rest my soul on Jesus Christ for eternal salvation. I should say that about two years after I was filled with an ardent desire to serve the Lord Jesus and the spiritual interests of my fellow-men in any way, however humble. It was then I formed the design of engaging as a missionary. I can scarcely call it a design; it was only a wish, an ardent desire. I was then in an obscure situation, nearly three hundred miles from town, and had no one to encourage or second me. For a long time I thought of it; the crying necessity for missionaries dwelt upon my mind. I prayed to the Lord to dispose me to that which was well-pleasing in his sight, and if agreeable to his will to fulfill the desire of my heart. I conceived

His account of
his call.

that nothing could be done without learning. I therefore saved a little money from what my father gave me, to pay a teacher of Latin, which I learned in the mornings before six o'clock, and in the evenings after seven or eight. . . .

"I am afraid I should sin were I to keep back. I do not consider it as good and laudable only, but as my duty. Knowing that Jesus wills that his gospel shall be preached in all the world, and that the redeemed of the Lord are to be gathered out of every kindred and tongue and people; recollecting, moreover, the command of Jesus to go into all the world to preach the gospel to every creature, I conceive it my duty, as a candidate for the holy ministry, to stand candidate for a station where laborers are most needed."

It was true in Morrison's case, as it has been with so many other men, that the power of principle can sustain, and the obligations of duty can impel, the human will to form and carry out high purposes, irrespective of religion; but when a filial fear and ardent love for Christ are super-added, the highest stimulus to action is found. One radical difference between ancient and modern civilization springs from the harmonious co-operation of these three elements working in human society; and the missionary cause aims to apply the love of Christ as a renovating power to all phases of pagan, Moslem, and papal civilization by putting God's law and truth underneath the elementary principle and sense of duty already in them, but which are too weak alone to elevate them.

Soon after Morrison's acceptance, two of the lay directors of the society, Messrs. Harcastle and Reyner, proposed that a mission to China should be begun, limiting its immediate objects to acquiring the language and translating the Bible. Their proposal was agreed to, and Mr. Morrison was designated as their agent to commence it. A version of the Word of God appeared to these men all-important in their scheme; and they justly saw in that initial work the basis and assurance of everything requisite to the evangelization of China. We may fairly ask the advocates of all other plans of missionary labor to show that any of them have ever succeeded in saving souls or elevating human society.

During his course at Gosport, Mr. Morrison endeavored to learn something of the spoken Chinese language from a Cantonese named Yong Sam-tak, then in London; and of the written language by copying a manuscript Latin and Chinese dictionary, and a version of the New Testament as far as Hebrews. Both these manuscripts proved of great assistance in his future labors. If we could ever learn who had made this translation, his name and labors would deservedly be held in esteem; but we can recognize a providence in placing the manuscript where it came into good use, and thereby honoring the work of the unknown scholar, who was probably a Roman Catholic.

Appointed to
China.

In addition to the usual studies, Mr. Morrison took a course in medicine, and also acquired some insight into astronomy, with a view to their future use. It is not surprising that he wished to seek and intermeddle with all wisdom, as he surveyed the vast field he was about to enter, of which so little accurate knowledge for his guidance was at hand. At this time the East India Company was so strongly opposed to the residence and work of missionaries throughout their dominions that they not only refused them a passage to India, but, as in the case of Mr. Morrison, would not even take them as passengers to a country like China, in which they had no territory. It is hard, at this distance of time, to appreciate the force of their sordid fears, and still less to sympathize with the unsound, selfish arguments which they urged to fortify their unchristian position,— a position from which they were not finally dislodged until the mutiny of 1857 swept them and their policy away like chaff on the threshing-floor when driven by a winter's wind. It was in vain to ask them for a passage to Canton, and the society sent Mr. Morrison to New York, hoping there to find a ship to take him to his destination.

He was ordained in London, January 8, 1807, in company with Messrs. Gordon and Lee, two missionaries going to India by way of New York. On the 26th Mr. Morrison received a letter of instructions, signed by Joseph Harcastle and George Burder, the secretary and treasurer of the society, in which they gave an outline of their purpose in sending him forth, and stated the two great objects to be kept in view after he had learned the language. "When this is done," they remark, "you may, probably, soon afterwards begin to turn this attainment into a direction which may be of extensive use to the world. Perhaps you may have the honor of forming a Chinese dictionary, more comprehensive and correct than any preceding one, or the still greater honor of translating the sacred Scriptures into a language spoken by a third part of the human race. . . . We hope that you will experience all the beneficial effects that can be expected to flow from a course of action which is unblamable, discreet, and conciliating. We confide with much cheerfulness in your conduct as the representative of our institution, the character and reputation of which depend greatly on the disposition and proceedings of the persons to whom its countenance is afforded."

With these high objects in view, and a heart full of zeal and patience, Robert Morrison left England January 31, 1807, the first Protestant missionary to the Chinese. More than a thousand years before, the Nestorians had preached the outlines of Christianity to them; and so had their successors in the Papal and Greek churches. The Jews and Mohammedans had likewise both declared the existence and power of the one true God. Their teachings and example had all failed to turn the Chinese from idolatry, for neither of them had yet put forth the Book, the revelation of God's law and salvation, and based all their teachings

on its sanctions and promises, as they pointed erring souls to the cross of Christ.

On arriving in New York, after a rough passage of eighty days, Mr. Morrison and his companions were received by Divie Bethune, Rev. Dr. Mason, Robert Ralston, and other friends Is in New York city. of missions, who assisted them all in getting other ships, and courteously entreated them during their stay in America. Mr. Morrison was favored by a letter from James Madison, then secretary of state, to Mr. Carrington, the United States consul at Canton; and the agreeable acquaintances whom he made during his sojourn did not forget him when in China. He obtained a passage in the *Trident*, whose captain charged him only for his proportion of the stores. An anecdote is recorded of him on the day of his departure, which exhibits the view generally taken of his enterprise by worldly men, and his own sense of it. "When he was going down to the wharf to embark, he stopped in at the counting-house of the ship-owner. After all business matters were arranged, the latter turned to Morrison with a sardonic smile, saying, 'And so, Mr. Morrison, you really expect that you will make an impression on the idolatry of the great Chinese empire?' 'No, sir,' said Morrison, with more than his usual sternness, 'I expect God will.'"

He sailed on the 12th of May, and the leisure of the long voyage allowed him opportunity to progress in Chinese, with the help of Yong Sam-tak; so that he arrived in Canton, September 7th, with rather more knowledge of that language, probably, than any of his successors. His coming in an American ship enabled him to land there as an Lands in China as an American. American; and his friend, Sir George Staunton, advised him, under the circumstances, to remain where he was in the American factory of Messrs. Milnor and Bull, on the terms they offered him. This was partly to avoid the notice of the Chinese officials and Hong-merchants, and also to relieve the British authorities in the East India Company of the duty (as they thought it) of immediately inquiring into his objects; for no British subject was allowed to stay there but on account of trade.

Mr. Carrington also gave him valuable assistance and good counsel as to his course. Thus both Great Britain and the United States aided him from the time he left home till he settled down in his own lodgings at Canton; and through them he was enabled to begin his work in peace, and secure such countenance in it that he had no fears of being immediately sent out of the country. These two nations have ever since coöperated in their direct efforts to promote the same good end.

At that time Chinese officials put many obstacles in the way of learning the language, and a native scholar who ventured to assist a foreigner in doing so ran the risk of being branded as a *han kien*, or traitor, and exposed to heavy exactions. Mr. Morrison's ability to talk a little Latin

served him in good stead, and he obtained the aid of two or three scholars, one of whom spoke Latin fluently; but their high charges and other great expenses of living were a source of anxiety, lest it should discourage his friends in England. The Romish clergy in Macao would not permit him to reside there to carry on his work. He therefore lived for three months very quietly in two rooms on the ground-floor of Messrs. Milnor and Bull's factory, in Canton, dressed in the native costume, associated almost entirely with the natives, ate with his teacher, and devoted himself so assiduously to his studies that his health began to suffer. His good sense, however, soon taught him that such things were more likely to attract unpleasant attention than to promote his object, and he hid them aside. The propriety of adopting the Chinese dress has since been often discussed. The Roman Catholics are all required to put it on, and many of the German Protestant missionaries prefer it; but now that foreigners openly travel over the country, it rather attracts than eludes popular observation, and has simply its cheapness and convenience to recommend it.

Morrison now obtained rooms of his own above the ground-floor, and was freed from anxiety about the adverse action of the company's committee in respect to his being allowed to live at Canton, of the propriety of which they claimed to be the sole judges. At this time, and for nearly forty years after, all foreigners residing there were restricted by the Chinese authorities to certain houses along the river-side, called collectively the *Shih-san Hang*, or Thirteen Factories; so that he had no choice of getting cheaper lodgings among the natives in the city or suburbs. The chief and members of the company aided him with books, and in many ways individually showed their sympathy with his objects; procured rooms for him at Macao during the summer months, when he had become so weak that he could hardly walk, and intimated their willingness to ask for aid in printing his contemplated dictionary. He was further actuated by a desire not to implicate his servants or teachers with their own officials, and thus carried his habits of economy and seclusion to such a degree as to hazard his mission and life by his extreme privacy.

In October, after having settled himself for the winter on his return from Macao, he was obliged suddenly to leave Canton, owing to the proceedings of Admiral Drury in his attempt to protect Macao as a Portuguese colony against the expected attacks of the French fleet, which irritated the Chinese rulers, and led to the Committee ordering all British subjects away from Canton to Macao as a precautionary measure. His disappointment was great at this interruption, but he found opportunity still to continue his labors, keep up his Sabbath services with his servants, and take better care of his health. He became acquainted also with the family of John Morton, from India, whose daughter Mary he

married on the 20th of February, 1809. On that day, too, he received and accepted the offer made by the East India Company to become their official interpreter at Canton on a yearly stipend of five hundred pounds.

Interpreter of
the East India
Company.

These two events changed the whole aspect of his life, and relieved him from the harassing uncertainty as to his ability to remain in China, or commence his mission anew in Penang or Malacca, to which he was even then looking. His lonely life was now enlivened by the comforts and company of a household; his honest fears of involving the society in expense were removed by a liberal allowance; and his anxiety lest his native assistants should leave him, or become implicated by helping him, was abated by his position as official translator to the company.

His unsolicited appointment to this responsible position within eighteen months after his arrival is the best possible testimony to his scholarship, prudence, and consistent character. He himself thought that his acceptance of the post might tend to remove any aversion of the directors of the company to missionaries, when they found that they were ready to serve their interests; but in this he was quite mistaken. The same policy which in India led them to uphold idolatry actuated them against all missionary efforts, and no favor was ever shown Morrison or his associates, in China; nor was he himself ever rated as a covenanted servant of the company, but kept in the inferior grade of a hired translator. He was once curtly dismissed, in 1815, without the least chance being given of explaining his conduct, on the charge of having printed and published in China the New Testament, together with several religious tracts, which, being effected in defiance of an edict of the emperor of China, might, they apprehended, give rise to serious mischief (!) to the British trade in China. However, the order was not carried into effect in China till he had defended his course, when it was silently withdrawn. He continued to serve the company for twenty-five years, till their Chinese establishment was dissolved. At this time, and ever after, this same company was doing all it could to introduce opium into China, in contempt of repeated edicts of successive emperors, by raising and preparing it in India for smugglers to take out.

Mr. Morrison's subsequent course showed the same diligence, prudence, and piety which we have already seen to characterize him; and in this way he was daily preaching to the natives around him in a practical manner most intelligible to them. The moral habits of most foreigners there exhibited great disregard of the precepts which he was inculcating; but his example had its influence, while he himself lamented the little success of his labors. It should be stated that he was not by nature calculated to win and interest the skeptical or the fastidious; for he had no sprightliness or pleasantry, no versatility or wide acquaintance with letters, and was respected rather than beloved by those who cared little for the things nearest his heart.

Though now much occupied with official duties, he never ceased to explain and urge the claims of the gospel upon all natives who were in his employ, but even to the end of his life he had no opportunity to preach them publicly. These private ministrations gradually became well known throughout the limited circle of natives connected with foreigners, and during a course of years gave his household a religious character, the more noticeable from its peculiarity.

It is not easy to convey a just idea of the contemptuous treatment with which the officials of that day "managed" foreigners at Canton. They saw that one way to maintain their authority was to prevent them from learning the language by punishing all natives who assisted them in any way, sold them books, or cut blocks to print their translations. Even the bishop of Macao issued an anathema against those who should have intercourse with Morrison, or give him Chinese books; and the company's committee would not have hesitated to deport him, if the local authorities had complained against him for propagandism. The great object to be gained at first was to keep a footing in the country; and under such circumstances his faith and patience were best exhibited by proving in his conduct that he was "inoffensive and harmless," as he says, in a letter of December 4, 1809, he had been reported to be among the heathen.

