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LIFE AND LABORS

OF

ELDER SAMUEL WAIT, D. D.

BY JNO. B. BREWER.

SAMUEL WAIT, the oldest son of Joseph and Martha Wait, was born in White Creek, Washington County, New York, December 19, 1789. His father, Joseph Wait, was the sixth son of Elder William Wait, who was pastor of the Baptist Church in White Creek from about the year 1769 to the beginning of the present century.

Joseph Wait removed at an early day to Granville, New York, where Samuel received the usual facilities of those days for a common school education until the age of seventeen years, at which period his father went with his family to Tinmouth, Vermont. From childhood up to the age of eighteen years his physical development was in advance of most young men of the same age. Laboring on the farm a part of the year and attending the district school the other, was all the favor that youth in general in that locality expected to enjoy in the way of education. Of a mild and genial disposition, his company was always pleasant and his friendship desirable. During a large portion of this period, the grandfather, Elder William Wait, resided in the same house with Joseph, and and although neither of Samuel's parents were then professors of religion, he often received such moral and religious instruction from his venerable grandfather as was highly beneficial to him in after life. He was bap-

tized by Elder Sylvanus Haynes, March 12, 1809, and united with the Baptist Church in Middletown, Vermont, and that night began conducting family prayers in his father's family. Thirty years later, on a visit to the North, he baptized his father and mother into the fellowship of the same church.

Upon the removal of the family to Vermont he taught school several winters, until his mind became deeply exercised with the impression that he was called to preach the gospel. In order to prepare himself for this important work, he commenced the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and in 1813 he was studying them at Salem Academy, Washington County, New York, under the celebrated linguist, Prof. James Stephenson. While engaged in this prepartaion he said to a cousin: "I have a great work to perform, and I am anxious to begin it. It is an arduous and tiresome work to get ready, but I dare not begin till I feel some strength to meet the infidel on his own ground, and this strength at this day must be derived from study."

He was licensed to preach *for one year* by the church at Middletown, Vermont, July 13, 1815, and on December 26, 1815, the same church gave him an unlimited license to preach the gospel. He was called to the pastorate of the church at Sharon, Massachusetts, December 9, 1816. After his first sermon in Sharon he wrote his cousin, W. L. Wait, as follows: "Last Sabbath I preached my first sermon to the church in this place from the words, 'For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified." I Cor. ii:2. It was a solemn and trying time with me, but through Divine favor I was enabled to preach more acceptably than my poor weak faith had anticipated, and

I feel now that henceforth, come life or death, my course must be onward."

He was called to ordination by the Sharon Baptist Church and "was regularly ordained pastor of said church, agreeably to the usages of the Baptist Churches," June 3, 1818. On the 17th of the same month he was married to Miss Sarah Merriam, daughter of Deacon Jonathan Merriam and first cousin to Rev. T. J. Conant, D.D. She was indeed a wife from the Lord, for the success of his work in after years was very largely due to her support and assistance. The writer is unable to find how long he remained pastor of Sharon church. He only knows that Dr. Wait felt the need of more educational advantages, and resigned the care of the church and spent some time at a school in Philadelphia (which he thinks afterwards became a part of Columbian College) and at Columbian College. When he first went to Philadelphia to school he was greatly encouraged and assisted by his wife. If he thought he needed more education, she determined that, as far as she could, she would help him. She kept, in a small way, what would now be called a millinery establishment and occasionally would send him the profits of it. Once she sent him fifty dollars, which were lost on the way and never recovered. Of course this was a trying loss to them. Traveling was then very expensive, and they had to deny themselves the pleasure of occasional visits. As a fact, they were separated two years and seven months without seeing each other.

How long he was thus engaged is not known. It seems that his diploma bears the seal of Waterville College, Maine, though his course of study was pursued at Columbian College. On October 8, 1822, he was elected a tutor in that institution, which position he held until

the summer of 1826, when the great pecuniary embarrassment of the institution caused him to resign. In a letter of commendation to him by the faculty, August 7, 1826, it is stated that "he has distinguished himself as a faithful, able and assiduous officer. His manners have been uniformly amiable, and his conduct as a Christian professor and as a preacher of the glorious Gospel of the Blessed God highly exemplary. It is with sincere regret that the faculty of the College have learned that he intends retiring from a station which, with so much honor to himself and so much advantage to the pupils, he has filled."

The clouds that had been gathering for some time became so threatening that the trustees felt that some other agents must be put into the field. Accordingly, on October 23, 1826, the Board of Trustees elected Dr. William Staughton "an agent of the Board to obtain subscriptions for the relief of the institution." He was also authorized by a resolution of the Board to associate with him the Rev. Samuel Wait in prosecuting the objects of his mission. The appointment of Dr. Wait to this position was at the request of Dr. Staughton, and because he was unwilling to go alone on account of his poor health. On December 27, 1826, they left Washington on their work. After visiting Richmond and Petersburg, we find them in Norfolk January 15, and in Edenton February 6, 1827, from which point he writes his wife as follows: "In consequence of the fact that stages are few and the stage fare very high, we found that much might be saved by purchasing a horse and wagon. We came into this town Saturday last and calculate to leave to-morrow. We find the people here very hospitable and kind. Nothing is more common when strangers come to town than

for their friends to invite them to dinners and other meals almost every day—indeed, we are out on some invitation every day. I am now staying at the house of Dr. Collin Skinner, a Baptist, and own brother of the Rev. Thomas Skinner, of Philadelphia, who is so highly esteemed for his superior talents."

From Edenton they went through Plymouth and Washington to New Berne, reaching that point February 9th. An accident which occurred soon after their leaving Newbern was probably the cause of Dr. Wait's settling in North Carolina. When they were about six miles out, their horse became frightened and ran away, throwing Dr. Staughton out of the wagon and demolishing it. This necessitated a return to New Berne for repairs, and resulted in a better acquaintance between Dr. Wait and the people of that place. On this trip, while in Edenton, he met for the first time Rev. Thomas Meredith, who wrote to the church in New Berne that Dr. Wait was at the time not engaged as pastor to any church. In a letter to Mrs. Wait, written March 9th, he states that he preached for the Baptist church in New Berne four times and for the Presbyterian twice while there, and that the Baptist church wished him to visit them again, and said as much to him about becoming their pastor as would be prudent on so short an acquaintance. He gave them no encouragement, but expressed his wish if possible to spend the remainder of his days in the neighborhood of his parents. But while having this desire to return to his old home, he recognized that he was the servant of the Master and must work where He directed. He said that he did not know a more important field. The state of the ministry in that region was deplorable. He called her attention to something in a newspaper, called "The

Star," about an association in North Carolina resolving not to have anything to do by way of fellowship with a person belonging to a missionary, tract, education or Bible society. New Berne church mourned over this but could not prevent it, although attached to the same association. He then asks her opinion of the situation, and adds: "But let Providence guide us. Perhaps, although my feelings revolt at the idea of being eight hundred miles from all our dear kindred, it yet may be our duty to come to North Carolina."

From New Berne Dr. Staughton went by Fayetteville to Charleston, and Dr. Wait by Wilmington and Georgetown, to the same place. On arriving in Charleston, on March 23rd, a meeting of Baptists was called, which resolved that it was inexpedient to make any contribution to Columbian College at that time, and they therefore recommended to Rev. Dr. Staughton and Rev. Mr. Wait to suspend their attempts at making collections. Upon this recommendation both gentlemen resigned their agencies.

Extracts from his own description of this, the most important period of his life, will be far more valuable than anything I can write. He says:

"While lingering in Charleston a few weeks, I received a very friendly communication from the Baptist church in New Berne to visit them on my return to the North, with a view to a permanent settlement among them as pastor, should we be mutually pleased with such an arrangement. With this request I complied. But, before leaving the city, I consulted Bro. B. Manly, then pastor of the only Baptist church in that town, in regard to the communication I had received. Bro. Manly is a native of North Carolina, and was raised mostly in this State.

I wished to know what he thought of the expediency of attempting at once the formation of a Baptist State Convention in North Carolina. He thought the time had not come to make the attempt. He added, however, that he had no doubt the thing could be done after a few years. He said light was increasing in the good Old North State. 'Virginia,' he remarked, 'had her General Association on one side, and South Carolina her Convention on the other, and each was doing much, not only to benefit her own people, but also to elevate by her example the churches in North Carolina.'

"My visit in New Berne, on my return, resulted in an engagement to become pastor of the church. Having spent about two months in New Berne on this visit, I returned to my family in July, from whom I had been separated since the preceding December; and in November (1827) following I found myself and family located in a portion of the 'Sunny South.' The location of New Berne is not a favorable one for making extensive observations upon the condition of the churches. It is too far removed from the main 'thoroughfare' through the State. But, shut up as I was, I found time to visit some of the churches in the country and learn many things touching their present condition. The railroad, recently constructed, has supplied facilities for intercourse among many of the churches unknown thirty years ago. The first Association I had the pleasure of attending was the Neuse, held that year in October, at Old Town Creek, in the county of Edgecombe. Only a short time was necessary to convince the most casual observer that the state of things in the churches composing that body was lamentably low. This was but too obvious, from the tone of the preaching heard at the meeting, and from the

character of the discussions introduced into the Association. But a few years before the meeting to which I now refer, I was informed a furious debate had sprung up that threatened to destroy the very existence of the Association touching the expediency of preaching 'funeral sermons.' Not a few of the strongest men of that day took the ground that the practice in question was a monstrous evil. Much, too, going to show the actual condition of the churches could be learned from the kind of questions sent up for discussion, and the answers given, and from the minutes published by the Association. These minutes were generally found on four pages of small size, giving only the most common statistics, such as had occurred during the preceding year: So many baptized, added by letter, dead, excluded, present number, name of the pastor, time the meeting was held, where, who preached the first sermon, and who preached on the Sabbath, and where the Association would meet the next year. On examining these minutes you look in vain for anything going to show that the churches were awake to the idea that they were living under a heavy responsibility to God, and that it was the duty of the churches composing the body to combine their whole strength for the purpose of doing the largest possible amount of good.

"On becoming some little acquainted with the history of the Baptist denomination in North Carolina I found that, perhaps forty or fifty years ago, a society had been formed for the purpose of providing a larger amount of preaching among the churches. This movement was announced by a very sensible and appropriate address written by our brother, Elder Josiah Crudup. Of this society the late lamented Elder R. T. Daniel became the general agent. Its career was but a short one. From

the minutes—some of which I have seen—there can be no doubt but that the brethren who put their hand to this work were actuated by pure motives. But in their zeal they seem to have attempted too much. Without having taken as much care as should have been taken, when arranging the plan on which they would operate, they made the impression, as was alleged, that every church which contributed to raise funds would be supplied with preaching, at least once a month. Hence some churches which had not raised five dollars, expected a regular and acceptable supply of preaching.

"It was in vain that the Board labored to show them that what they looked for was utterly impossible. They still held on upon the promise, or what they regarded as a promise. And, more than twenty years afterwards, when the Baptist State Convention was brought into existence, in such parts of the State as had been visited by Elder R. T. Daniel, the very worst opposition I had to encounter grew out of the matter I am now considering. The charge was that promises had been made by the friends of the missionary cause that had not been kept. No wonder, then, that this old society continued in existence only a few years.

"Only a year or two before the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina was formed another attempt was made to provide more effectually for the spread of the Gospel, particularly in North Carolina. This was a very timid beginning. It was called, I think, a "Benevolent Society." It was probably at the second anniversary, held in Greenville, Pitt County, N. C., on March 26, 1830, that the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina was organized. By previous appointment, I preached the introductory sermon. Text: Matt. 9th chap. 36, 37

and 38 verses. Quite a respectable number of delegates were in attendance. A very friendly conversation was held, and the conclusion to which the brethren came, without a dissenting voice, was that the time had come to form a convention for the entire State of North Carolina. Never, in all my life, have I seen manifested a better spirit than was exhibited on that occasion. Our late lamented brother Thomas Meredith, then living in Edenton, was present, and having anticipated the wishes of the brethren, had drawn up a constitution, such as he supposed would substantially embrace their views. This document was read, article by article, and a free and friendly discussion took place. Some amendments and alterations were made, when with entire unanimity the constitution was adopted.

"Following the order of events, it should have been stated that a resolution was first passed, dissolving the Benevolent Society, and transfering the small amount of funds in hand to the convention to be formed without delay. Knowing that nothing could be done without an agent, the convention appointed myself (what the brethren chose to call General Agent), the first year at a salary of $35 per month, and the next year at $1 a day, the entire outfit and all expenses in traveling to be borne by myself. At the close of the meeting a deep and solemn feeling seemed to pervade the entire body. Look at their condition: It must not be forgotten that they were few and feeble, and the work in which they were about to engage, was held by the churches generally in no high repute. The Convention lacked men and means. Add to this the fact, that at this time we had no periodical of any kind, by which we could at once make our plans known to all the Baptist churches in North Carolina.

"Before a resolution to adjourn was passed, an opportunity was given for remarks upon the occasion, that any might be disposed to make. A very general and most friendly conversation followed. All felt and expressed the necessity of preserving the most friendly relations among ourselves. One point, I remember, pressed with much earnestness and concurred in by all, was a most rigid adherence to our constitution. All agreed that no departure from it could, for a moment, be allowed without the consent of all concerned.

"We also settled another principle: we determined that we would have no noisy contention with any one. It was determined that the agent should visit as many churches as practicable, preach the Gospel, and then explain the objects of the convention—setting forth with as much plainness as possible the provisions and safeguards of the constitution—and then, on behalf of the Convention, invite the co-operation of all who felt willing to put to it a helping hand.

"A difficulty now presented itself. I came with reluctance to North Carolina. All of the family friends of myself and wife were left behind. Before any step had been taken for the formation of the Convention, I had commenced negotiations preparatory to a return to the church of which I had been ordained pastor. The arrangements were nearly completed. Only one obstacle stood in my way. A stern sense of duty had brought me to North Carolina, after I had been favored with some opportunity to know the actual condition of the churches. I could not, therefore, forget the last meeting I enjoyed with a large number of my friends at the north before leaving for a residence in North Carolina. The text was: 'For ye are not your own,' etc. It was a deeply affect-

ing time. I was preaching in the pulpit first occupied by my venerated grandfather Wait, whose ashes were then reposing within fifty yards of the spot on which I stood. Before me was a large congregation, composed to a great extent of my relatives and friends. Within a short distance, in plain sight, stood (and, as I hope, still stands) the house in which I was born. Many of the older portion of the congregation had known me from my infancy. As I was now about to send myself off from all the endearments and associations which naturally cluster around the place of one's nativity, I was anxious to let them know that I was influenced solely by a conscientious view of what appeared to be duty. And when, nearly three years afterwards, I was led, by a train of circumstances, to deliberate upon the question whether it was duty to leave North Carolina, I could not forget the considerations that brought me at the first to this State. Still, for a brief period, I had about settled the question, and took my seat to give a final answer in writing to a most affectionate people, who were doing what they could to induce my return to them again. But, only a few moments before I began to write, the thought occurred to me with great force that it would be best not to commit myself absolutely to the church at the north, but rather give such an account of the actual destitution of ministers in North Carolina as would be suited to let all see that, while more ministers were much desired among our northern churches, still they were much better supplied with preachers than were churches in this State. This view of the case left me at liberty to make any arrangements that I might think would be compatible with the duty I owed to the Master.