The directors of the society, when alluding to his official position, remark, "We do not wish that honorable and even apparently advantageous connections of a political nature should be pursued and enjoyed by our missionaries, if they at all be found to interfere with their designation and proposed exertions for the spiritual good of the heathen among whom they dwell; but there appears to be a peculiarity in your situation and circumstances which makes a degree of political patronage and support almost essential to the existence of your mission, and to the facility and support of its operations."

This principle has been adopted by all missionary societies, and its propriety cannot be disputed. Mr. Morrison, about this time, printed one thousand copies of the Acts of the Apostles, followed by a version of Luke and some tracts to explain Christian truth. A grammar of the language was prepared in 1811, but not printed at Serampore until 1815, owing, among other things, to the want of Chinese type; and progress was made in the translation of the Bible and preparation of the dictionary. On the 4th of July, 1813, he was cheered by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. William Milne, the only colleagues from Great Britain who ever joined him in China. Their arrival was reported to the Portuguese authorities, who in full senate decreed that they should not remain. The governor sent for Mr. Morrison, and announced that the court had ordered him to send Mr. Milne away, that it was contrary to their religion for him to stay in Macao, and that the East India Com-

pany had requested the court not to allow Englishmen in the colony.¹ A written application to the chief of the company for Mr. Milne to be regarded as assistant translator for a limited time was rejected. He therefore set out for Canton sixteen days after landing, as the Chinese authorities were not so obstructive as the Portuguese or British. He remained there four months, when he started on a voyage through the Indian Archipelago to find the best place to establish a mission and carry on its work publicly and unopposed. He returned to China in September, 1814, and soon after settled at Malacca. This excellent man wore himself out, laboring beyond his strength, and shortening his life by attempting too many things. He died in June, 1822, leaving behind him an admirable *résumé* of the outlines of Christianity in a tract called "The Two Friends," through which he yet speaketh to myriads of Chinese.

In 1814, the first part of the Chinese and English Dictionary was in such a state of forwardness as to warrant Mr. Morrison to begin printing it, under Mr. Thom's superintendence, as soon as the necessary Chinese type could be made. This type was all cut by hand with chisels on small blocks of tin or type-metal cast in suitable sizes, and the font was added to as the work required. It was employed in many books, and gradually increased, till it contained nearly twenty-five thousand characters and about a hundred thousand separate types of two sizes. After constant use for forty-two years, half the time in possession of Mr. S. W. Williams, then printer of the American Board at Canton, to whom it had been given by the British superintendent of trade, it was burned there in December, 1856. It was by far the most expensive font of type ever made.

On the 16th of July, 1814, "at a spring of water issuing from the foot of a lofty hill by the sea-side in Macao, away from human observation," Morrison baptized Tsai Ako, the first convert to the Christian religion whom he had welcomed to the fellowship of the faith. He had this happiness only a few times afterwards. In the early part of that year he sent a copy of the New Testament in Chinese to the Bible Society in London, which made a grant of five hundred pounds for printing it. In his letter he fully acknowledges the aid he had received from the manuscript copied at the British Museum in translating the Acts and Pauline epistles, the other books being entirely his own work. At this time he was also occupied in superintending the printing of the dictionary, in addition to his official duties and mission labors on the Sabbath. His constraint in the latter branch led him to

Morrison baptizes the first convert.

¹ To show the change since that date, it may be stated that in 1857, when the clergy objected to the American missionaries opening chapels in the Bazaar, the governor replied that they had a perfect right to preach to the Chinese in any way they pleased, and he should not interfere. Many of the Portuguese dropped in from time to time at the services.

cast about for some means of enlarging their sphere, and in October, 1815, he issued proposals to Christians in Great Britain to establish by and by a college, a press, a missionary society, and a theological seminary at Malacca. There had been, at that date, no opportunity for the trial, and he could not understand, as we can now, that the basis of a Christian people was first wanted to furnish such institutions with a suitable soil for their natural growth.

On the 13th of July, 1816, he started for Peking as interpreter to Lord Amherst's embassy, in which the chief labor of the correspondence and interpreting devolved on him. On the return to Canton overland, he had an opportunity to see the Chinese people in their own country, and ascertain the views of the officials on many points connected with foreign countries. He resumed his varied labors on his return, January 1, 1817, and went on with them far removed from his wife, then in England for her health, and from his two children. He was this year honored by the University of Glasgow with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Mr. Milne was now able to assist him in the translation of the Old Completes the Bible in Chinese. Testament, which was completed on the 29th of November, 1819; Milne translated ten books, and each revised the other's work. The Bible Society defrayed the cost of printing it, and then, as now, evinced a lively interest in aiding its distribution. In a long letter of this date to the directors of the London society, Morrison modestly recounted the difficulties of his work, described the principle he had adopted in rendering the original, and acknowledged his consciousness of its imperfections as a first translation. He ends his letter with an expression of his "trust that the gloomy darkness of pagan skepticism will be dispelled by the day-spring from on high, and that the gilded idols of Buddh and the numberless images which fill the land will one day assuredly fall to the ground before the force of God's Word, as the idol Dagon fell before the ark. These are my anticipations, although there appears not the least opening at present." His hopes were well founded; for since his death the distribution of the Word of God has reached the utmost bounds of the empire, and its truths are discussed by people of every rank and condition.

The dictionary was finished in November, 1823, at an expense of twelve thousand pounds for seven hundred copies, generously defrayed by the East India Company. It consists of six quarto volumes, numbering in all four thousand five hundred and ninety-five pages; it is arranged in three parts, namely, one Chinese-English part according to the radicals and one according to the syllables, and an English-Chinese part. The undertaking was commenced on too great a scale, and towards its close the author was obliged to hurry through his task; so that in fact the syllabic part proved to be the only really useful portion. This was reprinted in 1855 in one octavo volume at the mission-press in Shanghai.

Both these important objects had been proposed to him on his departure from England in 1807; and by the goodness of God in preserving his health, and the liberal aid of the Bible Society and the East India Company in printing the two books, he was enabled, on his return in 1824, to bring complete copies with him. Other minor publications in Chinese and English, issued during the same period of sixteen years, attested his industry and erudition.

While pursuing his own labors, he sought to interest his personal friends and the Christian public in his enterprise of establishing the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, under the supervision of the London Missionary Society and the personal care of Dr. Milne. The foundation was laid November 11, 1818, by Colonel Farquhar. Dr. Milne represented the founder of the college, delivering an appropriate speech, and mentioning the chief object in view in opening it to be the reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and European literature by students of either language, especially those designed for mission work. Malay was subsequently introduced to some extent. To this end Dr. Morrison gave liberally himself (he told his brother more than half of his property), and induced others to aid his philanthropic views. Buildings were put up, and a promising beginning was made; but a few years' experience proved that the project was premature in that region, and the institution never rose above a grammar-school up to the time of its dissolution and of the removal of the mission to Hongkong (1845). It accomplished enough, however, to reward its founders and teachers for their labors, and several works for aiding in the study of Chinese and Malay were printed by its professors. The number of native students seldom exceeded thirty, one of whom, named Show-teh, was afterwards employed at Peking as interpreter. In January, 1823, Dr. Morrison visited Singapore and Malacca, and cooperated with Sir Stamford Raffles, the governor of the former colony, in starting the Singapore Institution, which has existed with varying degrees of efficiency to the present time.

On reaching Malacca, he thus gives expression to his feelings: "The college and the native students gave me great satisfaction; the Chinese youths sang the one hundredth Psalm, which was composed in Chinese by my former assistant Koh. Finding the good use which had been made by my dear William of my Chinese books and my funds, and the freedom of worshiping the blessed God without mandarin interference, altogether produced on my mind a most pleasing effect. Oh, how grateful should I be! I hope this work will never cease till China be evangelized, and then it will be useless."

While at these two British colonies, he diligently aided in giving greater efficiency to the college by encouraging its officers and students, and preparing books for the latter. He also lifted up his voice with the governor for the abolition of licensing gambling shops and of the slave-trade, both

of which were upheld before that time. His return to China was to a lonely home, for Mrs. Morrison had died in June, 1821, and the two children had been sent to England. This induced him to find opportunity to visit his native land. Few missionaries have ever gone home who had better earned the respect and approval of the Christian world. The mission work in China was left in the hands of a newly ordained native evangelist, Liang Afah, a convert of Dr. Milne's, whose piety and zeal were proved during nearly thirty years of faithful service among his countrymen, sometimes at the risk of his life, preaching and itinerating, as well as composing, printing, and distributing tracts.

Dr. Morrison reached England in March, 1824, bringing with him ten thousand volumes of Chinese books, which were, after considerable detention, released from bond without duty, and finally placed in University College, London. He was honored by the court of directors with a public dinner, and soon after presented to the king, George Fourth, to whom he offered a copy of the Bible in Chinese and a map of Peking. The authorities of Newcastle gave a public dinner in honor of his visit; and his time, strength, and abilities were all taxed to the utmost, to reply to and satisfy the demands made on him. Before he left England he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and, what he regarded as more honorable, one of the directors of the London Missionary Society. It was at the annual religious anniversaries in London that the heartiest congratulations on the results of his labors were extended to him; and probably no missionary ever received so marked an ovation by all classes of his countrymen as did Robert Morrison in the year 1824, owing, no doubt, to the combined religious and political duties he had fulfilled in China. In Paris distinguished men paid him attention, and in Ireland and Scotland, too, he successfully advocated the cause of missions and the college at Malacca, to which Lord Kingsborough gave fifteen hundred pounds as a permanent fund. He also set forth the desirableness of establishing a professorship of Chinese in one of the universities, urging as one argument for it that as the British possessions in the East gradually approach the Chinese empire and Cochinchina, a knowledge of the Chinese language seems desirable to his majesty's government.

In November, 1824, he was married to Miss Eliza Armstrong, and with his two children was preparing to return to Canton, when he was urged to remain in England another year in order to assist in starting a language institution, at which all the living languages were to be studied, in aid of the propagation of Christianity throughout the world, a project which met with favor among good men acquainted with India. The society was formed June 14, 1825; suitable buildings were rented in Holborn for students, and Dr. Morrison lectured and taught three months on the Chinese language to fourteen students. It did not, however, en-

ture, and within three years was given up. The objects were too general and vague to meet the wants of any one class, and it is better, on the whole, for a missionary to learn a language where he is to speak it. A special society for training and supporting women in mission work in pagan lands was advocated by him, and he taught three young ladies in Chinese while in London, to show his earnestness in the project, and to fit them for their life work. Such a society was formed a few years afterwards, and the example of these young ladies aided materially in encouraging its founders.

In such labors and others of a kindred sort two years passed away, when the time approached for him to embark on his return to China. His visit had aroused and increased the interest in the spiritual welfare of China throughout the Christian people of England, and at his departure he was assured by words of counsel and sympathy from public bodies and private individuals that his efforts had not been in vain. He sailed on the 5th of May, 1826, and reached Macao September 19th, having spent a fortnight at Singapore. Here he found that the buildings of the Singapore Institution were not so far finished as to admit of receiving pupils, that insufficient funds remained to complete them; and, what was worse, that little interest was taken in the object. He felt this failure deeply, as in it he saw the loss of five thousand nine hundred dollars which he had contributed to the establishment of the school. When he reached China, his colleague, Liang Afah, was glad to greet him, and showed him three publications prepared during his absence. After a few days he gathered around him those who had formerly served him; others known in earlier days also came to his services. He concluded, from what he could gather, that the influence of divine truth on their minds had deepened, and no serious obstacle had prevented Liang Afah from making known the truth. The members of the company, unsolicited, contributed five hundred pounds for the college at Malacca; and he soon found congenial work and society, though the old endeared friends had mostly departed. His official duties in the factory, his efforts to extend his missionary influence, correspondence with the brethren in other stations, and work on a projected commentary on the Scriptures and revision of his translation, together furnished occupation for all his time. His letters to his wife at Macao all indicate his sense of the paramount importance of the mission work, and he was happy in seeing its beginnings in Java, Siam, and Sumatra.

In February, 1830, he welcomed Messrs. Bridgman and Abeel as the first fellow-workers from the American churches, who were succeeded by Messrs. Stevens, Tracy, and Williams, before he died; his English colleagues were all distributed in the Archipelago. His reflections upon the arrival of the first two indicate the longing of his heart for congenial society: "My own health and

Welcomes the
first missiona-
ries from Amer-
ica.

strength begin to fail ; but as I am going off the stage, I rejoice that it has pleased the Lord to send others to continue the work." His position in the factory had been made so irksome by his superiors that he wrote out his resignation as an alternative of relief from their interference. He had also recently lost six thousand dollars by a failure. Still he continued at his Chinese writings, and prepared a series of Scripture lessons as a compend of Biblical truth, and a miscellaneous compilation of knowledge called the "Domestic Instructor," the type of both being cut at Canton. He issued from the company's press a small English-Chinese vocabulary in the Canton dialect, which was of some use to the trading community. The commentary was never completed. He also aided Mr. Bridgman in filling the pages of the "Chinese Repository," a monthly magazine devoted to the diffusion of information about the far East, and wrote translations from the Chinese for newspapers at Canton and Malacca. These comprise all the important works he published during the eight years after his return.

As his strength declined, he was assisted in his translating labors by his oldest son, John Robert, whom he had trained for his successor, and cheered by the brightening prospects of the diffusion and reception of the gospel in China. The Bible, in whole or in part, and other books, had been distributed along the coasts of China and in the Indian Archipelago, and thus he saw that the field was gradually opening. His liberality was constant, and his plans for doing good found a few co-workers among the foreigners. One such plan was to open a coffee-shop in Canton for sailors coming up from the ships, to prevent them going to the Chinese grog-shops, where they were poisoned by the drugged samshoo offered them for drink. In reply to a letter from the treasurer of the London Missionary Society, inquiring how Christian knowledge could be diffused through the Chinese Archipelago, he details his scheme for the establishment of central and local mission stations, schools, and presses, with vessels, crews, and itinerating preachers to carry out the design. It was an impracticable and costly plan, and shows an earnest desire for the extension of the truth rather than much sagacity as to the practical details. A more encouraging paper was drawn up by him and Mr. Bridgman on the 4th of September, 1832, which day completed twenty-five years since he landed, stating the direct and indirect results of missionary labors during that period, and looking hopefully to a vast expansion of the work. The eleven foreign and native preachers, the ten converts and score of pupils, the Scriptures and tracts issued as mentioned in it, have, under God's blessing, since multiplied to hundreds, thousands, and millions.

One last exhibition of the petty spite of the company's committee in China against his missionary efforts appeared in June, 1833, when he was peremptorily ordered to "suspend the issue of any further publica-

tions from the printing-press in his house at Macao." This press had issued four numbers of a religious newspaper and a sermon preached at Whampoa, all in the English language, which the vicar-general there complained of to the governor as contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church; and he, in his turn, to the president of the committee, who willingly became their tool to suppress this publication. Dr. Morrison stopped it, therefore, protesting "against the whole proceeding as an act of usurped authority, tyranny, and oppression on the part of both Portuguese and English at the bidding of a popish priest."

In July, 1834, the arrival of Lord Napier as British superintendent of trade confirmed Dr. Morrison's appointment as Chinese interpreter to the crown, on the dissolution of the company, at a salary of one thousand three hundred pounds. He entered on his duties immediately, and prepared to accompany the commission to Canton. On the passage from Macao he was exposed to heat and rain during one night, and reached Canton completely exhausted. Sharp discussions arose between the Chinese and British authorities, as soon as the latter refused to call their dispatches *pin*, or petitions, and employ the Hong-merchants as their official medium of communication. Thus began a quarrel which has not yet altogether ceased. The controversy gave Dr. Morrison much anxious concern, and prevented his taking needed rest. On the Sabbath evening after his arrival he gathered his domestics and others for worship, and strained himself to conduct it. His son says, "A greater than usual degree of solemnity appeared to pervade the little congregation, as we received from those lips the words of everlasting life."

During the week, his febleness increased so that he decided to return to Macao, where the heat was less oppressive. One who was with him the afternoon before his death says, "After his arrival, about a week before his decease, he left his house but two or three times, though he continued to attend to his official duties almost to the last hour. Though weak, he could walk into another room, talk feebly, and unite in supplicating the divine mercy. He said that he thought his life was in danger, but I did not, and I think he did not anticipate so speedy a change. I sat by him, and he repeated many passages of Scripture: 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee,' 'We have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,' and such like. He then prayed aloud for all of us, if he should be taken away; that God would be merciful to Eliza and the dear children, and bless them with his protection and guardian care; that the Lord would sustain him, and forsake him not now in his febleness; and for the Chinese mission, that grace and peace might rest on all the laborers. And having said these things, he lay down to rest."

That night, August 1, 1834, he was released from sickness and suffering, almost before his son and those standing around were aware of his

departure, and while they were devising restoratives preparatory to his sailing in the morning for Macao. He was fifty-two years six months old, and almost twenty-seven years had passed since he landed in Canton. His remains were buried beside those of his first wife, in Macao. Nine years afterwards those of his gifted son, John Robert, were laid near by. Whoever writes the history of Christianity in China must turn to the Protestant cemetery in Macao with reverence, for there are the graves of the Morrisons, of Samuel Dyer, Dr. Morrison's colleague and pupil, who came to China only to die, and of two or three American female laborers.

On my arrival in Canton, in October, 1833, I made the acquaintance of Dr. Morrison and his son, and saw him many times during the winter, where he mostly remained till February. He appeared prematurely old, and his person had become so corpulent that moving about was a great exertion to him. He was able, however, to keep at his desk, and was devising plans for work to the last. On his return from Macao, in August, he expressed more solicitude about the result of the negotiations then beginning with the Chinese than fears as to the condition of his health. It was a gratifying sight to me, who had so recently reached the field, to see this pioneer in mission work, after a lonely service commenced amid obscurity and doubt, cheerful in his daily duties, and ready for whatever the Master willed, whether life or death. As he had expressed himself when leaving New York, twenty-seven years before, sure that God would make an impression on the idolatry of the Chinese empire, he now saw that his hope had not been in vain; his work had indeed been far different in its details from what he had planned in his mind, but the aim had been unwavering and the results promising.

Dr. Morrison's writings attest his industry, care, and erudition. The list of his published works in Chinese amounts to twelve books, of which the translation of the Bible, the "Family Instructor," and a few geographical and religious tractates are the chief. In English there were nineteen separate works, including his dictionary, grammar, Canton vocabulary, and "View of China for Philological Purposes, for the Use of Chinese Students," a Life of W. Milne, four volumes of sermons, miscellaneous translations from the Chinese, and minor pamphlets called forth by passing events or discussions. All of them are now difficult to procure.

The dawn of China's regeneration was breaking as his eyes closed on the scene of his labors, and these labors contributed to advance the new era, and his example to inspire his successors to more and greater triumphs. His name, like those of Carey, Marshman, Judson, and Martyn, belongs to the heroic age of missions. Each of them was fitted for a peculiar field. Morrison was able to work alone, uncheered by congenial companions, and sustained by his energy and sense of duty, presenting to foreigners and natives alike an instance of a man diligent in business,

fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. His life was mostly passed in the midst of those who had no sympathy with his pursuits, but his zeal never abated, nor did he compromise his principles to advance his cause. His translations and his dictionary have been indeed superseded by better ones, built up on his foundations, and guided by his experience; but his was the work of a wise master-builder, and future generations in the Church of God in China will ever find reason to bless Him for the labors and example of Robert Morrison. — S. W. W.

LIFE XXXVII. ADONIRAM JUDSON.

A. D. 1788—A. D. 1849. BAPTIST, — BURMAH.

ADONIRAM JUDSON, the first American Baptist missionary to Burmah, was born in Malden, Massachusetts, August 9, 1788. As a child he gave promise of unusual ability, reading in the Bible at three years; at four, preaching to his little sister; at seven, found lying on the ground, with a hole in the hat which covered his eyes, proving by a method of his own the self-originated problem, "Does the earth or the sun move?" in his fourteenth year, prepared for college; in his sixteenth, entering Brown University a year in advance; in his nineteenth, graduating with the highest honors. Acute in intellect, with great powers of acquisition, and unfaltering perseverance and persistence, the boy gave indications of the future man. Recognizing his own abilities, and assured by the confidence of his father in the future which was before him, his ambition was stimulated by the expectations of a brilliant career; but his attainments, thus early, as through life, were the result of unflagging diligence.

At the time of his leaving college, infidelity, like a black wave, was sweeping over the land. Free inquiry in matters of religion was regarded by the young man of independent thought as a part of education. Young Judson, like many another, cutting loose from the moorings of traditional faith, drifted, he knew not whither. But the Spirit of God, whose instrument he was to become, watched over him on the illusive waters, and saved him from the shipwreck which he courted.

The death, under peculiar circumstances, of a brilliant and talented young man, his companion in intellectual pursuits and religious doubts, forced back upon him the truths he had tried to abandon. Having no fixed faith, he was well-nigh in despair. Still clinging at heart to his deistical sentiments, and doubting the authenticity of revealed religion, he yet recognized his personal sinfulness and the need of some great moral renovation. His moral nature became thoroughly aroused, and he was deeply in earnest.

Deep spiritual
conflicts.

With this conflict going on in his heart and mind, he turned, with the candor which during his whole life marked his pursuit of truth, to a calm and careful examination of the grounds of Christian faith. To aid him in his investigations, he entered the theological seminary at Andover, then under the care of men eminent for learning and piety, and in its seclusion he gave himself up to undistracted attention to his spiritual interests. He opened all the doors of his soul to the light of truth, and it gradually came in. With his whole nature he surrendered himself to the will of God, recognizing Christ in his atoning character, and accepting Him as his Saviour. The change was so deep and radical that no shadow of misgiving or doubt ever clouded his future. From this time forth the trusting and appropriating "My Lord, and my God," was the expression of his unquestioning faith. His dreams of ambition vanished; his plans of life were changed; he simply asked, "How shall I so order my life as best to please God?" With earnest striving after personal holiness, he joyfully consecrated himself, all that he was and all that he was to be, to the service of Christ.

In December, 1808, a few weeks after going to Andover, he made a solemn dedication of himself to God. In May, 1809, he united with the Congregational church in Plymouth, of which his father was pastor, and decided to continue his studies at Andover. Almost without a question he had decided upon the ministry. When he saw Christ as the only way of salvation for his own soul, he accepted it as his obligation and choice to devote his life to the salvation of lost men.

In September of this year he read Buchanan's "Star in the East," which made so powerful an impression on his mind that after several months of serious consideration he gave himself, in enthusiastic but thoughtful consecration, to the evangelization of the heathen. At a later period the reading of Symes's "Embassy to Ava" fixed his desires on a mission to Burmah, which, in the providence of God, was to be his future field.

Almost simultaneously, the minds of three or four young men in Williams College and in Andover became similarly impressed with regard to their duties to the heathen in this and other lands. Their sentiments became known to each other, and the faith and purposes of each were strengthened.

This point in the history of American missions is a most interesting one. As years have passed since the beginning of the American foreign missionary enterprise, we see that this was a prepared time; we see the purposes of God running like a thread of light through the thoughts of men's minds and the tendencies of the times; and minds and times were shaped for the events which were to follow. God builded better than these young men knew.

Already the English missionary societies had made successful begin-

nings in India, but the spots of light were few and small. Drs. Ryland, Fuller, and Sutcliffe had kindled the flame of missionary zeal in England; and in this country, Drs. Worcester, Stoughton, and others, men of enlarged views and deep and earnest piety, were praying and eloquently preaching our duties to the heathen world. As has been said, "it was the sun on the mountain tops, which showed that the sun had risen," but the light was mostly on the mountain tops. Missionary societies of a limited character had been formed, but there was as yet no general organization uniting the churches of the country for supporting missions to the heathen. The churches were widely separated, communication was difficult, and they were ignorant of their strength. It wanted the occasion to call out, and call together, the scattered elements. This occasion was given when four young men of Andover, glowing with Christian ardor and love for souls, offered themselves, upon the 28th day of June, 1810, to go to the uttermost parts of the earth to tell of the love of Jesus.

One of four to occasion the founding of the American Board.

In this new emergency, which they had not anticipated and for which they were not prepared, the American churches naturally turned for direction and aid to the London society, with its larger experience, and would gladly have united with it in the support and conduct of the new mission.

Although regarding the proposition with the utmost kindness, the English society did not deem it practicable. Thus thrown back upon themselves, to meet the exigency the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed, which timidly but determinedly took up the support of its own missions.

In February, 1812, Judson married Miss Ann Hasseltine, the noble and heroic woman who shared with him, with a devotion and a faith equal to his own, the vicissitudes, the trials, and the self-denials of those early years of suffering and solitude in which the mission to Burmah was planted. They sailed soon after, with Rice, Nott, Newell, and others, — whose names have become household words, — the first American missionaries to India.

The hand of God led Judson on the water as on the land, preparing him in a peculiar manner for the execution of his purposes. On ship-board, the minds of himself and his wife were led to a reëxamination of the subject of baptism, as also of the Scriptural proofs. An earnest examination of these points led them to a change of views, and, on arriving at Calcutta, they requested immersion at the hands of the English Baptist missionaries. Their changed views necessitated a change in their future plans, and the separation in labor from their associates was painful in the extreme.

Alone in a heathen land, cut off from support by the board which sent them out, they turned to the Baptists in the United States, then a com-

paratively feeble body, with no adequate missionary organization, but with a deep interest in missions existing throughout the denomination. The appeal met with an enthusiastic response, and resulted in forming the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, an organization which in 1845 assumed the present name of the Baptist Missionary Union. Thus were formed two noble institutions which have dotted with their missions almost the whole extent of heathendom, which have witnessed results the most sanguine could hardly have anticipated, and whose beneficent influences eternity alone can unfold.