"The time soon arrived when I was compelled by circumstances over which I had no control, to decide

whether or not I would engage in the work to which I was appointed by the Convention.' One circumstance contributed not a little in causing me to accept the agency. And that was, if I failed there seemed not the remotest possibility of obtaining the services of any other man. We were all fully convinced that the services of an active agent were indispensable to success. While I was aware of my own unfitness for the work, and would gladly have given place to any other brother that would have been acceptable to the Convention, I was satisfied that I must accept the appointment and do what I could, or the Convention would have no agent at all.

"This point being settled, I addressed myself to the work before me with as little loss of time as possible. The Board of the Convention, at my own request, gave me instructions touching the course I was to pursue, as definite as the nature of the case would admit."

The daughter's description of the conveyance used during this agency, and some of their experiences, will be interesting at this point. She says:

"Perhaps a description of the vehicle, in which Dr. Wait and family traveled may, not be uninteresting. Imagine a coverd Jersey wagon of pretty good size—a seat across the middle, accommodated father and mother; while in front, at the mother's feet, was ample room for a little chair in which sat their little daughter, about four years old when this work was commenced. In front of the father's feet was room for a good-sized lunch basket. Along with the basket was a large bottle, which was often filled with milk for the comfort of the travelers; sometimes the milk was churned to butter. Behind the middle seat there was room for three trunks of pretty good size. This conveyance was the home of the little

family—all the home they had—for two or three years, as they zigzagged back and forth from the mountains to the seaboard, laboring for the cause of missions, the Convention, and eventually for our College and, indirectly, for our paper. The father plead the cause of all these objects publicly and around the fireside. His devoted wife rendered him valuable assistance, for she was no less consecrated to the above objects than he. But I must say something about the horses that drew our 'home.' Some of the opposers of missions had a good deal to say about the *style* in which he traveled. There were two horses, both white; but then, after saying this much, all similarity ceased. Old 'Tom' was high, long and raw-boned with white mane and tail, while 'Dick' was short and more compact, with black mane and tail, and altogether the better-looking horse. After serving their master well, they were brought to Wake Forest, where they still worked faithfully on the farm for several years.

"While traveling over the State they had all sorts of experiences. Often they found friends, but sometimes they encountered some not quite so friendly. They were very kind and conciliatory in their dispositions, and also sang very well together, sustaining two parts. This was not so common sixty years ago as now. An evening spent around the fireside with pleasant conversation, and enlivened with a few sweet hymns, always left them better friends at the close than at the beginning of the acquaintance. During his entire agency for the Convention and for the College, it was a fixed maxim with him, whether or not he secured a subscription, to leave every one *good natured.* There might be another opportunity.

"On one occasion their voices served them a good part. They could only secure lodging, after much persuasion,

with the understanding that they were not to be furnished any meals. After being in the house for a while, they began singing, and continued to do so for some time. Before they were through, they heard dishes rattling and finally they were invited to partake of a splendid supper.

"One day it was found that their little daughter had scarlet fever. What to do they did not know. They had no home of their own and did not know where to go or what to do. In their extremity Elder Thomas Stradley came to the rescue and gave them a home until the little girl was able to continue the journey.

"One night they spent in the woods. They had been directed to the house of a friend, but lost the way. At length night came on and they began to go down, down a long hill. They knew nothing of the road or of what was at the bottom of the hill—they might plunge directly into a deep swamp or river. After consulting together, they concluded it was safer to stop right where they were. This they did, and the ever faithful Tom and Dick were loosened from the carriage and secured to trees near by. The little daughter found a comfortable resting place on the seat of the carriage and slept as well as ever. Not so with her parents: they stretched themselves lengthwise, as best they could, and wished for day—not much sleep for them. When day came, they found themselves not far from the desired haven, and enjoyed a good breakfast."

Dr. Wait continues: "To obtain a correct view of the state of things then existing in the Baptist churches of North Carolina, it must not be forgotten that, with few exceptions, they had never been favored with an enlightened ministry. Too often the question was, not what is the plain, common-sense meaning of a text un-

der consideration and what the practical use to be made of the import of the passage; but, rather, what is the hidden, mysterious and spiritual meaning of the passage in question? Hence, the most useless debates conceivable have often sprung up among ministers at Associations, and private brethren at home. I remember to have been asked on two occasions what was the meaning of the assertion, 'And John did outrun Peter.' When I suggested that I thought the text simply expressed a fact, and that fact was that John ran faster than Peter, it was immediately intimated that there must be a spiritual meaning in the passage. And continuing their remarks, my brethren went on to say, for my edification, that John was the beloved disciple, and was allowed the most friendly intimacy with the Saviour, and on account of this his feelings were light and buoyant. Whereas, Peter had just denied his Lord and Master, and besides this, had used language shockingly profane. His spirits were heavy and he was greatly bowed down. How could he run fast! The intimation was, that the guilt upon his conscience was very much of the nature of an enormous pack upon his back. The parable, too, of the Prodigal Son has often been made to supply a most appropriate theme for a baptismal occasion. The business of the minister, it was supposed, consisted mainly, if not exclusively, in giving the spiritual meaning of almost everything mentioned in the Bible. Hence all the fixtures of Noah's Ark must be so explained as to furnish the spiritual import of every part and parcel thereof.

"It is not surprising, therefore, that such an entire misapprehension of the proper mode of explaining the Scriptures should be connected in many instances with very defective notions of Christian duty. In some instances

the very quintessence of religion was made to consist in an obstinate adherence to some of the highest points in divinity, and the most difficult to be explained. Persons who never erected the family altar, nor showed the least concern to have their children and servants trained up in the way they should go, and, in a word, in their daily life, showing no difference between themselves and others who made no pretension to religion, have often been known to clamor most about their orthodoxy, their soundness in the faith, and the marvelous in their experience. No persons deal more in severe denunciations of others, or manifest a more uncharitable spirit than do these.

"These suggestions naturally lead us to expect that, as a general thing, sound gospel discipline was greatly neglected. Few of the churches manifested that they had a clear perception of the design of the Saviour in the organization of Christian churches on earth. It is not, therefore, surprising that when it pleased the Lord to wake up some to a proper sense of their individual duty to the heathen perishing in their sins, that so many were perfectly astonished. They seem not to have had the faintest conception that it could be the duty of any one to attempt to visit the opposite side of the globe to preach Christ and Him crucified. As they had no such impressions themselves, the probability is that many honestly thought that the idea of tearing one's self away from all the endearments of home, and encountering all the hazards incident to a life among the heathen, was entitled to no respect whatever and could only be regarded as the ravings of a distempered brain. The views entertained in some of the best informed portions of New England, now nearly fifty years ago, as expressed when it became known that the first Mrs. Judson was about to leave her native land

for a lifetime residence on the opposite side of the globe, fully sustain the position just laid down.

"But the most important consideration connected with the point now under review is, that the true sense and import of these Scriptures and the design of our Heavenly Father in giving us the Bible, seem not to have been generally understood. It is by the preaching of the Gospel, and nothing else, that we have reason to believe that souls will be converted. Until the truth revealed in the Scriptures is brought fairly in contact with the conscience, we have no reason to expect that the church will be manifested as the salt of the earth and the light of the world. It is due to the cause of truth to add that a disposition was found in the churches to listen with candor to statements designed to promote their lasting prosperity. If some individuals were disposed to be captious, there were others to counteract their influence.

"A lax discipline is only what would naturally result from what has just been mentioned above. Offences of a nature calculated greatly to impair confidence in a body professing to be a Christian church were often passed over without any notice at all. Intemperance, neglect of public worship, neglect of the Lord's Supper, indulgence in unchristian and vindictive feelings in cases of unhappy variance, were among the cases that illustrate the truth of what I am now considering. No one at all acquainted with the teaching of the Scriptures could look on and watch the movements of the churches without meeting with numerous and affecting proofs going to show that the standard of morality and heartfelt piety was at an exceedingly low ebb. Never in my life have I witnessed such a mortifying prostration of almost every trait by which a gospel church ought to be distinguished,

as I found in North Carolina. I had been in the field as agent of the Convention but a short time before I became fully convinced that something must be done to elevate the tone of feeling and of piety among the churches. One of the first steps to effect this that occurred to me was the establishment of a religious periodical. As soon as the thing was practicable I consulted leading brethren upon this subject. Upon this point I found but one opinion. Without waiting longer, at an early day I began to solicit subscriptions for the contemplated paper. The individuals to whom I applied were informed that I could not say who would be editor, at what place it would be printed, whether it would be a monthly or a weekly, what would be the name or what would be the price. I could only say that it was in contemplation to commence a religious periodical of some sort, and that the whole management of the thing would be in the hands of the Convention. Vague and indefinite as all my statements upon the project were, from necessity, I obtained nearly two hundred subscribers. I found at length that a paper could not be commenced at that time by forming a company for that purpose. The most reliable men we had, began to quail. They wanted to know who would advance the requisite funds—would there not be a debt created? How about that, etc.? Such were some of the questions which served clearly to show the state of feeling in regard to this matter. At length our late lamented brother, Thomas Meredith, single-handed and alone, with feeble health and limited means, undertook the business. He commenced with a monthly called *The Interpreter*, but as soon as circumstances favored he began to issue the *Biblical Recorder* weekly. The history of this enterprise is already well understood. How

much such a paper was needed at that time to impart general information, may be inferred from the fact that so little was known of the actual condition of the Baptist denomination in North Carolina that it was not without much effort that I ascertained the number of Associations in this State. This, after a long time, I found to be fourteen, three of which were partly in adjoining States. About one-half of Moriah and Broad River Associations were in South Carolina, and about one-half of Mayo Association was in Virginia. And having no means of diffusing intelligence among the churches, it is no wonder that no interest seemed to be felt to know the condition of the denomination in North Caroliua.

"But the point which, as regards its importance, outweighed all others, was the proper training of our young brethren designed of God for the ministry. Ministers who were already considerably advanced in life, it was seen, would be compelled to continue on as best they could in their then present condition. But for the younger portion, it was thought that something could be done. Various plans were thought of and often made the subject of conversation. But for some time I do not know that any one thought of a college. The most that seemed to present itself to the minds of the brethren was to furnish facilities for a plain English education. This, it was thought, would add much to the usefulness of our young brethren. This view of the matter was no doubt a correct one. But while it would be true that much good would be accomplished by simply giving a very limited English education, all can see that such an education would be far from meeting the demands of the case. It was found, too, that such a school as was at first contemplated would not be practicable; it could not be

sustained. Most of our young men who had the ministry in view were poor and could not meet the entire expense of an education. Some of them would be wholly unable to pay for their board. This, it was found, was so generally true (as regards the pecuniary ability of our young brethren), that all our theological institutions furnish instruction free of charge. These considerations obliged us to remodel the original plan so as to admit as students any young gentlemen of good character, whether professors of religion or not. This would afford a prospect of being able to support the school. And no other plan was suggested that would do this. About this time much was said of manual labor schools. As we were without funds, we were compelled to adopt the most rigid economy that would be compatible with a due degree of self-respect. It was not supposed, however, that the amount earned by each student would materially lessen the cash expense. Still it was supposed that, by having a farm in operation, the table could be supported at a little less expense. But the considerations that more than all others led to the adoption of the manual labor plan of operation, was the preservation of health and the formation of industrious habits. The most careful statements we were capable of drawing up were published, to prevent misapprehension, showing that pecuniary considerations occupied only a subordinate place; and yet, after all, many would promise themselves very considerable aid from the little time their sons and wards were at work.

"When it was finally settled that our institution would be established upon the Manual Labor plan, we began to look around for a suitable site. Many places, as was to be expected, were recommended. This farm was then owned by Dr. Calvin Jones. The Doctor's main estate

was in West Tennessee. He had for some time desired to dispose of his possessions in North Carolina, that he might live at his other home in the far west. In this farm were a little more than six hundred acres. His price, at first, I think I was informed, was three thousand dollars. Land was then low, and still falling. Finding no purchaser, he lowered his price to twenty-five hundred dollars. Meantime the fences were becoming less and less valuable. Finally, during the sitting of the Convention in August, 1832, at Rives' Chapel, in Chatham County, N. C., we were given to understand that the premises could be purchased for two thousand dollars. All were convinced that the time had now come to close the contract. A subscription was immediately commenced, and I think fifteen hundred dollars were raised on the spot. Sometime before this we began to look around for some one to take charge of our contemplated school. A committee was appointed to correspond with distinguished men at the north, for no one seemed to think that anyone living in the south would answer our purpose. This committee did what it could, but reported a failure. No man possessing the requisite qualifications could be obtained. The farm was purchased in August, and in December following a meeting of the Board of the Convention took place in Raleigh. To secure a Principal, a committee was appointed consisting of brethren Wm. Hooper, T. Meredith, J. Armstrong and myself. We found that the committee previously appointed had accomplished nothing. We were deliberating in the house then occupied by our Bro. Meredith. Some of the committee expressed a wish to have a consultation on the piazza in the back part of the house. And there the other three of the committee informed me

that they had agreed to appoint me Principal of our contemplated institution. Nothing could have surprised me more. I told them at once that I was not the man for that place, but that I would join with any two of them to appoint the other. Bro. Meredith remarked very kindly, that perhaps it would be of some service to me, and help a little in deciding the question of duty, to know that before they had consulted together at all, each had made up his mind to recommend me, or had thought of doing so if the others concurred. Some of the Board, Bro. Armstrong particularly, were for commencing operations on the first Monday in February following. I told them that would be impossible. We lacked the requisite funds. Nor had we time to make the preparations, even if we had the funds. Bro. Armstrong wished to know how much better off we should be for commencing one year hence than we were then. I told him, no better off if we spent the year in doing nothing; but if we would be active during the year, we could make preparation for commencing the next year to advantage. The farm was to go into operation at the same time with the school. And the school was to be prepared to furnish board and lodging. The conclusion was, to appoint a committee to rent out the farm to the best advantage they could for that year, and request me to continue my agency for the Convention another year, and do what I could in the meantime in collecting funds, or any kind of furniture, for the comfort and advantage of the institution. By this means an opportunity was afforded to make known more fully the plan of the school among the churches and to collect aid. And here I would remark that, just as we expected, many were found—especially among the sisters—who could in the course of the year procure a blan-

ket, sheets, pillow-cases, comforts, bed, bedding, or something else that would, at a fair valuation, be of more use to the school than their real worth in cash. As my family was with me, having traveled with me nearly three years, my wife was able in this, as well as in labors for the other objects of the Convention, to render most valuable assistance. So that, in nearly all the portions of the State visited during the year, something was done for the promotion of the good cause. If a lady could not furnish a good bed, she could probably spare a towel. The value of these labors was seen when we actually commenced operations on the first Monday of February following. All was done that I, aided by my wife, could do in calling attention to the subject of education. I have good cause for believing that some, who now show themselves to be useful and extensively so in the ministry, were induced by the efforts of that year to change their whole course of life and seek an education. By this means their usefulness has been greatly increased.