The little company of the Caravan, which embarked at Salem for Calcutta, amidst the doubts of their friends and the sneers of those who were not, had hardly set foot on Indian shores when a barrier stronger than that of paganism opposed them. The East India Company, then in the flush of its power and intolerance, either from avarice or from antagonism to their object, peremptorily forbade their settling in any of the company's territory, and resisted, by every means in their power, the introduction of Christianity among the millions of its subjects in Bengal.

After many delays and dangers, while attempting to find a home in the Isle of France, they were driven by fresh persecutions and adverse seas to Rangoon, where, out of the reach of Christian power, they were permitted, but not by man, to teach the gospel of love and grace. From the intolerance of a nominally Christian, they had escaped to the intolerance of a truly heathen government.

The government of Burmah was an unmitigated despotism, and enmity to the spread of the new religion was bitter in the extreme. Forced to pursue their work secretly, Mr. Judson gave the first years to the acquisition of the language, a language rich in its sacred literature, but having no known affinities to any other Indian tongue, and, to the first foreigner attempting to acquire it, one of unusual difficulty.

His purpose was so to master its construction and peculiarities that he might think in it as in his vernacular; that he might thus be able to render with exactness, into the language of a people who had no knowledge of it, the word of the living God. So persistent was his assiduity, that he acquired in a few years such a knowledge of it that he was said to write and speak it with the familiarity of a native and the elegance of a cultivated scholar. Nothing but absolute mastery limited his desire for command over a language which was to be the vehicle of the lively oracles, and with which he was to assail an idolatry grown venerable by antiquity. Buddhism, the religion of Burmah, possessed a moral code remarkable for the purity of its precepts, and recognized the strictest system of future rewards and punishments. Reeking with law and penalty, it contained no allusion to repentance, no hint of forgiveness. How was he straitened within himself, till he could proclaim the holy

doctrines of forgiveness and peace, through an atoning Saviour, Jesus Christ, the Son of the only God!

During these years of silent labor, the churches at home became impatient of results. Doubtless the echoes of this impatience reached him when he penned those words of faith and trust, words as sublime in their trust and faith as were ever penned by the hand of man: "If they ask again, 'What prospect of ultimate success is there?' tell them, As much as that there is an almighty and faithful God, who will perform his promises, and no more. If this does not satisfy them, beg them to let me stay and try it, and to let you come, and to give us our *bread*; or if they are unwilling to risk their bread on such a forlorn hope as has nothing but the Word of God to sustain it, beg of them at least not to prevent others from giving us bread, and if we live some twenty or thirty years, they may hear from us again." He adds, further, after speaking of the degradation of the people, and the comfortless life of missionaries, — except what was found in each other and in their work, — "However, if a ship was lying in the river ready to convey me to any part of the world I should choose, and that too with the approbation of all my Christian friends, I should prefer dying to embarking." Such faith, such fidelity, such zeal, such holy devotion! Do we wonder that the windows of heaven were opened, and the blessing came down like a gracious rain on the seed-sowing?

Having acquired facility in the use of the language, he began what he would gladly have taken as the labor of his life, — the oral preaching of the gospel to the few inquirers he could gather round him. A *zayat* was opened by the road-side, and a few timid inquirers came stealthily to hear the strange new story. The thoughtful, cautious, philosophical Burmese heard such words as no Buddhist books contained. They heard of a God, eternal, unchangeable. They came again; they inquired; they pondered; they believed; they received the instantaneous pardon of repented sin. How beautiful the simple story of the cross became to those ears which had heard only of æons of hopeless suffering for unatonable sin! How satisfying the confidence in a God who could not change, in place of *Guadama*, the synonym of change! Such was his hope for the whole Burman people.

Few instances of clearer faith can be found than in those early converts in Burmah. Of Mông Shuay-Pau he says, "He is a fair specimen of a cautious Burman, who turns a thing over The first Burmese converts. ten thousand times before he takes it, but when he once takes it, he holds it forever." Of Mông Bo, "He has relinquished Buddhism, and got through with Deism and Unitarianism, and now appears to be near the truth." Of Myat-Kyan, "He has been an inquirer after truth many years, and has diligently investigated the systems of Buddha, of Brahma, of Mohammed. At length he has embraced the religion of Jesus Christ,

with all his mind and soul." A little church was gathered around them in Rangoon. The Burmese government had made one long step in progress. Foreigners were allowed to worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, undisturbed, but it sacredly guarded its own people from the proselytism of religious teachers, and the native Christians embraced the new faith in the face of persecution and death.

In the hope of obtaining tolerance and protection for them, Mr. Judson resolved upon a visit to Ava, the capital of the empire. He procured an interview with the king, but in his effort he was unsuccessful. Of this failure he says characteristically, "The result of our toils and travels has been the very best possible; a result which, if we could see the end from the beginning, would call forth our highest praise. O slow of heart to believe and trust in the constant presence and overruling care of our almighty Saviour!"

Still the work continued to spread, and prospects were brightening, when the alarming illness of his wife made it necessary for her to return to America. Left entirely alone Judson devoted himself with redoubled energy to the translation of the New Testament and the labors of the *zayat*. When persecution relaxed he employed most of his time in religious instruction; when the sky darkened, he turned with earnestness to the work of translation. The mission had been reinforced by Mr. Hough, a printer, and the press was beginning to do its work.

Two years later, 1832, his new associate, Dr. Price, was summoned by an imperial order to Ava, on account of his medical skill. Mr. Judson, regretfully leaving the few faithful disciples in Rangoon, accompanied him as interpreter at court, hoping, with better facilities, to continue his labors on the Testament. Both were favorably received by the king; they were recognized in their character as religious teachers, and a grant of land was given on which to build a "*kynnung*." Mrs. Judson returned after a two years' absence, in improved health; the translation was near completion, and the long-indulged hope of a successful establishment in the capital of the empire seemed about to be realized.

There had been faint rumors of war, and while there was but a speck in the sky, the war-cloud burst upon them. The Burmese emperor had cherished the ambitious design of invading Bengal, and while Bandoola was on his march of conquest into Cambodia, Rangoon was unexpectedly taken possession of by the English. Amazement and dismay spread through the capital. All foreigners were under suspicion. Judson and Price were thrown into prison as spies.

We will not relate the heart-sickening sufferings of those twenty-one months of captivity, or the almost superhuman devotion and fortitude of that heroic woman who walked sublime amid the terrible scenes of Ava and Oung-pen-la; whose character rose to the height of the morally grand; whose heroism and heroic endurance drew

In prison in
Ava.

tears from the eyes of Christian soldiers and barbaric men ; whose eloquence softened hard hearts ; who, begirt with the power of her own moral atmosphere, beautiful in person and superior in intellect, walked unscathed amid the pollutions of barbarism, and became the “author of those eloquent and powerful appeals to the Burman government which prepared them by degrees for submission to terms of a sincere peace.”

Success crowned the English arms, and those dark prisons were opened. After the order of release came, Judson was forcibly retained as interpreter in the Burman camp. Exposures threw him into a violent fever. Six weeks more of suffering and cruelty, and he was permitted to return to Ava and his home. What was his anguish, on entering that home, to find his little emaciated baby, born amid the horrors of those prison days, in the arms of a squalid Burmese nurse, and the wife who had followed him from prison to prison in noonday heat and midnight dews, lying as one dead, where she had fallen, the Burman neighbors saying, “She is dead, and if the king of angels should come in, he could not restore her.” But the touch of lips and the sound of a voice dearer to her than any other on earth brought her back again, and they were permitted another brief period of suffering and service together.

The government had learned Judson’s value, and it was with great difficulty that he was released from its service. The time came at length. Sir Archibald Campbell demanded it, and sent him and his family down the river surrounded by eight gilded boats. It was with reference to this that in later years he said to friends comparing the most exquisite joys they had experienced, “But what do you think of sailing down the Irrawaddy on a cool moonlight evening, with your wife by your side and your baby in your arms, free — all free? I can never regret my twenty-one months of misery when I recall that one ever delicious thrill.”

On reaching Rangoon they found the little church scattered, the mission-house destroyed, and it was thought better to find another place of missionary labor. Amherst, in the Tenasserim district, under British protection, was selected, and thither they went to rebuild their hearthstones and their altars. They gathered some of the disciples and began teaching. An important treaty was to be concluded at Yendabo. At the earnest desire of the commissioner, and with the assurance that, if possible, the treaty should contain articles of toleration toward the native Christians, and with Mrs. Judson’s added persuasions, he made it his duty, and went. Toleration was not secured, and what was the bitterness of his grief to find on his return that death had removed his wife, forever. A grave by the hopia tree, the precious memory of what she was, and the little emaciated Maria, were all that was left him of her love and loveliness.

Smitten to the earth, the bereaved husband turned to the source of strength that had never failed him, and labored on. The manuscript of

the New Testament, which Mrs. Judson had kept secreted in the prison at Ava, was saved to him. Dr. Bennet had arrived to take charge of the mission press at Maulmain, whither the mission had been removed soon after the death of Mrs. Judson in 1826. Still directing inquirers to the truth, and superintending the printing of the New Testament, he gave himself especially to the completion of the Old. Seven years more of labor, and on the 31st of January, 1834, he wrote that memorable "Thanks be to God, I can now say I have attained. I have knelt down with the last leaf in my hand, and imploring his forgiveness for all the sins which have polluted my labors in this department, and his aid in future efforts to remove errors and imperfections which may necessarily cleave to the work, I have commended it to his mercy and grace, I have dedicated it to his glory.

“May He make his own inspired Word, now complete in the Burman tongue, the grand instrument of filling all Burmah with songs of praise to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

Touching as were the records of his heart during these lonely years, we must pass them by.

The visit of Mrs. Judson to America, the sufferings through which they had passed, and their own faith had quickened the flame of missionary zeal throughout the American churches; money poured into the treasury; new missionaries were sent out; new fields were opening, near and distant; the Karens, a new people, were being gathered in; the East India Company, which at first drove them from its borders, covered them with its protecting wing; native converts were increasing; a native ministry was being raised up, of men strong in character and strong in faith; the Bible and other religious writings had been scattered broadcast, and carried or blown leaves of the tree of life, God knew whither; and these years had been to Dr. Judson years of unusual growth and ripening of Christian character.

Again, after years of loneliness, the fires were rekindled on his desolated hearthstone. Little Maria had long slept under the hopia tree. George Dana Boardman had entered upon and closed his brief but fruitful missionary labors. His widow had for years carried on his unfinished work in the Karen jungles, until a church of two hundred members crowned their seed-sowing. It was fitting that two such lives should be united, and in 1834, at Yarry, God gave his benediction on their marriage vows. In her new home Mrs. Judson aided, cheered, and strengthened her husband, the worthy successor, intellectually and morally, of Ann Judson.

In 1834 the churches in Burmah numbered six hundred and sixty-six members. The following year seven hundred and eighty-six were added; the next year eleven hundred and forty-four. The wilderness was blossoming.

It had been Dr. Judson's most intense desire during all the years of his missionary life to give himself to the preaching of the gospel, but the preparation of a Burman dictionary was urged upon him, and in 1843 he writes: "Several years were spent in translating the Bible, and several more in revising it and carrying the last edition through the press. After which, in May last, I commenced a dictionary of the language, a work which I had resolved and re-resolved I would never touch, but as the Board and my brethren urged it, and as Burmah continued shut against our labors, and there were several missionaries in this place, I concluded I could not do better than to comply.

"We are apt to magnify the importance of any undertaking in which we are warmly engaged. Perhaps it is from the influence of that principle that, notwithstanding my long-cherished aversion to the work, I have begun to think it very important; and that having seen the accomplishment of two objects on which I had set my heart when I first came out to the East, — the establishment of a church of converted natives, and the translation of the Bible into their language, — I now beguile my daily toil with the prospect of compassing a third, which may be compared to a causeway designed to facilitate the transmission of all knowledge, religious and scientific, from one people to the other."

Repeated and severe attacks of sickness had come to Dr. Judson, and to his laborious and faithful wife. Mrs. Judson's health, for some time declining, had been so thoroughly prostrated that there seemed to be no hope but in a journey beyond the tropics. Strong as were his domestic affections, tender as was his love for his wife, much as he longed to see his native land, nothing but an imperative duty would have drawn him from his post. Medical skill had been exhausted, and he embarked with his almost dying wife in July, 1845, for Boston. A temporary improvement raised the hope in both that he might return to his work, while she should pursue the homeward journey alone. But the disease returned with new violence, and as they were nearing St. Helena, her spirit passed away.

Again the light of his home had gone out, and a precious form was laid to sleep in a lonely grave in St. Helena, to await, with that other at Amherst, the resurrection of the just.

Mrs. Judson had given India twenty years of successful service. She had blessed the home and carried on the labors of the sainted Boardman; she had acquired the language in such perfection that Dr. Judson said of her, "There is scarcely an individual foreigner who speaks or writes the Burman language so acceptably as she does." She was the author of valuable books, tracts, and hymns, and in many ways had been a most efficient helper to her husband in their home, in their missionary labor, and in their Christian lives.

Her work was finished, and leaving the precious dust, he reëmbarked with his motherless children, and after an absence of thirty-three years

again set foot on his native shores. Hardly was his arrival known, when a spontaneous outburst of welcome from all denominations surprised and almost bewildered him. He who on shipboard had questioned where he would find lodgings, found a hundred homes opened to him as an honored guest, and the hearts of millions of American Christians did him reverence. The humble missionary who had labored on, heedless that any eye saw him but that of the One he served, could not recognize in himself the object of these demonstrations; he was surprised, humbled, almost offended at what was really the involuntary tribute of Christian hearts to Christian heroism. He seemed to himself to have done nothing, and he shrunk from public assemblies in his honor.

Dr. Wayland, whose guest he was while in Providence, thus recalls his spirit at family worship, which he conducted after a meeting of welcome in that city: "His prayer on that occasion can never be forgotten by those who heard it. So lowly abasement in the presence of unspotted holiness, such earnest pleadings for pardon for the imperfections of those services for which men praised him, so utter renunciation of all merit for anything he had ever done, so entire reliance for acceptance with God only on the merits and atonement of the gospel sacrifice for sins, I think it was never my happiness to hear. Such, I believe, was the habitual temper of his mind that the more his brethren were disposed to exalt him, the more deeply did he seem to feel his own deficiencies, and the more humble was his prostration at the foot of the cross."

The thirty-three years of absence had made great changes. Well might he say, "Where are the well-known faces of Spring, of Worcester, and Dwight? Where are Lyman and Huntington and Griffin? And where are those leaders of the baptized ranks who stretched out their hands to me across the waters and welcomed me to their communion? And where are my early associates, Newell and Hall and Rice and Richards and Mills? But why inquire for those so ancient? Where are the succeeding laborers, and those who succeeded them? And where are those who moved amid the dark scenes of Rangoon and Ava and Tavoy? Where those gentle yet firm spirits which tenanted forms delicate in structure, but careless of the storm, now broken and scattered and strewn?"

There were great changes, not only in the workers but in the work, which was making its beginnings well-nigh over the whole earth — Europe, Asia, Africa, the wilds of North America, and the islands of the seas.

Delightful as was much that he saw and felt and enjoyed at home, he turned to his little orphaned children left behind, to the native church in Maulmain, to his brethren over the water, and to his heavy work on the dictionary, with longing heart. He desired to be gone.

In July, 1846, he married Miss Emily Chubbuck, — Fanny Forrester,

of literary fame, the gifted lady who cheered his last years with the gentle ministries of love and affection,—and sailed again for Burmah. Finding the work advancing in all departments in Maulmain, he determined to go to Rangoon, where he might avail himself of learned men and books in the prosecution of the dictionary, and might be in the way of new openings into the heart of the country. A new king was on the throne, more intolerant than his predecessors, and he was forced to return to Maulmain. He continued his labors unremittingly until November, 1849, when he was attacked by a violent fever. He partially recovered, but it was the beginning of the end. Every resource was exhausted, the disease was reaching the springs of life. The only hope lay in a sea-voyage. He was carried on shipboard on the 3d of April, and in a little more than a week after he embarked, on the 12th of April, 1849, he closed his earthly labors, and entered on the rewards of the just made perfect.

We cannot forbear giving some extracts from Mrs. Judson's account of his last days. "As his health declined his mental exercises at first seemed deepened, and he gave still larger portions ^{His closing days.} of his time to prayer, conversing with the utmost freedom on his daily progress and the extent of his self-conquest. One day he said earnestly, 'I have gained the victory at last. I love every one of Christ's redeemed, as I believe He would have me love them, and gladly would I prefer the meanest of his creatures, who bears the name, before myself.' . . . From this time no other word would so well express his state of feeling as that one of his own choosing—peace. He remained calm and serene, speaking of himself daily as a great sinner who had been overwhelmed with benefits, and declaring that he had never in all his life before had such delightful views of the unfathomable love and infinite condescension of the Saviour as were now daily opening before his eyes! 'Oh, the love of Christ! the love of Christ!' he would suddenly exclaim, while his eye kindled, and the tears chased each other down his cheeks. We cannot understand it now, but what a beautiful study for eternity!"

At another time, on being told that it was feared by most of the mission that he could not recover, "I know it," he replied, "and I suppose they think me an old man, and imagine it is nothing for one like me to resign a life so full of trials; but I am not old, at least in that sense. Oh, no man ever left this world with more inviting prospects, with brighter hopes, with warmer feeling." His face was perfectly calm, even while the tears broke away from the closed lids and rolled one after another down to the pillow. To some suggestion which his wife ventured to make, he replied, "It is not that, I know all that, and feel it in my inmost heart. Lying here on my bed when I could not talk, I have had such views of the loving condescension of Christ, and the glories of heaven, as I believe are seldom granted to mortal man. It is not that I shrink from death that I wish to live, neither is it that the ties that bind

me here, though some of them are very sweet, bear any comparisons with the drawings I at times feel toward heaven; but a few years would not be missed from an eternity of bliss, and I can well afford to spare them, both for your sake and for the sake of the poor Burmans. I am not tired of my work, neither am I tired of the world, yet when Christ calls me home I shall go with the gladness of a boy bounding away from school. Perhaps I feel something like a young bride resigning the associations of her childhood for a yet dearer home; though only a very little like her, for there is no doubt resting on my future." "Then death would not take you by surprise if it should come even before you got on shipboard?" "Oh, no," he said, "death will never take me by surprise, do not be afraid of that, I feel so strong in Christ. He has not led me so tenderly thus far to forsake me at the very gate of heaven. No, no, I am willing to live a few years longer if it should be so ordered, and if otherwise, I am willing and glad to die now. I leave myself entirely in the hands of God, to be disposed of according to his holy will." And with such peace he passed into the holy presence.

"If," as Kingsley says, "in the shallowest natures there are unfathomable depths," what may we expect from natures endowed to affluence, and enriched by culture and Christianity? Judson's intellectual endowments were of a rarely high order, and his Christian character was ripe and remarkable. The key-note of this character was struck at the outset of his religious life. The question, "Is it pleasing to God?" decided all his religious actions. In his conversion he gave himself without conscious reserve to God; and it was his constant endeavor to become conformed to his will and likeness. And God led him by a royal highway, through sacrifices of ambitions, through imprisonments, through sickness, through sufferings, through the rending of the tenderest ties, over the graves of loved ones, through appalling views of his own sinfulness; and voluntarily abasing himself before God, the Most High exalted him. He walked on the mountain tops of holiness.

Judson was a man of strong convictions. To believe that a principle was right, and not to embrace it; to see that a course was duty, and not to pursue it; to hesitate in accepting the consequences which his convictions involved, was impossible to his mental and moral constitution. He believed in God and in sin, in eternal life and in eternal death; he believed it his duty to save souls from that death, and it was his purpose to live for that life. With these convictions he cheerfully yielded his ambitions, he voluntarily turned his back on paths in which he might have won success. Gifted in many ways he might have excelled in many things. He made high attainments as a scholar, he was brilliant as a writer, he was eloquent as a speaker, the English government acknowledged his capacity for statesmanship. But none of these things turned him from the direct work of giving the gospel to men. He mastered

the Burman language, and the results are among the most remarkable in the field of philology, and mastered it to give to the Burman people our sacred writings in such a form as might convey the precise mind of the Spirit. To do this, no effort was too great. He added the Pali, a difficult language, because it contributed its aid, but we hear no word of it from him. He could repeat Burmese and Pali poetry by the hour, but he would not deviate from his one purpose to transcribe it. He enjoyed its literature, but he would not give one hour to selfish gratification in the acquisition of it.

It was the requirement of his nature to do everything in the best manner. As our natural character gives direction and color to our religious character, so, in him, this law within gave direction and completeness to his religious life.

To do perfectly was the necessity of his mind; to be pure within was the demand of his inner soul. To do perfectly, with a pure heart, the will of God made his life a grand unity; his death, a triumph over death; the life beyond, unspeakable glory. — H. H. K.

LIFE XXXVIII. JOHN WILLIAMS.

A. D. 1796—A. D. 1839. CONGREGATIONAL, — OCEANICA.

JOHN WILLIAMS, the apostle of the islands of the South Seas, was born June 29, 1796, at Tottenham High Cross, near London. His father, a business man, troubled himself but little about the education and the inner life of his children. Williams must be numbered with that great company of God's workmen whose hearts their mothers nurtured in the faith through prayer and precept and a quiet walk with God. Yet Williams's mother was not unaided. A loving grandmother was allied with her in her devoted labors. A Timothy-like picture rises then before us, with a Eunice and a Lois, who led to God a gifted, lively boy in his earliest years, and sowed the seeds of holiness in his heart. Their sowing took root. The times of devotion in the boy's home became his glad hours. Falsehood grew to be to him like poison. In his school years, without his mother knowing it, he composed a morning and an evening prayer, — the one in prose, the other in poetry. They were a beautiful reflection of his fervor of spirit. When he was fourteen, he left home, his parents apprenticing him to a well-to-do iron manufacturer of London, named Tonkin. He was expected to learn only the business of selling the goods, and not the theory or practice of making them. Yet he acquired both the latter. His talent and liking for the practical part of the work was so great that he spent all his leisure hours in the smithy. He learned to fashion some articles so aptly and neatly that they went

from his hand direct to the shop or to the show-window. How this dexterity was to serve him later on in life was hid from him, but was known to God. The way in which He trained Williams so wisely and well moves our wonder. Nothing was wanting in the preparation of the future missionary. Even the errors of the youth were made by God to serve his purpose. There are brooks which, from their source to their end in sea or river, remain pure, clear, and transparent. They are detained in no slough, toiling through it with difficulty. Of few men can the like be affirmed as to their spiritual career. Few go in undisturbed course from childhood on through youth to true manhood in Christ Jesus. Even Williams's life found its way, which was prepared by a mother's and a grandmother's prayers, lost amid the unclean waters of the world and the flesh. God's Word was forgotten, prayer neglected, the church abandoned. Drinking-places were frequented. Loose company was sought, to the reproach of the name of Christ. Yet his life outwardly was honest.

God's workman was not to be ruined by Satan. His career in sin was quietly yet effectively checked. Sunday, January 30, 1814, Mistress Tonkin went in the evening to a religious meeting. By the light of a street lamp she recognized her apprentice walking to and fro in front of a drinking-place, and asked him what he was seeking. Young Williams answered frankly that he was waiting there for his friends, with whom he was expecting to pass a jolly night. He was out of humor that they were not prompt at the hour, but were making him wait for so long a time. The good woman, knowing that she ought to act a mother's part to the youth, very decidedly asked him to attend her and go to church instead of to a drinking-shop. After some resistance, the youth gave himself up to be her prisoner. He little thought that this very evening he should become a prisoner and a bondman of Jesus Christ. The preacher, who was named East, expounded the saying, "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" He spoke from the heart to the heart. The eyes of Williams were opened. He saw his need, but he saw at the same moment God's royal way of safety prepared and opened through Christ Jesus. To-night the brook burst forth from the stagnant slough, and began flowing on in its fixed channel to the sea of Eternal Love. Williams turned to God's Word with diligence and zeal. The church and the sacrament became dear to him. The whole gospel, the God-Man, his deeds and his words, became to him living realities. The Holy Spirit illumined his heart with gladness. He grew in the grace and in the knowledge of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. His mother's love had sown the seed, his mistress's faithfulness had saved it, the preacher had nourished it. Other help now came to give the youth his full growth and to prepare him for his labors as a missionary. In the parish of which

An excellent
mechanic.

His quiet church
training.

Williams was a member, there was a young people's association, whose chief workers were thirty young men. The leader was the pastor, Browne by name. It met every Monday evening at eight o'clock, and opened with prayer and singing, after which followed a discussion upon a subject announced eight days before, introduced by an address from one of the members. Several of the evenings during the year were reserved wholly for prayer. Williams was one of the most gifted and efficient members of this society, which proved to him his university, preparing him in part for his future efforts. He learned here to take up a Scripture topic and to analyze and present it in free, unhackneyed language. As a teacher in the Sabbath-school he employed the talent intrusted to him, gaining by fidelity and aptness the affection of his pupils and the respect of his associates.

From one society he passed into another. Already mission societies were in active existence in London and vicinity. Besides the anniversaries, quarterly meetings were held in small districts, in which, by addresses founded on the Bible, by prayer, and by reports from missionaries, the members strengthened themselves to persevere in their work. Williams belonged to such a circle. And here it was that the thought arose to him whether he could not be used of God among the heathen. It grew into a most profound desire. Then followed a childlike prayer, "Lord, if it is not thy plan and will that I become a missionary, then tear the wish with all its roots out of my soul." But precisely the opposite came to pass. The longing of Williams for missionary service became ever more active. He searched his heart with all diligence, asking whether his old nature had not ensnared him; whether he was not self-seeking, or if indeed the saving of poor lost souls was the aim of his labors. The longer he inquired, the more boldly he could say, "I will present myself a sacrifice to Him who gave Himself for me."