"The Convention this year, 1833, was held at Cartlege's Creek, Richmond County, called also Dockery's Meeting House, commencing Friday before the first Sabbath of November. This, as well as the one held the year before with Rives' Chapel Church, in Chatham County, was a most interesting meeting. The weather was remarkably pleasant, and the accommodations, owing to the energy and liberality of the church and friends in that neighborhood, were most ample. Arrangements as far as possible were made for commencing what we now called Wake Forest Institute, on the first Monday in February following. Many articles were obtained in this place for the Institute. I brought as many as I could in my two-horse buggy. As soon as the meeting closed, I

came with what speed I could to this place, destined to be the scene of my future labors.

"On arriving in the neighborhood, I visited the spot, not far from the 10th of November. Here was the farm, with the fences and out-buildings much out of repair; no implements of husbandry, no stock but my two horses, no corn or fodder, no furniture but the few articles I was enabled to bring with me from the meeting of the Convention I had just attended. Here I must remark that our furniture was in New Berne. When on commencing my agency for the Convention, we discontinued housekeeping, we put our furniture in a condition convenient for moving. Quite providentially three wagons were in New Berne from some of the counties above this (Wake). Having disposed of a few of the heavier articles the balance were found quite sufficient to fill these three wagons, although from the kind of furniture brought, the three loads weighed only thirty hundred pounds. This furniture was used by the Institute just as though it had been the property of the Trustees. Our trip to New Berne was from necessity a very hasty one, and we were soon at our post. Sometime before this, arrangements had been made with Bro. C. R. Merriam, a brother of my wife, to take charge of the farm. He also aided—in fact, had charge—of the steward's department. We returned from New Berne about the first of December. Only two months, now, to the time when the session was to commence, and in that brief space much remained to be accomplished before we could take the first step in the business of teaching. Provisions were to be laid in for the family. Beds and many other comforts were yet to be provided. The Trustees urged me to spend as much of the two months that remained in trying to collect

funds as would be possible. I told them I had not an hour for this business, but I could not resist these importunities. I went out, and by much labor I collected nearly two hundred dollars. Late as it was, I expressed a wish to Bro. Foster Fort to sow a little wheat, when he very cheerfully gave me ten bushels for seed, and Bro. William Crenshaw 'gave the sowing and the ploughing it in,' as he called it. This ploughing and sowing was completed, I think, on the 3d of December. We harvested 112 bushels, and had 101 bushels of wheat after paying toll at the threshing mill. This wheat was of the very best quality.

"In making arrangements we found some difficulty, from the fact that we had no means of knowing for what number of students it would be necessary to provide. While I was out on my short agency servants were hired. The Trustees were fearful of having more servants on hand than would be needed, and could not be induced to make the necessary provision when servants were to be hired. They thought, too, hands could be had whenever they were wanted. In this time showed that they were mistaken. We found that when farmers and others had once made their arrangements for a certain amount of force, it was difficult for them to change their plans till the season was passed. I have intimated that we had but a small amount of funds. This will be seen by all when I remark, that when we commenced making preparations to begin school we had less than two hundred dollars belonging to the Trustees. We were much embarrassed by a very indiscreet announcement in the papers, made as I suppose by a portion of the Trustees, to the effect that the Institute would go into operation on the first Monday in February, 1834; that the cash expense, after

deducting credit for the work, would not exceed sixty dollars per year (10 months); that each student would be reqired to provide himself with a hoe, towel, etc., mentioning some one or two more articles. I will here remark that I am satisfied that all that was done by the Trustees was done with the best of motives. They were good men, but in their anxiety to make the school useful to as large a number as possible, they attempted what could not be done. For instance, they put the board at $4.50 per month, and bed and board at $5; washing at 75 cents. Tuition was also low in proportion. With the purest intentions the Trustees disgraced the Institute in advance. The students at this time boarded in common, the table being owned by the Trustees. Provisions of every kind began at this time to advance. Groceries, too, advanced in the same manner. Flour at length cost $11 per barrel. In 1839 we were compelled to give 9 cents per pound for all our pork. This pork, I think, was fattened in Kentucky. As provisions of every kind were constantly on the rise, it is not at all surprising that the expenses of the table began to create a very considerable amount of debt. The only alternative left to the Trustees was to charge a little higher for board, washing, etc. This they did, making but a small addition to their original charge, compared with the advance in prices for the necessary supplies of the table. Nor was any change made in the charge for board till the table was something like three hundred dollars in debt. And yet, notwithstanding the perfect reasonableness of the course pursued by the Trustees, many were loud and unsparing in their censures. They took no notice of the fact that the charges were ridiculously low in the beginning, and that provisions were constantly on the rise.

"Another circumstance that occasioned no little perplexity, was the difficulty of furnishing the requisite amount of beds. Some few brought their beds with them. But by far the larger portion were supplied by the Institute. When feathers could not longer be obtained, we resorted to the expedient of making mattresses of shucks. And after the Institute went into operation, so rapid and unexpected was the increase of the number of students, that myself and family have often been employed until midnight in making these articles, now indispensable to the very existence of the school. The former owner of the premises we now occupied had gone to much expense to provide for the comfort of his servants. I found seven good, substantial log cabins, made mostly of white-oak, with hewn logs, good doors, floors, roofs, and, with the exception of one, windows. These were washed out cleanly and white-washed. Good, new furniture was provided for each house. And, although it was known that these cabins were built originally for servants and occupied at first by them, I never heard of the least objection to them from any student.

"The farm and Institute went into operation at the same time. At the close of the first session we could have only a few days' recess, as we had a crop on hand. But another circumstance created a very considerable difficulty, and that was an apartment sufficiently large for a dining-room. Our number now was nearly seventy—it was seventy-two before the close of the second session.

"The largest room in the house was about eighteen feet square. It was not possible for more than one-third of the students to be seated at the table at the same time. Having no other alternative, I divided the students into three divisions in alphabetical order. The several com-

panies took their meals in rotation. The first divison ate first in the morning and last at noon, and so on in regular rotation. Nine times in a day, therefore, our table was obliged to be set, and such care taken in dividing the meals as would be most likely to give satisfaction. At length, this plan being so laborious, we constructed a cloth tent nearly seventy feet long, and here for the first time we took our meals together. It must not be forgotten that our only fixtures for cooking during the first year of the Institute were those constructed for the accommodation of a private family, a kitchen of common size, and the poorest sort of an apology for a brick oven, a short distance from the kitchen. At this period I often thought if we only had a place sufficiently large for a dining-room and suitable accommodations for lodging, I should hardly know how to give vent to my joy.

"But it is time to take some notice of other matters. The only place in which I could convene the students for morning and evening prayers or lectures was the building erected by Dr. Jones for a carriage house, sixteen feet by twenty-four. A supply of benches and desks was furnished, but the large doors were suffered to remain without any alteration. The weather at the commencement of the Institute was remarkably fine. It is seldom that the month of May is any more delightful. I had no assistant. There was a large number of students from different parts of the State seeking the benefits of the new institution. They had of course made different degrees of improvement. They had, too, different objects in view. Some wished to be fitted for college with all possible dispatch, and others could only, with considerable difficulty, read in a common spelling book. The classification was at first, from mere necessity, exceedingly imperfect. We

now greatly needed several more servants. We did, in those days, not simply what would be most compatible with our notions of dignity and ease, but what we *must*—or see the Institute terminate, ingloriously, a very brief existence. Often, therefore, after having been closely employed in teaching till about 12 o'clock at noon, I have found it necessary to go and assist in setting the table, or do anything needful to hasten on the dinner. I had now a pretty large amount of raw material on which to work. In every instance in which I thought there might be the most distant prospect of ultimate success, I impressed the importance of trying to acquire collegiate education. And I have the happiness of knowing that even these early efforts were not altogether in vain. It was not possible then to do much towards the formation of classes, but even that matter was not wholly lost sight of.

"It was during the session of 1833 and 1834 that we obtained from the Legislature of our State a charter for our school. The majority in the Commons, on the final passage of the bill, was quite respectable. But, in the Senate, there was a tie, and Mr. W. D. Moseley—to his lasting honor be it said—gave the casting vote in our favor. This charter created a Board of Trustees, composed of such individuals as were desired, with certain provisions for perpetuating themselves, allowed the Institute to acquire funds to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, continuing the obligation to pay taxes the same as on private property; and to be in force or to continue twenty years, and no longer. Was ever a charter given more meager or lean than this? We have leave to be if we can, but no disposition to encourage us, even to the value of a dime. We were not exempted from paying taxes. Such was the state of things then. Two years

afterwards the Legislature, at the request of the Trustees, gave us a college charter; so that from being known as the Wake Forest Manual Labor Institute, our Institute is known as Wake Forest College, with full power to confer all the degrees and enjoy all the prerogatives of other colleges and universities. Our college property is freed from taxation, we can hold property to the amount of $250,000, and fifty years are added to the original term of our charter.

"About two weeks after operations in the school and upon the farm were commenced, an attempt was made to have a meeting of the Board of Trustees, to consider whether the charter just obtained should be accepted or not, and for other purposes. I think at this time a quorum was not present. Several members however came, who seemed pleased with the prospect before us, and were inclined as individuals to accept the charter. Two of the brethren present, being practical farmers and knowing all the expenses that must inevitably be created in procuring horses, stock and farming utensils, etc., had brought each one hundred dollars to loan to the Institute, with the understanding that this money should be refunded at the convenience of the Institute. To this amount I added another hundred on the same conditions. This money was received in good time. My hundred was given to the Institute a few years afterwards, and I think the other two hundred were eventually presented likewise, as a gift. In May of this year (1834) a meeting of the Board of Trustees was held and a quorum obtained. At this meeting all the friends seemed well pleased and much encouraged. Our late lamented brethren, T. Meredith and J. Armstrong, were elected Professors, the former of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and the latter

of Ancient Languages. It was not arranged for these brethren to commence their labors at once in the institution. But the plan was for the former to hold himself in readiness to commence his labors within two years, and the latter to enter forthwith upon an agency for raising funds, during the balance of that year, and commence the duties of his professorship at the commencement of the following February. Subscriptions were opened on the spot for a large college building, and it was on this occasion that brethren C. W. Skinner and D. S. Williams subscribed five hundred dollars each, several subscribed at the same time two hundred and fifty dollars each. All these subscriptions were to be paid in five annual installments. Subscriptions had been commenced in August, 1832, at Rives' Chapel, to raise funds to pay for our plantation. But this was the first step that was taken to secure funds for our main college building. The brethren were now in fine spirits. The next number of *The Interpreter* or *Monthly*, edited and published by our Bro. Meredith, contained a glowing account of this meeting, and of the prospects ahead. Our Bro. Armstrong was very successful in his agency. To the best of my recollection, he obtained in subscriptions (to be paid as before remarked in five annual installments) about seventeen thousand dollars.

"It will be remembered that ours was a Manual Labor School. At that time such institutious were generally in high repute. The main object was to promote the health of the students and contribute somewhat towards the establishment of habits of industry. Our labor was performed quite late in the evening. By this arrangement we escaped the heat of the day. This exercise produced a good effect. I speak from my own experience, having

invariably taken part in this service with the students. There was no time in the whole day when I felt more like giving myself entirely to my studies than I did at night, after the performance of our usual task. This feature of the Institution was continued five years. To show in what light this matter was viewed by the students, I will mention one circumstance: About three or four years after the institution went into operation, a meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at the institution. It was reported among the students that the Trustees were deliberating upon the expediency of discontinuing the Manual Labor of the institution. A consultation was at once held by them, the result of which was that a committee was forthwith appointed to draw up a memorial to present to the Trustees, assuring them, in the most respectful manner, that they had no wish for a change, but that they desired the present state of things to continue. So much was done by the students before I had the least intimation of what they were doing. One of the oldest and most influential young gentlemen then called upon me to ask if I thought there would be any impropriety in the step they were taking. Before I replied he added, that they had not shown the memorial to the younger portion of the students, but that all the older ones had signed it but one, and that individual had not been asked to give the measure his sanction, knowing that from his peculiar temperament he would feel it a great privilege to set himself in opposition. They would not, therefore, put it in his power to insult them. As was to be expected, there was some opposition to the Manual Labor Department. The case just mentioned is a pretty strong one in its favor at a time when the number of students was large, and it was perfectly voluntary and showed the

feelings of the students at that time. The worst opposition we had to encounter was not from the students, but from those of whom we had a right to have expected better things. Some of the guardians of the institution were known, on some occasions, to have allowed themselves the use of such language as would gratify such students as wanted an excuse for reluctance to labor. But, worst of all, some communications appeared in the papers from one of the teachers calculated to injure the Manual Labor Department. One of the students replied in the same paper. The articles, two or three upon each side, were written with courtesy and dignity; and, in the judgment of the lamented Meredith, then editor of the paper, the student gained a complete triumph. Still, suggestions that had been made to the disadvantage of that feature of the institution requiring labor, were often repeated just as though they had never been answered. On this account the public discussion was much to be regretted. When, in the autumn of 1838, this department was suspended (for it was not at once abolished) many were displeased, and some refused to pay their subscriptions; others approved. There were conflicting opinions. Probably more approved of the action of the Board in suspending the labor than disapproved. After all, let the fate of Manual Labor in our seminaries of learning be what it may, no man can expect to enjoy good health, if he be a hard student, in the absence of regular and systematic labor. It is a mistake to suppose that the exercise needful for health will retard the student in his course. The plain truth is, the effect will be directly opposite.

"But one circumstance more remains to be mentioned: I allude to the revivals of religion with which

we have been favored. The first commenced on the 28th of August, 1834. The commencement reminds us of a rushing mighty wind. We had reason to hope that fourteen or fifteen obtained a hope on the first night of the meeting. So powerful was the work that for two or three weeks the regular business of the Institution was suspended. Between thirty and forty were hopefully brought to the knowledge of the truth. Four years in succession we were thus blessed with most powerful and quite extensive revivals. Passing over one year, in which we enjoyed a pleasant state of things, we were again favored with another shower. Not less than eight or nine of these seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord have been enjoyed in this Institution since it was commenced; besides some most precious seasons when a smaller number have obtained hope. Among the fruits of these revivals are many very useful ministers of the Gospel."

The success of Rev. John Armstrong's agency caused the Trustees to plan for a building to contain a chapel, two lecture rooms, two society halls and forty-eight dormitories. Here the real troubles of the friends of the Institution began; $17,000 in pledges and $17,000 in cash are two very different things. The Trustees contracted for the erection of this building at a cost of $15,000. Before it was completed financial distress overspread our State, and the wealthiest men were greatly perplexed to meet their private obligations, and a very large amount of these subscriptions was never paid. As early as November 24, 1836, we find the Trustees in debt to their Treasurer, William Crenshaw, $2,010.55. December 18, 1838, Rev. J. B. White was appointed President *pro tem*, while President Wait was to take the field as agent.

It became necessary in June, 1839, to instruct the Executive Committe "to obtain funds to meet the present obligations of the Board," and evidently before this a few brethren had become personally liable to the Bank for some amount, for we find that they "move that the Board approve the proceedings of the brethren with the bank and sustain them in assuming the bank debt."

On October 3, 1840, the Trustees "*Resolved*, That we petition the Legislature for a loan of from $5,000 to $10,000 from the Literary fund." They secured a loan of $10,000 from the State, and on January 2, 1841, "*Resolved*, That all the Trustees be requested to sign the bond to be made for the loan from the State."