So, in the year 1816, he proffered his services to the London Missionary Society, addressing a letter to the directors, narrating with exact care his inner and outer life. He made the request, "Should you conscientiously find no opening to accept me, I pray God, and ask of you, that for my soul's good you will not in the least wise encourage me to seek the missionary office." It is the language of an upright man, and one to whom God will send good-speed.

Williams passed the required examination, and was accepted (July, 1816). That he might at once be unhindered in his new calling he was given, by his master, the seven months remaining of his apprenticeship. Men being in demand, this young man, so gifted and so apt for every work, was to be sent out speedily. South Africa and Polynesia were the lands to which the eyes of the mission society were directed. Williams was chosen for the latter. The laborers in the Society Islands especially needed helpers. The new converts there without guidance would fall

back into paganism. The youth of twenty years should, within a few months, go thither in the service of his Master, accompanying other missionaries.

The interval before departure was employed by Williams in conscientious preparation. The best hours of each day, and his chief strength, he gave to training in theology under his pastor. All his remaining time he spent in the shops of joiners, carpenters, weavers, and ship-builders, in printing offices, and in all of them he was actively at work. He purposed being an intelligent guide of the pagans in external civilization.

On the 30th of September, 1816, he was ordained in Surrey Chapel, at the same time with eight comrades, to the service of God among the heathen. A Bible was put into his hand with the words, "Go hence, loved brother, and be faithful to the trust that is given thee; faithful in season and out of season, faithful in proclaiming the precious truths which this book contains." Following these words, another said, "Go hence, loved youth and brother, and though thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth, let it still witness to poor sinners the love of Jesus; though thine arm fail thee and threaten to fall from its socket, let it yet knock at the hearts of thy fellow-sinners till they open to the Saviour of the world." Upon this day the heart of Williams, already offered, was sealed to the service of God.

Before leaving England Williams was joined in marriage with a Christian young lady who faithfully, to his death, fulfilled her promise to be his helper in his external and in his soul life. The 17th of November, 1816, he left England, sailing by Rio Janeiro to Sydney. Sails for the South Seas. Here he came to know the missionary Marsden, who served Christ with great self-sacrifice in New Zealand. A protracted delay in Sydney was employed by Williams in service as a preacher and a teacher, and in gaining knowledge regarding the people of Polynesia. At last, November 17, 1817, a year after leaving England, he landed in Eimeo, one of the Society Islands. His field of work, assigned him in common with missionary Threskeld, was Rajatea, an island which longed for the day, but had not yet seen the sunrise. Two years before, missionary Wilson, of Tahiti, with nineteen native Christians, King Pomare among them, were cast upon this island. The king, Pomatoa, with his whole people received them cordially. In return they opened their treasures, preaching to them a Saviour. After the departure of Wilson and his party to Tahiti, a longing for instruction remained in Rajatea. Williams labored here by himself from 1817 to 1823. This island was his training school, and the land of his first love; a love which never cooled during his life. First of all he threw himself energetically into the work of learning the speech of the country. After ten months he could preach in it. Pomatoa and the rest of the chiefs met him with assistance and friendship. In Williams's view the gospel and culture were to advance to-

gether. He builded a chapel. He erected a neat little house for himself, and to serve as a model of better dwellings to the natives. Around it a well-planned garden soon bloomed with flowers and food-plants, European and Polynesian. Near it was a school-house in which young and old were given to drink the water of life. Its blossoms were soon more lovely than those in his garden. The Word fell on receptive soil. Chiefs and common people, old men and lisping children, mothers carrying nursing babes in their arms, priests of Oro who wanted cleansing from shed blood, came into the school. The king and the queen seated themselves in the row with the rest as learners and inquirers.

Rajatea was the chief seat of the idol Oro, to whom for centuries, before and after battles, countless human offerings had been devoted. Williams, zealous as he was, was very careful of making wild assaults on this or other idols. The wooden images would be thrust down from their seats when they had fallen from their places in the hearts of their worshipers. Here in Rajatea, a plan was developed in Williams's mind for a systematized mission to be extended over ^{His broad plan.} the maze of surrounding groups of South Sea Islands. Three helpers were wanted in the service of the Master, a printing-press, a mission-ship, and native agency. Primary books and eleven hundred copies of Luke's Gospel, which had been brought out in the language of the region through a missionary (Ellis), were soon sold upon the island. By and by the entire New Testament was printed. Williams bought the first mission-ship in the South Seas, and established a connection between New South Wales and the islands. Himself, the London society, and Governor Brisbane, of New South Wales, bore the cost. Later, he builded a ship of his own, in order to have it entirely at his own disposal. Before long he drew his converts into mission-work. Not only was a mission aid society founded, but pious and gifted youths were trained by him for service in the schools, and for evangelizing labors on the neighboring islands. The islanders proved themselves intelligent, admirable servants of God, joyful even unto death. By his advice the king of Rajatea gave this and other islands ruled by him a law-book grounded upon God's Word. To secure a more certain sustenance for the people, who hitherto had depended upon fishing and upon the fruits of the islands, sugar plantations were begun. A great church was builded under Williams's leadership, to serve as the cathedral of this group of islands. And for all these activities the toiler drew strength and wisdom from the unfailing fountain of the Divine Word. All who beheld Williams, either here or later in his work upon the Harvey and the Samoa Islands, were amazed at his freshness, his elasticity, and his firm hold upon his work.

Amid this comprehensive activity, which, during his stay upon Rajatea, reached to Baraboa (of the Society Islands), Rurutu, Raratonga, Aitu-

taki (of the Harvey or Tubuai Islands), Williams heartily and tenderly cherished his connection with his home. A real treasure lies before us in his precious letters to his kindred. This correspondence reached its acme when he heard of the death of his mother, so far away from him. With thanksgivings for this, that such a mother had been given him of God, with sorrow and tears for her loss, are mingled fresh praises for her entrance into glory. He knocks, too, how softly, at the hearts of his loved ones with admonitions and with prayers that they abide true to God, so that their deaths may be like hers, the death of the righteous. He ventures — a hard task for a son — to preach repentance and salvation to his father, beseeching him to yield his heart to the Master who so long has wooed him, especially through his beloved life-companion. The letters show a wondrous delicacy. What joy to Williams when missionary Nott, who visited his father on his dying bed, sent his last greeting ^{His father's} message to him. to his son with the following message, "Tell him, oh tell him, that the son has been the means of the saving of the father."

In the years from 1823 to 1830 Williams had journeyed several times to the Harvey Islands. The native teachers did excellent service there. He himself, by his meekness, love, truth, and unfailing faith, exercised an almost incredible influence over the people. After a few years the idols fell, and the entire people were either baptized or under instruction for baptism. Upon Raratonga a church was builded, which was thronged on Sundays by some two thousand Christians. Yet this servant of God pressed restlessly forward. His progress was from east to west. While other missionaries with native helpers labored on Rajatea and the Harvey Islands, he, the pathfinder, turned to the Samoa group (Sawaii, Upolu, Tutuila, etc.), and sailed thither May 24, 1830. First he visited the Friendly Islands (Tongatabu, Wawau, Eua, etc.). He found there the missionaries of other societies, who gave him the hand of friendship. It was resolved that no one should interfere with another's field of labor, and that the Samoa Islands should be left to Williams. God's blessing went with him. On Sawaii, he met a welcome from Chief Melietoa, and after a few years, out of sixty or seventy thousands of natives, fifty thousand were either baptized or under preparation for baptism. He was aided here by the fact that the people had no idols except the god of war. Yet there was no lack of pagan cruelties and unholy superstitious. Everywhere around Williams found the fields white, while the laborers were few. Sore wars, too, were prevailing. If a king became Christian, some chief made use of the spite of the pagan element, collected it about him, and sought with its aid to displace the king and to enthrone himself along with his idols. Several petty wars were carried on, which through the clemency of the Christian kings redounded to the glory of Christianity. False teachers sprang up among the young Christians, who were often disposed to receive their strange messages.

European liquor-sellers and deserting sailors proved pests to the volatile islanders. Williams, with his faithful comrades (Pitman, Barf, and Būzacotte), kept watch and removed obstacles. It was easier, then, to awaken souls to religion than to preserve them in a religious course of life.

Williams, to promote his work, returned home. He wished to kindle the zeal for the Polynesian mission into a clearer flame, and he succeeded. Arriving in England June 12, 1834, after ^{His four years at home.} eighteen years' absence, he remained at home for four years. They were years when the love of missions in England and in all evangelical Europe was greatly increased. Williams magnified the works of God by enthusiastic speeches, ever bearing the stamp of genuineness, which he delivered in great assemblies before the high and the low. He also wrote a book, "Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands." He received from all sides favorable reports from it. Thirty-eight thousand copies were sold within nine years. His chief desire, to have a suitable mission-ship, fit for any sea, was granted. With free-will offerings he was able to purchase the *Camden* for ten thousand pounds sterling. By especial providence a pious and skilled captain was given him, — Captain Morgan. Nine new missionaries were to accompany him on his return. On the day of his departure, April 11, 1838, London was in a commotion, as if a conquering king was going out to war. The very pilot, who was entitled to twenty or twenty-five pounds, wished to add his services, in taking the ship out, to the contributions of the multitude. Williams, having for the last time taken the Lord's Supper in a home church, went his way joyously with his wife and his new comrades. In his soul was engraved the motto, "Neither count I my life dear unto me." He went round the Cape to New South Wales. In Sydney he formed a mission aid society for Australia, who gave five hundred pounds as their first contribution for his work. He left Sydney October 25th, and arrived prosperously at Tutuila, one of the Samoa Islands.

The following year was for Williams a most glad time. He visited again all the groups, the Society, Harvey, and Samoa Islands. As corn and flowers grow in warm spring nights, so the work of God had grown in his absence. Everywhere ^{His joyous return to the South Seas.} beautiful white churches gleamed from the island upon his sight, builded during the four years. Everywhere the young societies extended to him a welcome as to a father coming home, and such he was. It was a jubilee which almost overwhelmed him. Many a one, who at his departure was a stubborn pagan, met him as a happy child of God. His path was through a lovely harvest field. He saw that the work was in good hands and was growing abundantly. He wanted to go beyond. Before him lay the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. Upon November 3, 1839, he kept, on Upola, along with his Samoans and his own family, his last Sunday. He preached from Acts xx. 36, "And when He had thus

spoken, He knelt down and prayed with them all." He had asked the teachers of the Samoa congregation who of them would go in the Master's service among the people of the New Hebrides. Thirty chosen men proffered themselves. Williams selected twelve of them, and ordained them as evangelists. With them went missionary Cunningham and a young Englishman named Harris, who was staying at the islands for his health, but was so taken with Williams that he wished to go with him to the west before returning to England, to fit himself for mission duty. They sailed westward November 4th; on the islands Roturna and Tanna they left two teachers, having first satisfied themselves of the friendliness of the people. November 20th they cast anchor off the coast of Erromanga. The dwellers on this island were the last to whom Williams offered the pearl of great price. They came down to His martyrdom. the shore of Dillon Bay. Williams, with Cunningham and Harris, went in a boat near the land. The chief brought at their request — which they made known by signs, for the speech of the islands was strange to all three — a vessel of water. Confiding in the favor thus shown, the three stepped ashore. When they thought they had won the hearts of the islanders, by making some little presents, they went some distance inland. Suddenly the natives attacked them with their war clubs. Harris was struck down upon the land; Williams in the shallow water, through which he was escaping to the boat. Cunningham alone escaped. This was November 20, 1839. The real murderers of Williams were perhaps the sandal-wood merchants, who had shed much innocent blood on that coast, and had stirred the natives to revenge themselves upon all white men. The body of Williams was eaten by the savages. His fate was mourned by the young Christians in Samoa and other islands, as by children. The blessing which he had brought to them remained. He still lives a model missionary in his faith and love and hearty devotion, in his plans of raising up native helpers, in his union of external culture, such as may suit the circumstances of a people, with the culture of the heart through Christ Jesus. With right has he been named the Apostle of the South Seas. No other man exerted so deep and so blessed an influence upon the lives of that far-away people. — F. A.

APPENDIX.

I.

ROLL OF WRITERS OF THE LIVES OF THE LEADERS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

EUROPEAN WRITERS.

F. A.	The Rev. Dr. F. AHLFELD, Pastor in Leipzig	<i>John Williams.</i>
F. A.	The Rev. Dr. FRIEDRICH ARNDT, Pastor in Berlin	<i>Anne Askew.</i>
C. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. BECKER, Pastor in Königsberg	<i>Wishart.</i>
C. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. BINDEMANN, Church Superintendent in Grimmen	<i>Monica, Augustine.</i>
B.	The Rev. Dr. BOUTERWEK, Director of Gymnasium, Elberfeld	<i>Columba, Aidan.</i>
C. F. B.	The Rev. J. C. F. BURK, Pastor in Echterdingen	<i>Bengel.</i>
D. E.	The Rev. Dr. DAVID ERDMANN, Church General Superintendent, Breslau	<i>Baxter.</i>
A. E. F.	The Rev. Dr. A. E. FRÖHLICH, Professor, Aarau, Switzerland	<i>Zwingle, Laborie.</i>
K. F.	The Rev. Dr. K. FROMMANN, Church General Superintendent in Petersburg	<i>Zeisberger.</i>
K. R. H.	The Rev. Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology, Basel, Switzerland	<i>Clement, Athanasius, Æcolanpudius, Renata, Beza.</i>
J. H.	The Rev. J. HARTMANN, Dean in Tuttlingen	<i>Brentz.</i>
K. H.	The Rev. Dr. K. HASE, Professor of Theology in Jena	<i>Saronarola.</i>
F. R. H.	The Rev. Dr. F. R. HASSE, Professor of Theology in Bonn	<i>Anselm.</i>
F. H.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. HAUPT, Pastor in Gronau	<i>Hildegard.</i>
P. H.	The Rev. Dr. P. HENRY, Pastor in Berlin	<i>Calvin.</i>
H. H.	The Rev. Dr. H. HEPPE, Professor of Theology in Marburg,	<i>Cranmer, Hooper, William of Orange.</i>
L. H.	The Rev. Dr. L. HEUBNER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg	<i>Luther.</i>
W. H.	The Rev. Dr. WILHELM HOFFMANN, Church General Superintendent, Berlin	<i>John of Monte Corvino.</i>
H.	The Rev. Dr. HUNDESHAGEN, Professor of Theology in Bonn	<i>Ursinus.</i>
C. H. K.	The Rev. Dr. CHRISTIAN H. KALKAR, Pastor in Copenhagen	<i>Egede.</i>
C. F. K.	The Rev. Dr. CHR. FR. KLING, Dean in Marbach	<i>Origen.</i>
F. W. K.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. W. KRUMMACHER, Court Preacher in Potsdam	<i>Lawrence, Chrysostom, Huss, Gerhardt, Oberlin.</i>
G. L.	The Rev. Dr. GOTTHARD LECHLER, Professor of Theology in Leipzig	<i>Bede, Wiclif, Oldcastle, Ridley.</i>
H. L.	The Rev. Dr. H. LEO, Professor of Philosophy in Halle	<i>Patrick.</i>
P. L.	The Rev. Dr. PETER LORIMER, Professor in Presbyterian College, London	<i>Hamilton.</i>
F. L.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. LÜBKER, Director of Gymnasium in Flensburg	<i>Columban, Boniface, Alfred.</i>

T. M.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS MACCREE, Professor in Presbyterian College, London	<i>John Knox.</i>
H. F. M.	Dr. H. F. MASSMANN, Professor of Philosophy in Berlin	<i>Uylfas.</i>
H. V. M.	The Rev. H. VON MERZ, Church Prelate in Stuttgart, <i>Roussel, Schwartz, Martyn, Wilberforce, Fry.</i>	
C. B. M.	C. B. MOLL, Church General Superintendent, Königsberg	<i>Wessel.</i>
A. M.	The Rev. ADOLF MONOD, Pastor in Paris, France	<i>Blundina.</i>
A. N.	The Rev. Dr. AUGUST NEANDER, Professor of Theology in Berlin	<i>Bernard, Aquinas, Melancthon.</i>
E. N.	E. NOELDECHEN, Head Teacher, Magdeburg	<i>Claudius.</i>
J. J. V'O.	The Rev. Dr. J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, Professor of Theology in Utrecht	<i>Thomas à Kempis.</i>
J. C. T. O.	The Rev. Dr. J. C. T. OTTO, Professor of Theology in Vienna	<i>Cyriil.</i>
R. P.	Dr. REINHOLD PAULI, Professor of Philosophy in Göttingen, <i>Alfred the Great.</i>	
F. P.	The Rev. Dr. FERDINAND PIPER, Professor of Theology, Berlin	<i>Polycarp.</i>
T. P.	The Rev. Dr. T. PRESSEL, Dean in Schorndorf	<i>Rabaut.</i>
F. R.	The Rev. Dr. F. RANKE, Director of Gymnasium, Berlin, <i>Perpetua, Hans Sachs, Peterson.</i>	
A. R.	The Rev. A. RISCHE, Pastor in Schwinkendorf	<i>King Louis.</i>
L. R.	The Rev. LOUIS ROGNON, Pastor in Paris	<i>Coligny.</i>
J. D. R.	The Rev. J. D. ROTHMUND, Pastor in St. Gall	<i>Gall.</i>
K. G. R.	The Rev. K. G. VON RUDLOFF, Cathedral Preacher in Nisky, <i>Guthrie, MacKail.</i>	
K. H. S.	The Rev. Dr. K. H. SACK, Chief Consistory Councilor, Bonn, <i>John Wesley.</i>	
C. S.	The Rev. Dr. C. SCHMIDT, Professor of Theology in Strassburg, <i>Remy, Tauler.</i>	
H. E. S.	The Rev. Dr. H. E. SCHMIEDER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg . <i>Paphnutius, Spiridion, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Waldo, Magdalena Luther, Paleario, Zinzendorf.</i>	
K. S.	The Rev. Dr. K. SEMISCH, Professor of Theology in Berlin, <i>Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus.</i>	
C. W. S.	The Rev. Dr. C. W. STARSTEDT, Professor of Theology in Lund, Sweden	<i>Ansgar.</i>
A. T.	The Rev. Dr. AUGUST THOLUCK, Professor of Theology in Halle	<i>Spener, Francke.</i>
F. T.	The Rev. F. TRECHSEL, Pastor in Berne, Switzerland	<i>Farel.</i>
J. O. V.	The Rev. J. O. VAHNGER, Cathedral Preacher in Cannstadt, <i>Gustavus Adolphus.</i>	
L. W.	The Rev. L. WIESE, Church Counselor in Berlin	<i>Cyprian.</i>

AMERICAN WRITERS.

H. C. A.	The Rev. Dr. H. C. ALEXANDER, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, Hampden-Sidney, Va.	<i>Alexander.</i>
R. B.	The Rev. Dr. ROBERT BEARD, Professor in Theological Seminary, Lebanon, Tenn.	<i>Donnell.</i>
C. W. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. W. BENNETT, Professor in Theological Department of Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.	<i>Fisk.</i>
W. M. B.	The Rev. Dr. W. M. BLACKBURN, Professor in Theological Seminary of Northwest, Chicago, Ill.	<i>Makemie, Dickinson, Witherspoon.</i>
S. L. C.	The Rev. Dr. S. L. CALDWELL, President of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	<i>Manning.</i>
E. W. C.	The Rev. Dr. RUFUS W. CLARK, Pastor in Albany, N. Y.	<i>Livingston.</i>
H. F. C.	Mrs. HELEN FINNEY COX, Cincinnati, O.	<i>Finney.</i>
T. D.	The Rev. Dr. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor in Theological School, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.	<i>Dwight.</i>
J. H. G.	The Rev. Dr. J. H. GOOD, Professor in Theological Department, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, O.	<i>Schlatter</i>

L. G.	The Rev. Dr. LEWIS GROUT, late Missionary to South Africa, W. Brattleboro, Vt.	<i>Vanderkemp.</i>
A. A. H.	The Rev. Dr. ARCH. A. HODGE, Professor in Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.	<i>Hodge.</i>
S. H.	The Rev. Dr. SAMUEL HOPKINS, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.	<i>Brewster, Hopkins.</i>
Z. H.	The Rev. Dr. ZEPHANIAH HUMPHREYS, Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, O.	<i>Edwards.</i>
J. B. J.	The Rev. Dr. J. B. JETER, Editor of the <i>Religious Herald</i> , Richmond, Va.	<i>Fuller.</i>
H. J.	The Rev. Dr. HERRICK JOHNSON, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.	<i>Barnes.</i>
H. K.	Mrs. HELEN KENDRICK, Rochester, N. Y.	<i>Judson.</i>
H. L.	The Rev. Dr. HEMAN LINCOLN, Professor in Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Mass.	<i>Wayland.</i>
H. M. M.	The Rev. Dr. HENRY M. MACCRACKEN, Pastor in Toledo, O.,	<i>Isabella Graham.</i>
J. M. P.	The Rev. Dr. J. M. PENDLETON, Pastor in Upland, Pa.	<i>Peck.</i>
W. K. P.	The Rev. Dr. W. K. PENDLETON, President of Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va.	<i>Campbell.</i>
B. F. P.	The Rev. B. F. PRINCE, Professor in Wittenberg College, Springfield, O.	<i>Muhlenberg.</i>
W. B. S.	The Rev. Dr. W. BACON STEVENS, Bishop of the Pennsylvania Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia	<i>White.</i>
H. B. S.	Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, Hartford, Conn.	<i>Lyman Beecher.</i>
T. O. S.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS O. SUMMERS, Professor of Theology in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.	<i>MacKendree.</i>
J. W.	The Rev. Dr. J. WEAVER, Bishop of the United Brethren, Dayton, O.	<i>Otterbein.</i>
T. W.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS WEBSTER, Pastor in Newbury, Canada	<i>Asbury.</i>
S. W. W.	The Hon. S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL. D., Professor of Chinese Literature, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.	<i>Morrison.</i>
R. Y.	The Rev. R. YEAKEL, Bishop of the Evangelical Association, Naperville, Ill.	<i>Albright.</i>
D. R. K.	The Rev. Dr. DAVID R. KERR, Professor in Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pa.	<i>Pressly.</i>
A. W.	The Rev. Dr. A. WEBSTER, Pastor in Baltimore, Md.	<i>Stockton.</i>

II.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES.¹

JANUARY.		FEBRUARY.		MARCH.	
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
1. New Year		1. IGNATIUS . . .	107	1. Suidbert	713
2. Martyrs of the Books	303	2. Mary [Purification]	Bible	2. JOHN WES-	
3. Gordius, Martyr . . .	303	3. ANSGAR	865	LEY	1791
4. Titus	Bible	4. Rabanus Maurus . . .	856	3. Balthilde	680
5. Simeon	Bible	5. SPENER	1705	4. WISHART	1546
6. Christ and Wise		6. Amandus	679	5. AQUINAS	1274
Men	Bible	7. Geo. Wagner	1527	6. Fridolin	514
7. Widukind	785	8. Mary Andreä	1632	7. PERPETUA	292
8. Severinus	482	9. HOOOPER	1555	8. URSINUS	1583
9. Catharine Zell	1562	10. Oetinger	1782	9. CYRIL	869
10. Paul the Hermit	340	11. Hugo St. Victor . . .	1142	10. Martyrs in Armenia	320
11. Fructuosus	259	12. Jane Grey	1554	11. Hoseus	1566
12. John Chastellain	1525	13. SCHWARTZ	1798	12. Gregory	604
13. Hilary of France	368	14. Bruno	1008	13. Roderick	857
14. Felix	256	15. Von Loh	1561	14. Matilda	968
15. John Laski	1560	16. Desubas	1746	15. CRANMER	1556
16. Geo. Spalatin	1545	17. HAMILTON	1528	16. Heribert	968
17. Antony the Hermit	356	18. SYMEON	107	17. PATRICK	460
18. Jno. Blackader	1686	19. Mesrob	441	18. Alexander	251
19. {		20. Sadoth	346	19. Mary and Martha	Bible
{		21. Meinrad	863	20. Ambrose of Siena . . .	1287
{		22. Didymus	395	21. Benedict	543
{		23. Ziegenbalg	1719	22. Nicolas the Hermit . . .	1488
{		24. Matthew	Bible	23. Wolfgang	1566
21. Agnes	304	25. Olevian	1587	24. Florentius	1400
22. Vincentius	304	26. Haller	1536	25. Mary [Annuncia-	
23. Isaiah	Bible	27. Bucer	1551	tion]	Bible
24. Timothy	Bible	28. JOHN OF		26. Ludger	809
25. Paul [Conversion]	Bible	MONTE COR-		27. Rupert	718
26. POLYCARP	167	VINO	1306	28. Von Goch	1475
27. CHRYSOSTOM	407	29. Ethelbert [assigned		29. Eustace	625
28. Charlemagne	814	also to 24th Feb-		30. Heermann	1647
29. Juvenius, etc.	363	ruary].		31. Ernst of Saxony	1675
30. Henry Müller	1675				
31. HANS SACHS	1576				

¹ As edited in Germany by Dr. Ferdinand Piper, corresponding with the names for all the days of the year in the *Improved Evangelical Calendar*. The lives translated into English and edited in the present work are printed in capitals. The figures after names indicate the year of some principal event in the life referred to, usually of its beginning or close.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES — *Continued.*