At the same meeting they direct that this money be applied to the payment of the debt to the bank, the amount due Bro. Dennis, the balance due Dunn, Brownley & Co., and the balance be paid to Capt. Berry, the contractor. Whether the money was distributed as directed the record does not State.

We find at the meeting of the Baptist State Convention in October, 1842, that Capt. Berry held the note of the Trustees for $9,000. This, with the amount due the State, made a debt of $19,000. To raise this amount a subscription was started at this meeting. The condition of the subscription was that every subscriber, provided $9,000 were raised within two years from the 15th of October, 1842, should be held responsible for the amount of his subscription. About $2,000 were subscribed on the spot. I know not the result of this effort, for I find that November 16, 1844, Dr. Wait, writing to his wife, says: "In regard to the State loan, I think the brethren ought to appoint a committee to apply for more time, and I hope they will ask for it without interest.

We have paid up interest so far, and although we have paid no part of the principal, the State has not been injured, nor has it any cause of alarm. I hope the brethren will take as prompt measures as possible to pay Capt. Berry. Bro. R. T. Saunders wishes to know what his part of the note would be; said he would pay it without cost. They can adopt any plan they think best. My choice is that each one come forward *at once* and take hold. Let each one settle with Capt. Berry, or let some one or two do so for all the rest." His letters indicate that he was responsible for $2,000 of this debt to Capt. Berry—whether on the original note or on the subscription of October 1842, I cannot tell.

The pressure of this debt upon him, and other matters, caused Dr. Wait to offer his resignation of the presidency of the College, November 26, 1844. It was accepted to take effect in June, 1845. In June, 1845, he he was elected President of the Board of Trustees, and continued to hold the position until May, 1866.

After his resignation of the presidency of the College he seemed unwilling to undertake any other work, until he could raise the $2,000 mentioned above.

In 1846 we find him pastor of a church in Yanceyville, and find letters calling him to pastorates in Caswell, Person, Granville and Franklin counties. In after years he spoke of this period of his life while serving churches as the happiest part of his life. In 1851, he became president of Oxford Female College, which position he held until the summer of 1857. He then returned to Wake Forest to spend the remainder of his life with his only child, Mrs. J. M. Brewer, and assist in the education of her children. He continued as pastor of churches for a number of years, and only gave up preaching when

his health was too feeble to allow him to fill his appointments.

His work as Secretary of the Convention, in building up the *Biblical Recorder* and for Wake Forest College, has doubtless contributed as much to make the Baptists of North Carolina the power they are as any one agency. He loved to work and sacrifice for the cause of the Master. Wake Forest was dear to his heart. When too feeble to work, during the last years of his life, he would be found walking around the old building, interested in everything that pertained to the College, rejoicing in its prosperity, and going over again, in his thoughts, his struggles and labors for its success. Truly may it be said of him that he, more than any other man may be regarded as the founder of the College.

He died July 28, 1867, at Wake Forest College.

Professor White, who was for years most intimately associated with him, said after his death: "I think I have never known a man that loved to pray as he did. I have often thought that if I accomplished anything for Wake Forest it was all in answer to his prayers, and not as following from anything I did. It was always easier for me to trace results to one than the other."

"Servant of God, well done,
Rest from thy loved employ;
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy."

HISTORY

OF

THE MEHERRIN CHURCH.

Notwithstanding the untoward events which have marked the earlier period of our political history, it is pleasing to reflect that North Carolina has almost always been a refuge to the oppressed, and an asylum to which the friend of the "rights of conscience" might repair in safety. While the iron rod of persecution was applied to those who differed in sentiment from those in authority in sister colonies, hither could they flee; and, unmolested, "worship God under their own vine and fig tree." Efforts, however, were made about the year 1690, during the administration of Nathaniel Johnson, to erect a religious establishment. After considerable exertion, a legislature was returned that enacted laws imposing civil disabilities on persons dissenting from the Episcopal church, and preventing them from becoming members of the General Assembly. This law, so odious to the people, was soon repealed. But opposition to religious persecution in Virginia had not been so successful, and the intolerance of the dominant party drove many of their best citizens from the colony. The jail and whipping-post were sometimes the arguments used to convince those preachers of their error, on whose heads the prelates' hands had not been imposed. This drove many "of the most industrious subjects to flee to the wilderness," and, continues the historian, "the first settlers near Pasquotank and Perquimans were chiefly imigrants

from Virginia and dissenters from the established Church of England."

Among those worthy people who were compelled to seek relief from persecution by flight to the "wilderness" of Carolina, is to be found the germ of the first Baptist church in this part of the State.

In his Journal for 1729, Mr. Comer says: "This day I received a letter from the Baptist church in North Carolina, settled about two years ago by Mr. Paul Palmer, signed by John Parker, John Jordan, Benjamin Evans, John Parker, John Brinkly, Thomas Parker, James Copeland, John Welch, Joseph Parker, Wm. Copeland, Josehh Parker, and Michael Brinkley."

This church was planted doubtless by the "emigrants from Virginia," alluded to by Dr. Williamson. After it had increased so as to extend into the surrounding country, and other churches were constituted from it, it assumed the name of Camden, by way of distinction. In 1812 the name was changed to Shiloh, in consequence, probably, of the organization of other churches in Camden county.

Joseph Parker, one of the names in the list quoted from Comer's Journal, was a minister of the gospel, and following the tide of emigration westward, settled in the "wilds of the wilderness," as the lands were then called, which subsequently were surveyed and became Hertford county. The land on which he settled adjoins the church lands, on which our meeting-house now stands at this time. He set up public worship; and with the aid of his neighbors and friends he erected, about the year 1735, the first house on this spot, which was consecrated to the worship of God. This house was built of hewn logs, and was 20x25 feet in size. His labors were confined, principally, to the people in this immediate vicinity until

1773, when he removed, according to tradition, "South of Tar River," and there ended his earthly pilgrimage. Of the history of the church during the service of this, her first pastor, but little is now known; nor is it probable that we shall ever know more of that interesting period than we have already learned. Elder Parker was a consistent Christian, a zealous and successful minister. While pastor of the church, he lived on the farm on which he first settled on his removal from Camden. This farm afterwards came into the possession of the late Rev. Daniel Southall, and is now the property of his heirs. The land on which the church stands was given to the church by Elder Parker; and but for the unfortunate destruction of the county records by fire in August, 1831, we now might have the pleasure of inspecting an autograph of our ancient bishop. As the population increased, Elder Parker again removed. His course was southward, and he finally settled about forty miles above Newbern, in a region of country embraced in the present limits of Lenoir county. Here he and his wife lived in limited circumstances, supported by a few members of of the Freewill Baptist church. He preached occasionally on Conetoe Creek, and also on Pungo River. His labors were not so greatly blessed as they had been in former times. In Dobbs county (since divided into Wayne, Lenoir and Greene counties), Elder Parker was highly esteemed. It was to this county his labors were mostly confined, rarely preaching at any other place but at Wheat Swamp, near which church he settled. His services at Pungo and Conetoe were not rendered oftener than once or twice a year. In the great reformation which took place among the Baptists of North Carolina, Elder Joseph Parker, William Parker, and Winfield re-

fused to unite. As the reformed Baptists were styled Separates, the Parkers and their adherents assumed the name of Freewill Baptists. Joseph Parker departed this life about 1791 or 1792, and was buried in Robert Wyrington's burial-ground, on Wheat Swamp. James Roach, a Freewill minister from Craven county, took charge of the churches on Wheat Swamp and Loosing Swamp on the demise of Elder Parker, and under his labors the churches were revived and greatly increased. There are at this time more than three thousand members of the Freewill churches, who are probably the descendants of the handful on Wheat Swamp, Pungo and Conetoe. Rev. Lewis Whitfield, an aged Baptist minister in Carteret county, says that Elder Joseph Parker "was a square-built man," with broad face, about five feet eight inches high, and in his latter years wore on his head a cap continually. His manner in preaching was full of animation. Mr. Whitfield does not know whether he left any children, and says that no monument marks the spot where his ashes repose.

After Joseph Parker resigned the care of the church, she called Elder William Parker to serve her in holy things, who accepted the call, and was recognized as her bishop in 1773. This man was the uncle of our present senior deacon, Silas Parker, Esq., now in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was a remarkably pungent and practical preacher—seeking every opportunity to do good, and deeply devoted to the spiritual interests of his flock. The earliest printed record of the church appeared in the time of this minister. John Asplund, a Swedish merchant, having settled in this country, made a profession of religion and became a Baptist minister. Feeling a deep solicitude to become extensively acquainted with

his brethren, to know their condition and statistics, he travelled through the United States on foot, and published a Register in 1791. In 1790 he passed through the eastern part of North Carolina, and noticed this church as being the only Baptist church in Hertford County, and that it was under the care "of William Parker, a general Baptist minister." The church contained, at this time, one hundred members. It would seem that the only spiritual instruction received by the people of Hertford County was through Elder Parker's instrumentality, with the exception of an occasional service by an Episcopal clergyman, in whom the people lost confidence as a leader of the flock of Christ. The destitution of religious teaching was not confined to the people of this county alone, for many persons from Gates, Bertie and Northampton were among the regular auditory. During the term of ministerial services of her first two bishops, our church had services in her earthly sanctuary on every Lord's day. Thus it was in the days of the apostles. In all the improvements of modern days, we have yet to reach this point, where our fathers stood. Before these peaceful plains were trodden by the heavy feet of hosts in battle in our revolutionary struggle, our forefathers were wont to repair to this consecrated spot, and on *every Sabbath day* listen to the sweet invitations of the gospel from the lips of their venerated pastor. Let us not tarry in the march of improvement until we reach that desirable point. Do not let us be discouraged because we are now so far from it; on the contrary, let us urge onward, for recent events lead us justly to anticipate that we may, before long, enjoy the privilege of worshiping in our temple as often as did our fathers. Let us regard these events as certain indications that these

venerable groves shall again resound with the voice of the man of God and the praises of His people as each Sabbath shall roll its peaceful round.

In consequence of the peculiar opinions entertained by Elder Parker on the subject of the qualifications necessary for admission into the church, many persons were admitted into its fold who were not properly apprised of the obligations of the church relationship, and there sprang up, consequently, grievous disorders. He thought that all serious persons, professing a belief in the general truths of the Holy Scriptures, were entitled to receive the ordinance of baptism on application to a regularly authorized administrator. Many were baptized in an unregenerated state by Elder Parker, and became members of the church. Their subsequent course proved the pastor's error, and rent the church in sunder. The church languished under such circumstances, and was soon brought to a low ebb. "The love of many waxed cold," and the frequent exhibition of unsanctified feeling, brought into the body a fearful amount of impiety and irreligion. This state of confusion proved too great for the control of the pastor. A portion of his flock thought that they perceived the cause of their troubles in the pastor's sentiments and course. They had seen similar effects resulting from a like course in pastors of sister churches, and that the only remedy was in the adoption of the reformation advocated by missionaries from the Philadelphia Association, namely, John Gano in 1754, and Messrs. Miller and Van Horn in 1775. Calvinistic sentiments were first promulged by Rev. Robert Williams of South Carolina, in 1751; but his labors were of short duration, and we are not informed that much was effected. Those churches that embraced the reformation

adopted the orthodox Calvinistic plan, renounced Arminianism, and those notions previously entertained on the subject of the requisites to church membership, and thus reformed abuses, and greatly promoted the cause of peace and harmony in their midst. But some ministers persisted in their opinions and practices, and among them, as above remarked, was Elder William Parker. As proof of the sad condition of many of the churches at this time, and previous to the reformation, it may not be inappropriate to introduce the remarks of Rev. Morgan Edwards, pastor of the first Baptist church in Philadelphia. Mr. Edwards was a professed scholar, and highly esteemed as a divine and as a useful citizen. He made a tour among the Southern churches, and aided in throwing off the obloquy which some endeavored to cast upon the Baptists of North Carolina, in consequence of the Regulation which happened during the administration of Gov. Tryon. He kept a journal during his travels, which has been preserved; and in that journal, speaking of the Baptists of North Carolina, he says: "They were least spiritually-minded of all the Baptists in America. For so careless and indefinite were they in their requisitions, that many of their communicauts were baptized and admitted into the churches, and even some of their ministers were introduced into their sacred functions without au experimental acquaintance with the gospel, or without being required to possess it; so loose and indefinite were their terms that all who professed a general belief in the truths of the gospel, submitted to baptism, and religiously demeaned themselves, were admitted to it."

This handful of members, desirous of seeing a stop put to the disorders which were afflicting the church, approached their pastor and endeavored to persuade him to

pursue the better way. But it was in vain—he remained steadfast in his opinions. Finding their remonstrances unheeded, these brethren seceded from the church and joined themselves to a small band of Christians, who worshipped in a house built in 1775, near Potecasi. This body was recognized as a branch of the church at Bertie, (afterwards called Sandy Run) and had the occasional services of Jas. Vincent, Esq., a licentiate of the Bertie church. This gentleman was highly esteemed in church and State. Ever alive to the interests of the church, he was equally faithful to those of his country. He had held several public offces—having been high sheriff of the county of Northampton, a justice of the peace, and a member of the State Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution. He departed this life in Dec., 1798, greatly regretted. From the time of the sesession of these members, the church declined rapidly. This declension continued until the decease of Elder Wm. Parker. In the second year of Elder Parker's pastorate, namely, 1775, it was found necessary to rebuild the meeting-house, which had then stood forty years. The Parker family, aided by Peter Deberry, (grand-father of our deacon H. Deberry Jenkins,) and a few other friends, constructed a new framed house with their own hands, which was afterwards enlarged by the addition of sheds on the western and northern sides. This house stood until 1802, when it was again rebuilt under contract by King Parker, for $142. The commissioners who were appointed by the church to superintend the letting of the building, were Elder Jno. Wall, Brethren Wm. Parker, Wm. B. Cheatham, together with Lewis Meredith and Jno. Pipkin, Esqrs. In May, 1818, this house was underpinned with brick. Twenty-four years thereafter, (in 1826,) the house

was again rebuilt. The contract for building was taken by Isaac Langston, under the supervision of Brethren Jno. Wheeler, Thos. Deans and Silas Parker, and Messrs. P. Brown and Wm. B. Wise, commissioners. The house occupied by the church at the present time was built in 1842, by B. Overton, contractor: Commissioners—Rev. G. M. Thompson, Brethren Silas Parker, H. D. Jenkins, and Messrs. J. G. Rea and L. M. Cowper.

Elder Wm. Parker ceased from his labors in January, 1794. A large concourse of his neighbors testified their regard for his memory in their attendance upon his obsequies, and the occasion was improved by a sermon from that eminent man of God, Rev. David Barrow, of Isle of Wight, Va. Elder Parker, (as I have been informed by one who knew him well,) was a man of irreproachable morals; and, as before remarked, "deeply devoted to the spiritual interests of his flock." The want of success in the latter part of his ministry, and the decline of the church, are attributed rather to error in his theological sentiments, than to a want of personal piety.