APRIL.		MAY.		JUNE.	
1. Fritigil	A. D. 400	1. Philip and James	A. D. Bible	1. OBERLIN	A. D. 1826
2. Theodocia	307	2. ATHANASIUS	373	2. BLANDINA	177
3. Tersteegen	1769	3. MONICA	388	3. Clotilda	540
4. AMBROSE	397	4. Florian	300	4. Quirinus	300
5. Scriver	1693	5. Frederick the Wise	1525	5. BONIFACE	755
6. Albert Dürer	1528	6. John of Damascus	754	6. Norbert	1134
7. PETERSON	1552	7. Domatilla	300	7. GERHARDT	1676
8. Chemnitz	1586	7. Otto	973	8. FRANCKE	1727
9. Von Westen	1727	8. Stanislaus	1079	9. COLUMBA	597
10. Fulbert	1028	9. Gregory Nazianz	390	10. Barbarossa	1190
11. Leo the Great	461	10. Heuglin	1527	11. Barnabas	Bible
12. Sabas	372	11. John Arndt	1621	12. RENATA	1575
13. JUSTIN	161	12. Meletius	381	13. Le Febvre	1702
14. Eccard	1611	13. Servatius	383	14. Basil	379
15. Daeh	1659	14. Pachomius	348	15. WILBER- FORCE	1833
16. WALDO	1197	15. Moses	Bible	16. BAXTER	1691
17. Mappaliens	250	16. Five Lausanne Stu- dents	1553	17. TAULER	1361
18. Luther [at Worms]	1521	17. Joachim	1202	18. Pamphilus	309
19. MELANC- THON	1560	18. Martyrs under Valens	370	19. { PAPHNU- TIUS	325
20. Bugenhagen	1558	19. ALCUIN	804	{ Council of Nice	325
21. ANSELM	1109	20. Herberger	1627	20. Martyrs of Prague	1621
22. ORIGEN	254	21. Constantine and Hel- ena	337	21. CLAUDIUS	1815
23. { George, killer of Dragons	200	22. Castus and Emilius	300	22. Gottschalk	1066
{ Adelbert	997	23. SAVONAROLA	1498	23. Gottfried Arnold	1714
24. Wilfrid	709	24. Cazalla	1559	24. John the Baptist	Bible
25. Mark	Bible	25. AUSTIN OF ENGLAND	608	25. Augsburg Confes- sion	1530
26. Trudpert	643	26. BEDE	735	26. John Andreä	1654
27. Catelin	1554	27. CALVIN	1564	27. Seven Sleepers	250
28. Myconius	1546	28. Lanfranc	1089	28. IRENÆUS	202
29. Berquin	1529	29. ZEISBERGER	1808	29. Peter and Paul	Bible
30. Calixt	1656	30. Jerome of Prague	1416	30. Lull	1315
		31. Joachim Neander	1780		

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES—*Continued.*

JULY.		AUGUST.		SEPTEMBER.	
1. Martyrs at Brussels	A. D. 1523	1. Maccabees	A. D. Apocrypha	1. Anna	A. D. Bible
2. Mary [Visitation]	. Bible	2. Martyrs under Nero	64	2. Mamas	274
3. { Otto of Bamberg	1139	3. Thorp	1407	3. HILDEGARD	1197
3. { PALEARIO	1570	4. Käiser	1527	4. Ida von Herzfeld	820
4. Ulrich of Augsburg	973	5. Salzburgers	1731	5. Mallio	1553
5. OLDCASTLE	1418	6. Christ [Transfigura- tion]	Bible	6. Waibel	1525
6. HUSS	1415	7. Nonna	374	7. Speugler	1534
7. Willibald	786	8. Hormisdas	421	8. Corbinian	730
8. Kilian	689	9. Nnmidicus	258	9. Paschal	1560
9. Ephraim of Syria	378	10. { LAWRENCE 70		10. Speratus	1551
10. { Canute	1036	10. { Jerusalem Destroyed		11. BRENTZ	1570
10. { WILLIAM OF		11. Gregory of Utrecht	775	12. Peloquin	1553
10. { ORANGE	1584	12. Anselm of Havelberg	1158	13. FAREL	1565
11. Placidus	630	13. ZINZENDORF	1760	14. { CYPRIAN	258
12. Henry of Germany	1024	14. GUTHRIE	1661	14. { Dante	1321
13. Eugenius	505	15. Mary	Bible	15. Grumbach	1554
14. Bonaventura	1274	16. John the Wise	1532	16. Euphemia	311
15. Ansvr	1066	17. Gerhard	1637	17. Lambert	709
16. ANNE ASKEW	1546	18. Grotius	1645	18. Spangenberg	1792
17. Martyrs of Scillita	200	19. Sebald	800	19. Thomas St. Paul	1551
18. Arnulf	640	20. BERNARD	1157	20. MAGDALENA	
19. Louisa Henrietta	1667	21. Moravian Missions	1732	20. LUTHER	1542
20. Marteilhe	1723	22. Symphorianus	180	21. Matthew	Bible
21. Eberhard	1496	23. COLIGNY	1572	22. Mauritius	302
22. Mary Magdalene	Bible	24. Bartholomew	Bible	23. LABORIE [Five Martyrs]	1555
23. Gottfried of Hamelle	1552	25. LOUIS	1270	24. Moser	1785
24. THOMAS A		26. ULFILAS	388	25. { RABAUT	1795
24. KEMPIS	1471	27. Jovinian	400	25. { Peace of Augsburg	1555
25. James	Bible	28. AUGUSTINE	430	26. Lioba	779
26. Christopher		29. John Baptist Be- headed	Bible	27. Graveron	1557
27. Palmarius	1200	30. CLAUDIUS	839	28. Cologne Martyrs	1529
28. Bach	1750	31. AIDAN	651	29. Michael	Bible
29. Olaf	1030			30. JEROME	420
30. WESSEL	1489				
31. Schade	1698				

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES — *Continued.*

OCTOBER.		NOVEMBER.		DECEMBER.	
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
1. REMY	545	1. All Saints		1. Eligius	659
2. Schmid	1564	2. Victorinus	304	2. Ruysbroeck	1381
3. Ewalds	695	3. Pirmin	753	3. Groot	1384
4. Francis	1226	4. BENGEL	1752	4. Gerhard of Zütphen	1398
5. Carnesecchi	1567	5. EGEDE	1751	5. Crispina	304
6. Henry Albert	1651	6. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS	1632	6. Nicolas of Myra	400
7. BEZA	1605	7. Willibrord	739	7. { Odontius	1605
8. Grosthead	1253	8. Willehad	789	{ Illier	1769
9. Dionysius	Bible	9. Staupitz	1524	8. Rinkard	1649
10. Jonas	1555	10. LUTHER	1546	9. Schmolek	1737
11. ZWINGLE	1531	11. Martin of Tours	400	10. Eber	1569
12. Bullinger	1575	12. Von Mornay	1623	11. Henry of Zütphen	1524
13. ELIZ. FRY	1845	13. Arcadius	437	12. { SPIRIDION	325
14. RIDLEY	1555	14. Vermigli	1562	{ Vicelin	1154
15. Aurelia	500	15. Keppler	1630	13. { Odilia	720
16. GALL	635	16. Creuziger	1548	{ Berthold	1272
17. Edict of Nantes [revoked]	1685	17. Bernward	1022	14. Dioscurus	250
18. Luke	Bible	18. Gregory of Armenia	331	15. Christiana	330
19. Bruno of Cologne	965	19. Elizabeth of Hesse	1231	16. Adelheid	999
20. Lambert	1530	20. JOHN WILL- IAMS	1839	17. Sturm	779
21. Hilary the Hermit	372	21. COLUMBAN	615	18. Seckendorf	1692
22. Hedwig	1243	22. CECOLAMPA- DIUS	1531	19. Clement of Egypt	220
23. HENRY MAR- TYN	1812	23. CLEMENT	100	20. Abraham	Bible
24. { Arethas	522	24. JOHN KNOX	1572	21. Thomas	Bible
{ Peace of Westpha- lia	1648	25. Catharine of Egypt	306	22. MACKAIL	1666
25. John Hess	1547	26. Conrad of Constanz	976	23. Du Bonrg	1559
26. Frederick the Elector	1576	27. Margaret Blaarer	1541	24. Adam, Eve	Bible
27. Frumentius	356	28. ROUSSEL	1728	25. Christmas	Bible
28. Simon and Jude	Bible	29. Saturninus	250	26. Stephen	Bible
29. ALFRED THE GREAT	900	30. Andrew	Bible	27. John	Bible
30. Sturm	1553			28. Innocents	Bible
31. Luther's Theses	1517			29. David	Bible
				30. Christopher [Duke]	1568
				31. JOHN WICLIF	1384

III.

STATISTICS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL

BY DENOMINATIONS AND COUNTRIES, SHOWING, FOR THE WHOLE EARTH, THE NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS PROFESSING THE CHRISTIAN NAME.

AMERICA, OCEANICA, AND AFRICA.

	United States.	Canada.	Other lands of N. A.	South America.	Oceanica.	Africa.
1. Lutheran	3,883	140	-	-	-	} 112
2. Reformed (German)	1,347	-	-	-	-	
3. Reformed (Dutch)	506	-	-	-	-	-
4. Presbyterian	7,157	1733	125	119	398	207
5. Presbyterian, United	783	-	-	-	-	20
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	1,872	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	2,980	1546	110	-	200	50
8. Baptist	114,954	710	166	-	135	54
9. Methodist Episcopal	118,304	1267	-	8	-	-
10. Methodist	12,010	1,385	-	-	1301	100
11. Congregational	3,333	190	-	-	100	1000
12. Evangelical Association.	1,354	150	-	-	-	-
13. United Brethren	1,442	130	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	2,000	1100	-	-	-	-
All others	1,000	100	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	6,920	11,012	*5,000	*8,000	-	-
2. Greek Catholic	2	-	-	-	-	-
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	*3,000

EUROPE.

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Holland and Belgium.	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.	Russia.
1. Lutheran	-	-	-	*920	*7,754	*2,000
2. Reformed (German)	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Reformed (Dutch)	-	-	-	*1,700	-	-
4. Presbyterian	1,356	2,555	601	-	3	40
5. Presbyterian, United	-	526	-	-	-	-
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	4,000	134	400	-	-	-
8. Baptist	2,501	90	29	*115	289	9
9. Methodist Episcopal	-	-	-	11	-	-
10. Methodist	5,238	82	1208	-	-	-
11. Congregational	3,069	192	30	10	-	-
12. Evangelical Association.	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	437	-	-	-	-	-
All others	-	-	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	*1,261	117	3,500	*6,378	*3	*6,700
2. Greek Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*55,000
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	170
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	-

The † denotes number of pastors, instead of number of congregations.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population.

EUROPE (Continued).

	Austria.	Italy.	Switzerland	Germany.	France.	Other Lands.
1. Lutheran	*1,250	-	-	1 { 19,700 } 230 }	450	-
2. Reformed (German)	-	-	*1,000		-	-
3. Reformed (French)	-	-	*500	-	*586	12
4. Presbyterian	2,075	56	-	-	-	-
5. Presbyterian, United	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Baptist	-	20	3	86	12	12
9. Methodist Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Methodist	-	-	-	5	-	-
11. Congregational	-	-	-	10	-	-
12. Evangelical Association	-	-	-	29	-	-
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	-	-	-	-	-	-
All others	-	-	-	-	-	-
UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.						
1. Roman Catholic	*27,904	*26,725	*1,085	12,000	*38,500	21,309
2. Greek Catholic	*3,053	*5	-	5	-	12,022
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	121	-	2,000
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	-

ASIA.

	West Asia and Persia.	India, Burmah, and Siam.	China.	Japan.	Rest of Asia.	Total.
1. Lutheran	-	68	-	-	-	35,425
2. Reformed (German)	-	15	18	-	-	2,722
3. Reformed (Dutch & Fr'ch)	-	10	7	13	-	3,384
4. Presbyterian	27	80	45	5	-	15,362
5. Presbyterian, United	-	10	3	8	-	1,359
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	-	-	-	-	-	1,872
7. Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	7,360
8. Baptist	1	526	20	2	27	17,968
9. Methodist Episcopal	-	43	{ 51 }	5	-	18,665
10. Methodist	-	40	{ 30 }	-	-	9,299
11. Congregational	-	75	50	-	-	7,984
12. Evangelical Association	-	-	-	-	-	1,385
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	1,472
14. Disciples	-	-	-	-	-	2,537
All others	-	-	-	-	-	*2,000
Grand Total						128,452
UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.						
1. Roman Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*201,000
2. Greek Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*71,000
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	121
4. Armenian	*30	-	-	-	-	*12,022
5. Nestorian	*165	-	-	-	-	*165
6. Jacobite	200	-	-	-	-	*200
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	{ *3,000

¹ Of these, all but 1,500 are "Evangelical," and include both Lutheran and Reformed.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population.

The above Table of Statistics of the church throughout the earth by denominations and congregations has been constructed (no similar table being known) on the latest denominational reports at hand, or upon the statements of cyclopædias. It of necessity is very imperfect, yet may serve to show in what lands each denomination prevails, and also to indicate the slight degree in which some portions of the globe have been possessed by the church. Possibly it may serve beside to suggest to some student of statistics the preparation of a like table of greater fullness and accuracy. — H. M. M.

IV.

INDEX OF ONE THOUSAND BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS, FOR THE USE OF THE PREACHER AND OF THE TEACHER IN THE SABBATH-SCHOOL.

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