The history of the church at this time, assumes a very interesting character. Vessels had, for many years prior, steadily visited the vicinity for the purpose of exchanging merchandise of various kinds, for the products of the country. This system was pursued until adventurers found it to their advantage to build store-houses, and establish permanent depots for the sale of their goods. A settlement was thus commenced, which was rapidly augmented by emigrants from other places. Business increased and representations were made to the Legislature that it "was a very proper situation for a town—healthy and convenient to a country which produces large supplies of tobacco, naval stores, corn, pork and lumber:" it was,

therefore, enacted by the Legislature, that "Wm. Murfree, Patrick Brown, Redmond Hackett, Wm. Vaughan and Jno. Parker, be constituted commissioners for designing and building a town," and to be called Murfreesborough, on 97 acres of land, adjoining Murfree's Landing. This act was passed in 1786.

Thus the town of Murfreesboro was originated, and as will be seen in the sequel, was destined to exert considerable influence upon the church. For many years the only place of worship to which the citizens resorted was at Parker's meeting-house. A few of the citizens, and some ladies who were heads of families, were numbered amongst the communicants of the church. Evening services were held at private houses in the town, while the ordinary exercises were observed on Sabbath at the meeting-house. This venerable church and her ministry constituted the only medium through which religious instruction was imparted to our fathers for many years. In the course of time ministers of other denominations visited the place, and afterwards established churches. The first Methodist preacher that visited the place was Rev. Jesse Lee.

Mr. Lee was living at the time in Prince George county, Va., and visited this neighborhood in November, 1782, on his way to Edenton. His fervent zeal and lively exhortations endeared Mr. Lee to the hearts of our ancestors, and he found a heartfelt welcome in every family circle. As there were professors of no other name, besides the Baptists, in the vicinity, Mr. Lee was received and esteemed without reference to peculiarity of religious opinion. Their hearts were warm, and they could know no difference. The parlors of our elder brethren were his chapels, and their houses his home. Mr. Lee and other Methodist ministers continued to visit Murfreesboro

for several years. Among others, the eccentric Lorenzo Dow occasionally appeared. Their labors were blessed, and a small class was formed. In 1806, Rev. Samuel Wells, a local minister, settled in the place, and set up regular services. Some years afterwards a meeting-house was erected in town, which was occupied by the Methodists. In 1815, Rev. Daniel Southall, a very energetic preacher, settled in the place aud gave a strong impetus to the Methodist cause. In a few years their influence predominated over that of all others. Other circumstances rendered this portion of the history of our church deeply interesting. She was left destitute by the decease of her second bishop, and knew not where to procure ministerial help. Her situation was critical—reduced to a handful of members, who were nearly disheartened by the gloomy aspect of affairs. At length they determined to call Elder Lemuel Burkitt to serve them in the ministry. In accordance with their invitation, Elder Burkitt visited the church and consented to serve them occasionally in the week, (as his Sabbaths were all occupied,) on condition that the church would adopt the principles of the reformation and come under the Calvinistic organization. To this the church assented, and Elder Burkitt, aided by a few of his own members, and some from Potecasi, met a portion of the members at a private house in the neighborhood and organized a church on the principles set forth by the Kehukee Association.

Thus constituted, the church determined to apply for admission into the Kehukee Association. Delegates were sent from the body to the Association, which sat in September, 1794, with the church at Sandy Run. The Association, having satisfied herself of the orthodoxy of the church, admitted her into the union, and she was enrolled

on the list as "the church at Meherrin." Elder Burkitt preached for the church for nearly six years, and succeeded in establishing it firmly on a solid foundation. He was eminently fitted for the times in which he lived. Of untiring industry, his labors often exceeded his strength. His talents were of a respectable character, and he improved them greatly by close application to study. I have a manuscript sermon of his which, although not entirely conformable to the rules of modern *belles lettres*, evinces the clear conception of a vigorous mind. He was born in Chowan County in February, 1750, and was baptized in July, 1771; began to preach two months thereafter. At first he was in the habit of reading Whitfield's and Williston's sermons to the people, but afterwards wrote his own sermons. His voice was so feeble that it could not be heard in a large congregation, yet few men traveled more and preached oftener than he did. His labors were greatly blessed. Such abundance of labors may seem to be inconsistent with his high-toned Calvinistic principles, yet such was the case, and such is the legitimate tendency of the doctrines of grace when viewed in a scriptural light. Mr. Burkitt was held in honorable estimation by his fellow-citizens in Hertford County, who elected him to a seat, unsolicited, in the State Convention which met to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution. He fell asleep in Christ in November, 1807, universally lamented.

At this late period it is impossible to ascertain the names of the delegates who represented the church in the Association of 1794–'95. The records of the church are silent on the subject, and the oldest minutes of the Kehukee Association now to be found are those of 1796. That copy was preserved by the late lamented Luther

Rice, and obtained from the archives of the American Baptist Publication Society, in Philadelphia, for reference in this work. In that year our church was represented by Nathan Garner and Silas Parker (uncle of our present deacon, Silas Parker). The statistics were: Three baptized, forty-seven in communion. The contribution was twelve shillings and six pence. The Association sat this year with our church. In 1797 the number in communion was fifty-eight; delegates, Silas Parker and Christopher Cook; four baptized; contribution, ten shillings. In 1798 the delegation consisted of John Pender and Christopher Cook. Statistics: One baptized; fifty-eight in number; contribution, ten shillings. In 1799 the delegation was the same as in 1798. Statistics: Two baptized; sixteen whole number; contribution, eight shillings and three pence. In 1804 the Association met again with this church. Our delegates were: Elder John Wall and William B. Cheatham; sixty-two baptized; 240 in number; contribution, fifteen shillings. In 1805 the church was represented by Elder Wall and C. Cook; sixty-six baptized; 280 in number; contribution, one pound.

For a more extended view of the statistics of the church, refer to letter "A" in appendix. As the data from which the above particulars are extracted are difficult of access, even to the favored few; and as it is desirable that these relics of our early history should be preserved, it is presumed that no apology will be required for inserting them thus in detail. The names of our forefathers, in connection with the history of this church, must be of too much interest to the most casual reader who has worshipped with us to be allowed to descend, unnoticed, to the tomb of forgetfulness. Some of these facts have been procured with considerable trouble and some expense, from many

parts of our own State and from other and distant States in the Union. In thus embodying them we hope to hand them down more certainly to those who will succed us when we shall have departed to the spirit world. Many facts brought to light in this compilation have been elicited from documents almost illegible by reason of age and neglect—some from tradition handed down by our oldest citizens, who longed to see these pages made public, but whose eyes are now closed in death; and had this work been longer delayed, the knowledge of those facts would forever have been beyond mortal grasp. Our history would consequently have been deficient in many important particulars. These scattered remains we regard with a reverence bordering on devotion—"like the Sybilline leaves, the more valuable because they are few."

In 1799, as will be seen in the above statement of the church statistics, her numbers were reduced to 16. As Elder Burkitt's labors were irregular, on account of the numerous calls upon him, sometimes several months would intervene between different services, and then they would be attended to in the week, when only a few could attend. The state of affairs became alarming, and as a last resort, application was made to the Association for relief; or, in the language of their petition, "for ministerial helps to administer the ordinances." In answer to their petition, the Association appointed the following ministers to visit them once in three months, viz: Amos Harrell from the church at Conoho, Martin County; Lemuel Burkitt from the church at Bertie; Wm. Lancaster from Maple Spring church, Franklin County, and Jesse Read from Rocky Swamp church, Halifax County. These ministers were faithful to their appointments, and by them the church was kept alive.

An inspection of the localities alluded to will enable us properly to estimate the sacrifices made by these ministers in attending to the request of the Association. In it we see an exemplification of the missionary spirit that well deserves our emulation. To every sincere Christian in that ancient Association, (with which our churches were once all connected,) it presents a green oasis in the dreary desert of Kehukee history, on which the eye delights to dwell.

Through many discouragements the church was enabled to maintain its visibility until 1802. At that time they were visited by Rev. Jno. Wall, a native of Sussex County, Virginia, and a member of the church in that County. At the invitation of the church he assumed the pastorate, and moved to Hertford, from Southampton, where he then resided. He became a member of the church by letter.

At this time, and for a few years before, a spiritual dearth prevailed extensiveiy. The churches throughout the whole Kehukee Association, which extended from the Virginia line on the North, to Wayne and Beaufort Counties on the South, and from the Atlantic on the East, to Warren and Franklin on the West, suffered in this distressing state of affairs. In all this region, comprising twenty-nine churches, there were only seventy-two persons who put on Christ by baptism in 1799. No church suffered more than did the Bertie church, at that time under the care of Lemuel Burkitt. Their numbers were greatly reduced, and the few who remained were in a cold and lifeless state. Their bishop, deeply distressed at their sad situation, left them for a while and made a tour through Kentucky and Tennessee, in which he was absent four months. While in the West he witnessed a

great revival which prevailed extensively among the churches in that region. With feelings greatly encouraged and joyous heart he hastened home to his desponding flock. With glowing fervor he related the blessed scenes he had witnessed, and urged them to hope. The church was called together, their faults faithfully held up to their view, their lukewarmness reproved, and the only remedy was a return to their first love. Their hearts were moved to contrition, and with sighs and tears they acknowledged their remissness. A day of humiliation, of fasting and prayer was appointed and faithfully attended. A reformation was effected, members of the church were active and prayerful; a better state of things very soon ensued. The congregation was eager to hear the preaching of the word; evening meetings were held, and "more persons attended them than formerly attended the house of God on the Lord's days." As might have been expected, a powerful revival broke forth, great numbers professed religion, and and the church was strengthened. This work extended to other churches. It reached the church at Meherrin in the summer of 1802. "In less than two years about 160 were baptized" It is specially mentioned, as a remarkable circumstance, that our pastor "baptized as many as twenty-three in one day," and in the words of the ancient chronicle, "some very respectable characters in and about Murfreesboro were added to this church." The influence of this work was felt for some years after its more powerful effects had subsided. In August 1803, there was a prodigious excitement among the people. It occurred at a session of the Bertie Union Meeting, held with this church. "It was supposed that there were four thousand people present. The weather proved very

rainy on Sunday. There was a stage erected in the grove, and at 11 A. M., Elder Burkitt ascended to preach. It was expected from the appearance of the clouds, that it would rain every moment, and before he was done preaching it did so. Notwithstanding this, the numerous congregation still kept together, and one thousand people were exposed to the rain without any shelter; some crying, some begging the ministers to pray for them, and some convulsed to the ground, and the greater part composedly stood and received the falling shower." Mr. Burkitt's text, on this memorable occasion, was in Ezekiel 47:5. "Afterward he measured a thousand; and it was a river that I could not pass over: for the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a river that could not be passed over." While he was engaged in preaching in the grove, Elder Robert Murrell was holding forth in the meeting-house, and there a scene similarly exciting, was being enacted. After concluding his services in the grove, Elder Burkitt proceeded to the church (Mr. Murrill still preaching) and exclaimed, as he passed through the dense throng, now intensely excited, "The Lord is here, too."

How long this state of things continued is not known; but Mr. Wall's affecting manner of preaching and fervent piety were well calculated to foster a work of the kind. Although his constitution was not vigorous, yet he labored in his sacred calling with great industry. In addition to regular ministrations on the Lord's day, Bishop Wall visited his flock from house to house for the purpose of engaging in prayer and devotional exercises. He appointed evening meetings in the different neighborhoods of his congregation, which effected a great deal of good. It was pleasing to attend the church meetings,

to hear the good which had been done at these social meetings. Many more were brought to a knowledge of the truth at them than at the regular ministerial services at church on the Lord's day. In them many were favored with the means of the gospel who otherwise would not have enjoyed them. Religion was thus brought to every man's house; to the infirm and decrepit who could not—as well as to the churlish and indolent who would not—attend the house of God. It has been observed that the heart is more susceptible of good impressions at these social meetings than in meetings of a more public character. In these meetings there is less reserve, and the avenues to the heart are more accessible. Every one seems to feel that the meeting is an individual affair, that its object is a matter of personal concern. No pastor should neglect prayer-meetings if he desires to see the gospel abound. He should, in person, establish and sustain them throughout his whole congregation, and urge his deacons and prominent members to aid him. In every revival recorded in our history they have been preceded and sustained by these gracious meetings. We may justly fear that the prosperity and peace of any church will be short lived where these meetings are not cherished. In the management of prayer-meetings Mr. Wall was very happy. Rarely did he attend one at which there were not some brought to feel themselves as lost and unhappy, in an impenitent state, and led to crave an interest in the prayers of Christians. Often numbers were made to rejoice aloud in hope of sins forgiven.

The church was now greatly strengthened, and continued to progress favorably under the auspices of Elder Wall for many years afterwards. Indeed, she never declined to the low state from which she had risen.

As a faithful compiler of our history, we must now revert to circumstances, a recurrence to which causes deep sorrow and mortification of feeling.

The latter days of our highly-favored Bishop Wall were mournfully obscured. The occasional indulgence of drinking ardent spirits led to the formation of a habit which unfortunately brought him to a sinful excess. His faithful flock observed it for a while in silence and deep regret. The larger portion baptized by his own hands felt determined to sustain him as long as they could do so consistently with the obligations of our most solemn church covenant. They loved him with the ardor of a young convert's warm affection; they rejoiced in his joys, and grieved in his sorrows—happy if they could only contribute to his gratification. They withheld no earthly good in their power which they thought would minister to his comfort. They had purchased a tract of land and presented it to him, and filled his domicile with many a token of affectionate regard. But the destroyer came, and their peace was slain. Evidence thickened upon them that their under-shepherd was pursuing a downward road—they could doubt no longer. How sad! how mournful was the spectacle! How were their fond hopes to be blighted, their expectations to be disappointed, and their pleasant sunshine to be overcast by gloomy clouds. That sun which had risen and progressed so gloriously, in whose cheering beams they had so much delighted, was, to all human appearance, now to set in dim obscurity. And yet they knew not how to approach their Elder in the language of rebuke. How could the lambs of the flock venture to discipline their leader? They had reached a crisis as painful as it was fearful. A sense of duty led them to adopt a decided

course. Faithfulness to the cause they had espoused and to their covenant vows prevailed over their timid partiality. The March meeting of 1810 was a meeting that, to our elder brethren, was long to be remembered with sorrow and grief. It was on that occasion that the church resolved to clear her skirts of the sin of connivance at sin in her pastor. Tears, bitter tears, and deep-drawn sighs marked the whole procedure. In great tenderness and affection he was arraigned before the church, and "it was ordered that the grievances of the church on account of Elder Wall's conduct be entered on the records." The sentence of disapprobation was pronounced amidst the audible sobbing and down-cast looks of the people of God. It was a melting scene. There stood their venerable bishop, with locks blanched by the frosts of time, denounced by his own flock. His soul heaved within him, for he knew that it was done in faithfulness—it was deserved. As the tears streamed down his furrowed cheeks, he seemed to awake to a keener sense of his lapsed condition. He meditated on it, and resolved that thenceforth "he would touch not, taste not, handle not, the accursed thing." Upon evidence afforded of his reformation, the church passed an order "restoring Bro. Wall to fellowship." Notwithstanding his reformation and restoration to the church, Mr. Wall never regained his former standing. In about two years afterwards he left the State and went to the West. He settled near Dover, a small town on Cumberland River, about forty miles west of Nashville. Here he was bereaved of his wife, and intermarried with a Mrs. Denton, relict of John Denton, formerly of this county. He was happy in his new connexions, and lived honored and respected by all. His course in Ten-

nessee was such as became his profession. A personal acquaintance of his, now in the West, writes that Elder Wall "stood high in the estimation of the public as a Christian, a preacher and a citizen." The precise date of his death we have been unable to learn, but it was sometime subsequent to the year 1818. During the time that Elder Wall had the care of the church 176 persons were added to it by baptism. In 1804 the Kehukee Association again held a session with this church. At this time the name of Elder J. Wright appears. He was received and accredited as a representative or corresponding delegate from the Virginia Portsmouth Association. It was on this occasion, and in our church, that that eminent servant of God, Rev. Martin Ross, called up that famous resolution which led to the first general organization of the Baptists of North Carolina. On the 6th October, 1804, the query which had been presented to the Association of 1803, touching the duty of the Kehukee Association in regard to missions, and referred to the session of 1804 for decision, was called up. After a most interesting and solemn discussion, "it was declared to be the duty of the Association to engage in the work of sending the gospel to the heathen." And this venerated spot has the honor of being the birth-place of the North Carolina General Meeting of Correspondence, which was subsequently merged into the Baptist State Convention. October of 1854 will be the jubilee period of that interesting event. Let those that may be alive at that day, celebrate it with gratitude to Him, who commanded, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel." In March, 1808, the general meeting sat in this church, and again in May, 1813. In October, 1842, its offspring, the North Carolina Baptist State Conven-

tion held a memorable meeting with this church. The Chowan Association assembled with us in 1813, 1821 and 1835. The last two sessions were signalized as being the occasion when the subject of Freemasonry was introduced, and on both occasions provoked discussions of a most painful character.

Meherrin Church has been the mother of several churches, and perhaps this is as convenient a place as any other to speak of them.

In 1804 the branch of this church worshipping at Ahoskie Meeting-House, feeling itself strong enough to act independently, petitioned to be set off as a separate church. Their request was granted, and in October, 1805, they were received into the Kehukee Association, reporting sixty-seven in fellowship, represented by Elder Hillary Morriss and Nathan Saunders. Church at Ahoskie now contains 329 members. In 1806 the branch at Middle Swamp, Gates County, presented a petition by the hands of N. Pruden, signed by twenty-five members, praying to be constituted into an independent church. Letters were granted accordingly. The church at Middle Swamp is accomplishing great good. She has raised up several ministers; is the mother of nearly all the churches in Gates County; contains at this time 165 members.

In November, 1835, a flourishing branch was set off at Buckhorn Chapel as an independent body. This young vine has thrived well and borne good fruit. Her zeal in the cause of Sunday Schools will be long remembered by the rising generation. She now numbers nearly eighty. On 22d November, 1839, twenty-one members were dismissed to constitute a church about four miles west from Winton. They are recognized now as "the church at

Mt. Tabor." This body has been a working people and have therefore been prosperous. It contains some valuable materials. She has enrolled on her books nearly one hundred names. For the convenience of members residing in Murfreesboro, another branch was constituted in the town on 2d July, 1843. This branch took immediate steps to build a place of worship in the village. The undertaking was commenced under circumstances extremely inauspicious. Besides the weakness of the body in a pecuniary point of view, the church was still burdened with a portion of the debt incurred by the erection of the meeting-house of the mother church in 1842. The project was denounced by some as absurd. It was however undertaken, relying upon a good Providence. Commissioners were: Rev. G. M. Thompson, Brethren S. J. Wheeler, S. Polkinhorn and Messrs. L. M. Cowper and Perry Carter. Bryan Bishop, an architect of some taste, was appointed to superintend the erection of the house. A handsome lot (being a part of a beautiful grove in the center of the village) was purchased of Dr. Isaac Pipkin for one hundred dollars; and first of May, 1843, the carpenters commenced work. On first Lord's Day in November following, the house was dedicated to the service of the Holy Trinity. Our bishop was assisted on the occasion by Rev. E. L. Morgan, of Richmond, and Rev. J. V. Crosby, of the Presbyterian Church. The house is admired by good judges for its thorough consistency with the principles of correct architecture.

It is proposed by some members to apply to the mother church for permission to be erected into an independent church.

From this it will be seen that this church has been

heavily drained for the constitution of other churches. Notwithstanding all these drains, however, she is enabled to sustain herself (having nearly 380 members), and is yet able to lend a helping hand to the needy.

Nor has she been deficient in raising up ministers of the gospel. In 1804 she called one of her members, Hilary Morriss, to ordination as a traveling evangelist. When the branch of Ahoskie was erected into an independent church, he was dismissed and was afterwards installed as its bishop, and continued to serve them until the time of his decease in August, 1825.

Jacob Archer was licensed to preach in November, 1804, but of his history I have been unable to learn anything of interest. Elder Snipes was a member of this church. His labors in Northampton County were greatly blessed, especially in the vicinity of Roberts' Chapel, where he will long be remembered. Arthur Byrd and a man by the name of Brasington were also licentiates of our church. The former was an eccentric man and often brought himself into needless difficulties, which caused him to fall into disrepute. The latter was but an ordinary speaker, and but little is now known of him The general impression is rather prejudicial to his character. Samuel (a blind man of color), better known by the sobriquet of "Blind Sam," was a member of this church. He was licensed to preach in October, 1816. His ready wit and natural abilities drew crowds of both white and colored people wherever he went. From Virginia to the South Carolina line he was well known. Ofttimes he was a welcome guest in the mansions of the gentry, many of whom were not even professors of religion, but even to these his native good sense and unaffected piety rendered him a welcome visitor. His labors were blessed to the spiritual

good of many persons. There were several other colored members who were accounted as preachers, and who were instruments of good, especially among people of their own color, but the church did not see fit to grant them a formal license. Among them may be mentioned Joseph of Deberry, an exemplary Christian, and believed to be a sincere lover of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We shall now resume the regular narrative of our history, commencing with Bishop Wall's successor.

Elder James Wright was called to the pastorate in April, 1812. The call was accepted, and for nearly twenty years he went in and out before them. He moved from Virginia to Northampton, and there continued to reside until the time of his decease, which occurred suddenly on 11th January, 1831. Elder Wright was esteemed as a man of talents above mediocrity, and possessed some natural powers, which occasionally burst forth to the astonishment of his auditors. He was standing clerk of the Chowan Association from 1812 to 1828, and for several years afterwards he acted as moderator of the same body. His stern integrity and incorruptible honesty secured to him the confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens. While he was pastor he baptized 130 persons in the fellowship of this church. In 1824 a revival broke out in the town of Murfreesborough, in the fruits of which our church shared largely. In February a young licentiate of the Presbyterian Church in Granville County, by name of James Douglas, visited the place and remained a few days. He labored in the capacity of a home missionary. Our citizens were so well pleased with him that they invited him to settle in the village, pledging him $300 per annum, if he would preach two Sabbaths in a month. He agreed to come, and as Baptists we take pleasure in

bearing testimony to his worth and usefulness. His liberal education enabled him to grapple with "wickedness in high places," nor did he hesitate to speak out whenever he conceived the interests of religion required the voice of a friend. To aid in his support he took charge of the male academy, and he exerted an influence over his school of a most salutary and evangelical character. Indeed, his influence was highly evangelical in every sphere in which he moved. Sabbath-breaking boys fled from his presence as from a dangerous foe, and yet they loved the man whom they feared. He established Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes in the village, and their effects were soon visible in the reformed manners of the youth in town. James Douglas was emphatically a man of God. In June, 1824, a series of meetings was held by Mr. Douglas, aided by Rev. Messrs. Graham and Hatch, which produced a powerful effect on the citizens of Murfreesboro. Unfortunately they were of too short continuance to have manifested the fruits. Many were seriously impressed, nor did those impressions entirely subside, for in August following the Methodists held what is called a Quarterly Meeting, on which occasion several excellent ministers attended; among them were Dr. French and Rev. Mr. McKenny, and a glorious harvest appeared. This was the first revival of much extent that had visited our little town. Its influence was felt in every family in the place. About twenty connected themselves with the Methodist Church, fifteen with the Presbyterians, and thirty-three with the Baptist Church. Most of those, however, who joined the Baptists resided in the country. Nearly all those who became members of the other churches were residents of town. This was in consequence of our having no meeting-house in town, an ob-

stacle which has militated against Baptist interests very much in this and other places in the Southern States.

In the latter part of this year a man by the name of Andrew V. Edwards, a Canadian by birth, became a member of this church by letter from Potecasi. Mr. Edwards was a man of ardent zeal and ever disposed to be engaged in doing good. He set up prayer-meetings in different neighborhoods, and although his language was very broken (having spoken the French only in youth) his meetings were so numerously attended that, at the earnest request of the people, he held meetings on those Sabbaths which were not occupied by the pastor, in addition to his evening meetings in the week. His fervent appeals deeply affected the people, and soon a powerful work was manifested, which continued so long as Edwards lived. As the result of this work, Elder Wright baptized forty-six persons.

In May, 1830, Elder James Delk moved into this vicinity and settled near the late Thomas Dean, Esq., at that time one of our most efficient deacons. He was dismissed by the church at Sawyer's Creek and joined us by letter. During the year he preached occasionally for us—sometimes at Roberts' Chapel and sometimes at private houses. The next year he accepted a call to the pastorate of the church.

A combination of causes, at this time, brought the church into a most lamentable condition. A spirit of antinomianism had been growing in the church, which came into active collision with the sentiments of a portion of the members, now aided by the influence of an energetic pastor. But a more potent cause of trouble was a spirit of opposition to the pastor. This spirit was manifested with great caution, and its very concealment

rendered the flame more violent when it did fully appear. An opportunity was offered on the presentation of certain amended rules, by a committee that had acted in concert with the pastor. The rules (which were only a more expressive and better digested system of by-laws for the government of the church when engaged in secular business, than their former code), were adopted without a dissenting voice. Very soon it was rumored that the new by-laws were the work of the pastor, rather than of the committee. The pent-up flame now burst forth, and produced a most unhappy state of affairs. Gathering up their strength, the disaffected party moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the rules were adopted, and rejected every article. Perceiving the deep excitement under which his brethren labored, and unwilling to be the means of irritating them, Elder Delk withdrew from the church forthwith, and, together with several valuable members, asked letters of dismission.

While these difficulties harassed the church, a pleasing work was progressing in the congregation. Prayer-meetings were held by the pastor in that part of the congregation residing around him, and by the writer of this in that part lying south of Murfreesboro'. Many persons professed religion at these meetings, and, had the church been in a harmonious state, a much greater amount of good might have been effected. While strife and angry debate marked the proceedings of church councils, the Holy Spirit of peace and love reigned over these social meetings. They seemed to be almost the only means by which the church was kept together. As the result of them, forty-seven persons were added to the church by baptism.

In order to bring about a better state of things, and to

restore peace among the members, it was resolved to call a council of ministers to their assistance. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to invite the following bishops to sit with them, viz: R. T. Daniel, S. Murfee, George Williams, R. Lawrence, M. Piland and John Harrell. A council, consisting of Messrs. Daniel, Murfee, Doughtry and Harrell assembled in June, 1832, and after deliberating upon the situation of the church, they recommended a course which happily composed their agitations, restored the church to harmony, and their former pastor to his pulpit. During the time of Elder Delk's withdrawal from the church as its bishop, they called Rev. Mills Piland as a supply, who served them until November, 1833, when Elder Delk resumed the entire charge of the church at her request. His situation, however, was rendered so unpleasant, by reason of old jealousies in the minds of some of the members, that he resigned the pastorate, and preferred to operate for the good of the church as opportunity was offered. In August, 1834, Elder John Harrell was invited to fill the pulpit, which invitation he accepted, and labored regularly for the church on the third Lord's days and Saturdays before. Mr. Delk continued in the vicinity, and was ever ready to aid the church in every good work. In 1835, assisted by a young minister by the name of J. W. Pender and Elder George Williams, he held a series of meetings with the church which were highly blessed, and thirty-seven persons professed to have passed from death unto life, all of whom were baptized by him. In 1836, two licentiates (Goodman and Hill) engaged in a meeting of days, which resulted, it was thought, in the conversion of thirty-eight persons, the most of whom were immersed by Elder Delk. Thus it will be seen

that this minister baptized about 150 persons into the church, notwithstanding the difficulties under which he labored. If such success attended his labors while so unfortunately situated, what results might not have been experienced had the church co-operated with him in holy things? In view of these melancholy circumstances, when our dear church was so blind to her interests, how forcibly does the mind recur to the Redeemer's lament over the holy city: "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace!"

Elder Delk left this part of the State afterwards and moved to Warrenton, where he lost his wife in 1837, and afterwards to Franklin County, and from thence to Virginia. Since the last meeting of the Chowan Association, he has engaged to supply a circuit of churches with preaching once a month, and ours is among the number.

For a term of years Elder John Harrell alone continued to supply the church with the Word and ordinances. In November, 1837, Elder George M. Thompson was requested to preach for us once a month, on first Lord's days, which had been the time of our regular meetings for more than half a century. It may not be deemed out of place to remark here that our quarterly meetings always have been, and are still, held in February, May, August and November; and after we were deprived of ministerial services every Sabbath, our meetings were held on the first Lord's day, and Saturday before, in each month. While operating as a missionary for the Chowan Home Missionary Society, Mr. Thompson held a meeting of days with the church, during which thirty-eight persons professed to have found peace, and were baptized

by him. Owing to the distance at which Elder Harrell lived from the church, and for other causes, he was induced to retire from our pulpit in November, 1838. He terminated his mortal career on the 6th of November, 1844, greatly regretted. "Say nothing of the dead but good," is the rough rendering of a beautiful Latin apothegm; but in religious biography, the best good of mankind requires the whole truth. John Harrell had his faults, but a kinder heart and nobler feelings have seldom animated our fallen nature. He was an acting magistrate in Nansemond County, and truly he was "a terror to evil-doers." No man acted with more promptness in restraining evil by the exercise of his official duty than did Mr. Harrell. He was an excellent judge of human nature, a sound doctrinal preacher, and probably the best disciplinarian among all our bishops. From the date of Elder Harrell's resignation until the present time, our church has been under the care of our present bishop, Rev. G. M. Thompson. Our progress has been gradual —at times enjoying special seasons of revival, and again moving on without any perceptible excitement. In 1839 the church enjoyed a time of refreshing under the labors of the pastor, aided by two young licentiates—Barkley and Harrell. Between thirty and forty put on Christ in baptism—most of them wives of our brethren, or other members of their families—rendering this movement a singular blessing to the church.

In 1840, our bishop moved his family into the village and commenced services in the week at candle-lighting, and from thence a new era dawned upon our prospects. At this time religion was at a low ebb in town. Members of the churches were in a cold and lifeless state. Scarcely were the outward forms of christianity attended

to. The house of God was too often exchanged for the tavern, and the distinction between professors and non-professors was lost. Efforts had been made, from time to time, by the most acceptable ministers in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches to no purpose. The place seemed to be given over to coldness and obduracy of heart. Such a painful condition of religious declension, deeply affected the little band of praying people, which met with our pastor, and their fervent prayers ascended to the throne of Grace that heaven might favor our citizens. In June, 1842, a work broke forth which effected a great change, and, perhaps, we cannot do better than to transcribe an account given of it in the *Southern Church Repository*, from the August number of that work: "On Sunday (5th of June, 1842) our pastor preached to a large audience at our meeting-house in the suburbs, and we trust, not without effect. At candle-lighting Elder Robert McNabb preached by invitation for us in the Presbyterian Church. Up to this time Christians had been very lukewarm, although ministers of different denominations had labored faithfully for our benefit. Among our own ministry were Bishop Hume and the reverend President of Wake Forest College, who had been with us on two occasions, and other ministers of note among the Methodists and Presbyterians had labored in the place. Prospects in the commencement of the meeting were gloomy. On Monday (the next day) a prayer-meeting was appointed to be held at 4 P. M., at which only six persons were present, and four of them were non-professors. The meetings were kept up until the 11th, when one person was enabled to make a profession. Meetings now became more interesting; people came out, and services were held at sun-rise, at 8 A. M., 11 A. M., 4 P. M. and at 8 P. M.;

indeed, the house of God was scarcely without worshippers at any hour of the day. Religion became a matter of universal concern—merchants closed their doors, mechanics quit their shops, and notwithstanding the rain descended in torrents during the meeting, the church was thronged, and many in the throng were the most feeble and delicate ladies in the village.

"The meetings were kept up for several weeks, and about seventy persons professed to have been converted, forty-eight of whom were baptized. The work extended to churches in the vicinity, and proved a blessing to many." The members in town were set off as a branch, and afterwards built them a house of worship, as before stated, thus setting a good example to those who prefer worshipping in the "bushes."

In a majority of our churches a season of indifference as certainly succeeds a revival as winter follows summer. So it has been with us. It is to be regretted that all churches do not live up to their privileges, and thus enjoy a constant revival. For some years after the revival of 1842 the church relapsed into a cold and sluggish state; during the associational year, from May, 1845, to May, 1846, not a single person was baptized, a circumstance almost without a parallel in the annals of the church. We are not to imagine that the real prosperity of a church is always indicated by its increase in numbers—this is a small advantage compared with growth in the graces of our holy religion, a growing conformity to the character of the man Christ Jesus. In these respects it is believed that our church has made constant progress. It cannot be denied, however, that those churches which are most faithful are generally blessed with the greatest ingathering of immortal souls. In this way the light of the church

is best made manifest to the world. She reclaims the vile, reforms the wicked and leads the wayward to peace and heaven. Alarmed at her condition, the church determined at her meeting in July last (1846) that Friday before the first Lord's Day in August following should be set apart as a day of humiliation before God, and that a series of meetings should be held afterwards, during which the church would wait before the Lord, praying for an outpouring of His Spirit. The day was observed as designed, and our pastor (aided by Elder Delk) commenced a meeting, which was continued at the mother church during the day, and in town with the branch at night, until the 7th of August, when it closed. Several persons professed to have found peace during the week, and on the third Lord's Day in September following (being the 20th of the month) twenty-six persons were baptized by the pastor in the Meherrin, at our usual place of baptism.

Perhaps it might be deemed indecorous to pass over the labors of the present bishop of the church without some general review of his labors. Delicacy forbids much being said.

At the commencement of his labors with us there was a spice of that feeling pervading the church which had rendered some of his predecessors so unhappy. That feeling has been in a great measure eradicated. Intimately allied to anti-missionism, it prevented the church from engaging in the missionary enterprise, as was her duty. This delusion has passed away, and the church as a body, is a fast friend of missions. For the most part, the church has enjoyed great harmony and peace since 1838. On all important matters there is a perfect unanimity among the members; all are disposed to co-operate harmoniously

in advancing the interest of the church, and in promoting the eternal interests of their neighbors. Whenever a difference of opinion obtains in any matter, no strife is engendered, a willingness to yield in love is manifested. Our people are becoming a reading people; nearly thirty numbers of our religious State organ, (the *Biblical Recorder*) besides a number of other religious periodicals, are circulated amoug them, and a few brethren have taken fifty copies of the *Macedonian*, (an exclusively missionary paper,) for gratuitous distribution. Our meeting-house, once a contracted and badly-constructed edifice, has been rebuilt on an enlarged and correct scale, with accommodations sufficient for the comfort of the large body of colored people who flock to our convocations at this time-honored spot. In the village our youthful branch has constructed a temple that would reflect credit on an abler body.

Our task is performed—our history recorded. We cannot close this sketch without recording our humble gratitude to Him who hath blessed us thus far. In publishing this little book the church erects her Ebenezer. Here will we raise our glad hands and exclaim, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us!"

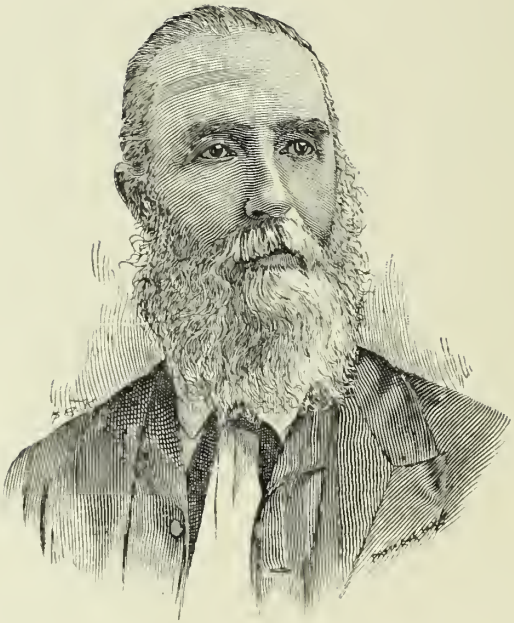
Since the organization of this church nearly one thousand persons (as we believe and hope) have been trained in the ways of righteousness, and taught the way to heaven. The greater part of them have ceased from their labors. Our ancient pastors sleep with their flocks. We, their descendants, are thus privileged to review their lives and actions. Let us learn wisdom from these lessons, for soon we shall be called to that unseen world to give an account of the manner in which we have improved our present opportunities. Let us be useful while we can, conscious that our work on earth will soon be done.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

It is proposed in this journal to present carefully-prepared papers on every phase of Baptist life in North Carolina, consisting of original biographical and historical sketches, the republication of rare and inaccessible prints, with such documents, records and correspondence as shall illumine our denominational history. These will be supplemented by historical notes and criticisms, book reviews, etc.

We are seekers after truth. Our work is tentative. Much of our history is now obscure and errors are likely to creep into the most carefully prepared papers. We shall be glad to welcome corrections and to encourage full and independent discussion of questions relating to Baptist history in North Carolina, but we have no place for controversy which reaches beyond the bounds of courtesy.

We hope to enlist the very best talent of the denomination among our contributors. As the representative of the North Carolina Baptist Historical Society we fall heir to its papers. Such papers are already prepared, or in course of preparation, by Rev. Thomas Hume, D. D., LL, D., Rev. C. E. Taylor, D. D., Litt. D., Rev. N. B. Cobb, D. D., Rev. W. B. Royall, D. D., Prof. F. P Hobgood, Prof. W. L. Poteat, Rev. J. D. Hufham, D. D., and Thomas M. Pittman. Others are already determined on.



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Meherrin Church.

Notes and Comments. Book Table.

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N. C. BAPTIST HISTORY.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE N. C. BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY REV. N. B. COBB, D. D.

WHERE THE FIRST BAPTIST SETTLERS CAME FROM.

Rev. Morgan Edwards, who made a laborious tour of the American colonies to gather materials for his history of Baptists in America, informs us that there were Baptists in North Carolina as early as 1695; but history gives no account of the organization of a church in North Carolina till the year 1727, when Shiloh church, in Camden County, was gathered by Paul Palmer, of Welch Tract, Delaware. The condition of the colonies at that time—and indeed until the War of the Revolution—was not at all favorable to the organization of Baptist churches anywhere in America. The government of the colonies was inimical to dissenters; and Baptists and Quakers seem to have been the special objects of government hate. Wm. Screven, of Boston, founded a Baptist church at Kittery, Maine, in 1682; but they were soon broken up by persecutions and moved to Charleston, where they organized the first Baptist church in South Carolina, in 1683. It is not improbable that some of these persecuted saints found their way into the Albemarle region of North Carolina and located in the section where Paul

Palmer organized the Shiloh church. This is rendered more probable from the fact that in 1695 John Archdale, a Quaker, became the Governor of the two Carolinas. He had formerly visited the colony during the bitter contest between the Quakers and the Episcopalians about the establishment; and, as he was known to be a friend of religious liberty, his elevation to office would naturally attract to the colony those who were persecuted for their religion in New England, Virginia, and the mother Country. Certain it is that about this time a considerable trade was carried on between North Carolina and the New England colonies, and there was much passing to and fro between the sections. Besides this, it was well known that there was more independence in matters of religion and government in North Carolina than in any other of the British-American colonies, except Rhode Island.

The people of this colony, numbering only about 5,000, exclusive of Indians, had deposed their governor for infamous conduct, had resisted the enforcement of the Fundamental Constitution prepared by John Locke, and compelled the Lords Proprietors to abrogate them after a contest of nearly nine years, and had carried themselves with such an independent spirit that Chalmers said of them, that "having refused to join in legislation with their southern neighbors, the inhabitants were delivered over to their discontents; having denied submission to the deputy-governor, sent them from Charleston, the proprietaries seem, in despair, to have relinquished them to their own management in 1695, without inquiring, for seven years after, whether they prospered or declined. During that gloomy period New England alone cultivated her former commercial connection with them,

supplying their inconsiderable wants, and carrying their tobacco and their corn, without restraint, wherever interest directed her traders."

Baptists living in New England, where Obadiah Holmes, one of their honored ministers, had been unmercifully whipped for holding a religious meeting at Wm. Witter's, "contrary to law," where their house of worship in Boston had been nailed up and the members "fined and imprisoned by order of the General Court," would very naturally seek a country that resisted the enforcement of *such laws*, and cast their lot among a people who denied submission to governors and courts that were too anxious to enforce conformity by fines and imprisonments.

In 1688 only thirteen *organized* Baptist churches were reported in North America, viz: Seven in Rhode Island, two in Massachusetts, two in Pennsylvania, one in New Jersey, and the one in Charleston that emigrated from Maine in 1683. There were, doubtless, many other scattered Baptists in the country, but the laws against them were so severe and their congregations were so frequently broken up by the interference of the magistrates, that they had no regular places of meeting, and, consequently, no houses of worship.

The "gloomy period" in the government of North Carolina, and the "relinquishment of the people (of North Carolina) to their own management," so mournfully depicted by Chalmers, would very naturally invite the persecuted Baptists and Quakers of New England to seek homes in the fertile lands of the Albemarle region, especially since the colony was settled by whites before King Charles' patent was granted; and we may reasonably conclude that the first Baptists of our State came

from that section of the country which "alone cultivated her former commercial connection" with the *turbulent* North Carolina settlers.

On the 16th of June, 1701, King William chartered the

"SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

Dr. F. L. Hawks claims this as "the oldest existing Protestant Missionary Association in the world," and "to this body," says he, "The Protestant Episcopal Church in North America may be said chiefly to owe its existence." *

This Association, at the head of which was "the Lord Bishop of London," turned its attention to christianizing the people of North Carolina. "One of their first labors," says Dr. Hawks, "was to collect facts. They found that in North Carolina there were, exclusive of negroes and Indians, about six thousand souls, in a sadly religious state generally. An examination into the result of their investigations has led us to the conclusion that, in all their wide field of labor, not entirely heathen, they had nowhere more unpromising ground to cultivate than in North Carolina."

UNPROMISING GROUND.

What made North Carolina such "unpromising ground for the church of England to cultivate," was the fact that it had been settled by a people who believed in both civil and religious liberty. They had the audacity to think for themselves in religious matters, and did not believe that it was the duty of government to furnish a creed for

* Hawks' History N C., Vol. 2, p. 340.

them to think by or a ministry they had no use for. They believed that a Gospel of Love could not be propagated by taxes, fines and imprisonments; and most of them preferred no religion to a religion that could be propagated only by the power of the temporal magistrate.

They had more confidence in the religion of George Fox, the Quaker, than they did in that of Daniel Brett, the first Episcopal minister sent out by this chartered society for the propagation of the Gospel. Fox came among them when they were deserted by their government. He visited them and preached for them in their homes. He shared with them their privations, and his walk among them was humble, orderly and self-sacrificing. He impressed them as a godly man who had come to seek them, not theirs, and they gladly welcomed him to their homes.

Brett came as the appointee of the church of England. He could see no true religion in non-conformity. He came to have the colonists taxed for his own support and for the building of houses, in which only he and others who thought like him, could preach. Fox used the power of gentle persuasion and the influence of a godly walk and conversation.

Brett relied on the power of the law and the influence of government officials.

EFFORTS AT ESTABLISHMENT.

Rev. Daniel Brett came over with some church catechisms and other small books to be used in counteracting "the pernicious influence" of the Quakers and other dissenters, and set to work with the zeal and methods of a churchman. Conspiring with Henderson Walker and others of the church party, he succeeded in getting a law

passed through the Assembly in 1702, for building a church and establishing a maintenance for a minister of the Episcopal church, at £30 per annum.

Both the patents of Charles II. had already declared that the church of England should be the established religion, but up to this time these had been inoperative, because there were no preachers of that church in the colony. From the earliest settlement the colonists had been managing their religious concerns in their own way, as they do now throughout the United States, and "each man did what was right in his own eyes." How much better for the peace of the colony for the next seventy years if this state of things had not been interfered with. The attempt to force a religion by law upon a people unwilling to receive it was renewed from time to time, always breeding trouble and confusion, until it finally culminated in the oppressions by taxation which led to the battle of Alamance, in 1771. This was, really, the the first battle of the American Revolution.

FIRST EPISCOPAL MINISTER.

The minister by whose procurement partly, and for whose benefit this law was passed, was very objectionable to the people for other good reasons. Henderson Walker, President of the Council, who was active in his support at first, wrote to the Lord Bishop, "For about half a year he (Rev. Mr. Brett) behaved himself in a modest manner, but after that in a most horrid manner—broke out in such an extravagant course that I am ashamed to express his carriage;"* and Dr. Hawks says of him, "For about six months after his arrival he behaved with propriety, and then broke out into such gross wickedness that sober-

*Hawks, Vol. 2, p. 34.

minded men, who respected Christianity and venerated the Church, hung their heads with sorrow and were restrained by very shame from particularizing his enormities. They were not fit to be named." *

If the good people of North Carolina had been very kiudly disposed toward an established religion, the effort to settle over them such a man as a religious teacher was enough to arouse their disgust, and the taxation of them to build churches for such a minister to preach in aroused their iudignation. But the opposition of the masses of the people in nowise diminished the zeal of the churchmen.

RELIGION ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

Accordingly, in 1704, by arts and intrigues in the legislature and by the influence of Governor Daniel, a man of vile character but a bigoted churchman, a law was passed by one majority disfranchising all "dissenters" from every office of trust, honor or profit in the colony. Quakers were not allowed to serve on juries nor even to give evidence in any criminal case.

The Assembly which passed this law were chosen without reference to an establishment, and the members, many of them, held their seats by virtue of the votes of the very people whom they disfranchised. The law was made specially severe against the Quakers, because under the peaceful government of John Archdale many of them had been put into office, and their ministers who had visited the colony, especially Thomas Story who came over from England in 1698 and preached at the house of Francis Tomes, a member of the provincial council, were received with great favor by the people. Many

*Hist. N. C., Vol. 2, p. 341.

persons of note, male and female, had professed religion at their meetings, and the law was passed "to stop their pernicious growth," to use the language of one of their prominent persecutors, Henderson Walker, the President of the colony.

MR. BLAIR'S ACCOUNT.

Rev. Mr. Blair, who "was ordained in order to go to the plantations April 12, 1703," and who arrived in North Carolina, according to his own statement, after a tedious and troublesome journey from Virginia, in January, 1704, and who left the colony shortly thereafter because a sufficient maintenance had not been provided for him *by law*, gives the following reasons for his leaving, and incidentally, perhaps, refers to the Baptists in the colony at that time as "a sort something like the Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle fellows who have left their lawful employment, and preached and baptized through the country without any manner of orders from any sect or pretended church."

"I was informed," says he, "before I went thither that there was £30 per annum, *settled* by *law*, to be paid in each precinct for the maintenance of a minister, which law was sent over hither (*i. e.* to London) to be confirmed by their Lords Proprietors, and it being supposed not to be a competency for a minister to live on, was sent back again without confirmation, whereof the Quakers took the advantage, and will endeavor to prevent any such law passing for the future, for they are the greatest number in the Assembly, and are unanimous, and stand truly to one another in whatsoever may be to their interest. For the country may be divided into four sorts of people: First, the Quakers, who are the

most powerful enemies to church government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess. The second sort are a great many who have no religion, but would be Quakers if by that they were not obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply to. A third sort are something like Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle fellows who have left their lawful employment and preach and baptize through the country without any manner of orders from any sect or pretended church. A fourth sort, who are really zealous for the interest of the Church, are the fewest in number but the better sort of people, and would do very much for the settlement of the Church government there, if not opposed by these three precedent sects; and, although they be all three of different pretensions yet they all concur together in one common cause to prevent anything that will be chargeable to them, as they allege Church government will be if once established by law. And another great discouragement these people have is a Governor who does not in the least countenance them in this business, but rather discourages them." That Governor knew the temper of the people he had to deal with.

THREE CHURCHES BUILT BY TAXATION.

Others might be wicked enough to think that "the better sort of people" ought to provide the Gospel for the worst sort, especially if "the best sort insisted on holding all the offices and doing all the voting." Mr. Blair states that he found in the country a great many children to be baptized. He baptized about a hundred. There were a great many still to be baptized, he says, but "their parents would not condescend to have them baptized with god-fathers and god-mothers." He called a

vestry in each precinct and told them of the bounty of Lord Weymouth in supporting his misson among them, and that Dr. Bray desired him to make a proposal to them, that if they would procure "good glebes, he doubted not that there might be a settlement made for the advantage of *the Church*, such as existed in the island of Bermudas, viz.: two slaves and a small stock in each precinct, and that to be continued good by the incumbent to his successor, which will be a lasting estate to the Church." He reported that they had built three small churches and had three glebes.

"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" having secured, through taxation and contributions, the erection of three small churches, sent over two more missionaries from England, Messrs. Gordon and Adams. These remained in the colony a few years, and Mr. Gordon returned to England on account of the disturbances and confusions growing out of Governor Daniel's laws of disfranchisement for religious opinions, and the other (Mr. Adams) gave up his work to return, but died before he could sail from this country. Dr. Hawks thinks they were faithful and good men, but like all the others, they were more anxious to get *the church* established than to save souls.

The next man who came over to convert the heathen, Quakers, Baptists and Presbyterians (for Mr. Adams says he found some "*real* Presbyterians" in one of his parishes) was a

REV. JOHN URMSTONE.

He was sent over in 1711 and lived in Chowan. The life he led was not calculated to make friends to the establishment. He was proud, covetous, untruthful,

profane and exceedingly immoral, though a university graduate and very much disposed to presume upon "the dignity of his sacred office." Dr. Hawks, a minister of his own denomination, says, "We are constrained to believe he had taken orders, as too many of the Church of England did in that day, rather as a means of support than from any deep sense of duty to God. Unamiable in disposition, he was covetous also. More acrimonious bitterness of speech than he uses concerning those whom he disliked, it would be difficult to find. The coarseness of his language harmonizes with the malignity of his temper. It as little became the refinement of a gentleman as it did the holiness of a priest. Thus the province is designated 'a hell of a hole'; and he declares that he'd rather be 'the curate of Bear Garden than Bishop of Carolina.' He was perpetually quarreling with his vestries, and always without money." "Six times in ten years," says Dr. Hawks, "he wrote home to England that he expected himself and family to be laid in the tomb from sheer want of food before he could possibly hear from England, and yet he orders a variety of articles to be sent, which could not possibly arrive until, upon his hypothesis, the grave would have hidden alike both him and his necessities. And yet this man, thus eternally starving, contrived to buy land and negroes and stock, to hire white servants, to procure tools and agricultural implements, to be proprietor of horses and boats, and in short, appears to have been the only missionary who ever acquired any property in the country." With such an example as this of ministerial and missionary character, is it any wonder that the plain common people of North Carolina should be arrayed on the side of the Quakers and Baptists, and against the

Government which taxed them to support such scoundrels in the name of religion?

Urmstone left for England in 1727, Newman died in the colony, and a man named John Blacknall came over with Sir Richard Everard, the newly-appointed Governor, the same year. About all that Dr. Hawks was able to find concerning Blacknall was that he violated the laws of the colony in marrying a white man to a mulatto woman, and then informed on himself in order to obtain one-half of the fine, which was due the informer in such cases, the man he married having, doubtless, indemnified him for all loss he sustained in the law's violation.

It is in vain that we search through the chronicles of an Episcopal historian to find any account of these Baptists who were in North Carolina, certainly as early as 1695, except as they are included under the general name of "dissenters" or "independents."

In 1711 Urmstone wrote to the Secretary of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," in regard to the population of Pasquotank. "It is very numerous. Many Quakers and too many loose, disorderly professors of the Christian religion, a very factious, mutinous and rebellious people, most of them allied to the Quakers, and at all times at their beck, ready to oppose either Church or State if required by them. Whence arise all these troubles for the three years past." In the same letter he claims to have secured the passage of a law by the Assembly to establish the church, although, according to his statement, the Assembly "was made up of a strange mixture of men of various opinions and inclinations—a few churchmen, many Presbyterians, but most *anythingarians*—some out of principle, others out of hope of power and preferment."

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH ORGANIZED.

The same year that Sir Richard Everard came over as Governor of North Carolina, and Blacknall with him, Paul Palmer organized the Baptist church at Shiloh in what is now Camden County. Baptists were at this time scattered throughout the settlements, but as they built no houses of worship and sought no official positions under the government they did not attract the attention of the church authorities, except as they went about preaching and baptizing without any manner of orders from those who claimed exclusive State rights to license and ordain ministers. From one church, in 1727, the Baptists had increased, in 1790, to four Associations, 94 churches, 7,503 members, 77 ordained ministers and 77 licentiates. These churches were scattered over the State from Currituck to Rutherford. In 1890, according to the United States census, there were 290,504 Missionary Baptists in the State, gathered into 2,673 churches. According to these figures of the census, the Baptists have in the State thirty-five times as many members as the Episcopalians; eight times as many as all sorts of Presbyterians combined; fifty-eight times as many as the Quakers or Friends; and 8,776 more than all sorts of Methodists and Episcopalians combined.

SOME OF THE EARLY BAPTIST PREACHERS.

Paul Palmer organized the first church in 1727. Two years later, 1729, Joseph Parker organized the second church, at Meherrin near Murfreesboro. About the same time Jonathan Thomas, whose father and brother were both ministers of the Gospel, was preaching in Edgecombe County. "He was a man of talents, very affable and a great orator." Much of his time was spent in

traveling and preaching. His last sermon was at Sandy Run, Bertie County, and he died soon after preaching it.

James Abington, of Bertie, who died in 1772; James Bell, of Virginia; Henry Done, of Chowan; Winfield, of Pitt; Wm. Cole, of Hertford; Henry Abbott and William Burgess, of Camden; Silas Mercer and Jesse Read, of Halifax; Robert Nixon, of Onslow; Ezekiel Hunter, of Randolph; Abram Baker, Nathaniel Powell and James Turner, of Brunswick; Lemuel Burkitt and Jeremiah Dargan, of Bertie—these and many others traveled through the colony, preaching in private houses and public places, in the forests and under brush-arbors, wherever they could get the people together to hear the proclamation of the Gospel. Some of them were "ignorant and unlearned men," sneered at and ridiculed by the godless and the profane, and contemned by the friends of the establishment, but the common people heard them gladly. The Lord blessed their labors in the conversion of souls, and in the establishment of churches, many of which continue unto this day.

SOME OF THE EARLY CHURCHES.

After the two churches already named, Shiloh and Meherrin, the next is Kehukee, 1742. In 1750 Sandy Run, Bertie; 1755 Fishing Creek, in Halifax, Reedy Creek in Warren, Sandy Creek in Randolph, Grassy Creek in Granville; 1756 Toisnot in Edgecombe; 1757 Falls of Tar River in Edgecombe, Jersey in Davidson, New River in Onslow, Abbott's Creek in Davidson; 1758 Deep Creek in Surry, Forks of Yadkin, Red Banks in Pitt; 1759 Rowan, Sampson; 1760 Little River, Montgomery; 1762 Lockwood's Folly, Brunswick; 1763 Bear Marsh, Duplin; 1764 Yoppim in Chowan, Rock Spring in Chatham; 1771 Sandy Run, Rutherford.

This is, of course, not a complete enumeration. It shows how rapidly the work of organization went forward from its beginning in 1727, and how it extended to all parts of the State. It was interrupted by the war of the Revolution and the causes which led to it.

Let us now glance briefly at the history of one church, the most fruitful in all the sisterhood of our churches. I have reference, of course, to

SANDY CREEK.

After Braddock's defeat in November 22, 1755, a colony of Baptists moved from Oquekon, Berkley County, Virginia, and settled on Sandy Creek, Randolph County, where they built a house of worship and organized a church with Shubael Stearns, of Boston, as pastor. They were soon blessed with a great revival of religion. In three years two other churches had been organized and the membership had increased to 900. From these three churches as centres the Baptists spread out in all directions—as far North as Staunton, Virginia; as far South as Georgia; and as far West as the Mississippi River. On the second Monday in June, 1758, they organized the Sandy Creek Association, and for twelve years all the Separate Baptists in Virginia and the Carolinas belonged to it. The first pastor of the flock at Sandy Creek was Shubael Stearns. He was bred a Congregationalist, but having embraced Baptist views, was baptized and ordained at Tolland, Connecticut, in 1751. He died and was buried at Sandy Creek, November 20th, 1771, about six months after the battle of Alamance, which was fought on the 16th of May, 1771. In 1772, the year after the battle, the membership of the church, which he had organized and over which he had presided, was

reduced by emigration to fourteen souls. "The cause of this dispersion," says Morgan Edwards, "was the abuse of power, which *too* much prevailed in the province and caused the inhabitants at last to rise up in arms and fight for their privileges; but being routed May 16th, 1771, they despaired of seeing better times, and therefore quitted the province. It is said that 1,500 families have departed since the battle of Alamance, and, to my knowledge, a good many more are only waiting to dispose of their plantations in order to follow them. This is to me an argument that their grievances were real, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary."

"The church at Little River, in what is now Montgomery County, was no less remarkable than the one already mentioned; for it was constituted in 1760, five years after the Sandy Creek, and in three years it increased from five members to 500, and built five meeting-houses—to accommodate the colonies which went out from it—but it was also reduced by the provincial troubles and consequent dispersion of the inhabitants mentioned above."

The causes which led to the battle of Alamance and the depopulation of the western counties were the persistent efforts of the officers of the Crown, not only to collect unjust taxes and unlawful fees, but also to force the establishment of the church of England upon a people who could not and would not accept its teachings. The Baptists have been unflinching advocates of religious liberty, in all ages and countries. They claim the right of every man to study the Word of God for himself. They maintain that one's church relations are to be determined by himself and not by another for him; that the church and the State should be distinct, and that no magistrate

or government has any power whatever over the conscience of the individual.

We have seen how restless the people in the Albemarle region became under the law of the establishment in 1704, and what commotions were caused by the persistent efforts of the churchmen to force their religion upon the people. But these things in nowise prevented the ruling classes from other efforts to force the church of England upon an unwilling people.

CONTINUED EFFORTS AT ESTABLISHMENT.

In 1741, it was enacted that the freeholders in every parish should choose twelve vestrymen on Easter Monday, who were authorized to lay a poll-tax, not exceeding 5 shillings ($1.25) per poll for building churches, buying glebes and maintaining the clergy, whose respective salaries were not to be less than £50 proclamation money (about $250) per annum. This salary was increased by a subsequent law to £133, 6s. and 8d. (or about $600). By another law it was provided that the fee of a clergyman for marrying with a license should be 10s., or without license from the Governor, issued through the Superior Court Clerk, 5s. It will be readily seen that in a parish where there were few or no Episcopalians, the people would have little inclination to tax themselves to build churches and support preachers for the few office-holders who might reside at the court-house. The vestrymen whom they elected, being of the people, did not collect the taxes. "But when it was found," says Williamson, "that the majority were not disposed to tax themselves for the convenience of other people, a law was devised for compelling them under the sanction of an oath, to do what they accounted wrong." Every vestry-

man was to swear that he "would not oppose the doctrine, discipline and liturgy of the church of England."

THE VESTRY ACT OF 1764.

This law, which was passed at Wilmington, January 30th, 1764, Arthur Dobbs being Governor, in the fifth year of George III., required every freeholder twenty-one years old to vote for twelve vestrymen in each precinct. Every qualified voter refusing to vote was to be fined 20s., or about $5.00. The Sheriff was required to give notice of the election and to summon the vestrymen elected and tender to them the oaths. If the Sheriff should fail, neglect or refuse to summon the vestry, he was fined 20s. for every vestryman not summoned. If a vestryman elected failed to qualify he was fined 10s., and if he failed to attend the vestry meetings, when summoned by the church wardens, he was fined 10s. more for each offence. The minister's fee for marrying was increased to 20s., and for preaching a funeral 40s., or $10. If any other minister than one of the church of England performed the marriage ceremony or preached the funeral, the fee went to the Episcopal preacher of the parish, and he could collect the fee for the funeral out of the estate of the deceased. This made the cost of getting married 36s. 6d., or about $9.00, and the cost of a funeral sermon or burial service a little more than that.

This law was enacted in the year 1764. At that time there were Baptist churches scattered all over the State, as we have shown elsewhere. The Sandy Creek church alone, with its branches at Abbot's Creek in Davidson County and Deep River in Surry County contained upwards of 900 members in 1758, six years before the infamous law was passed. As early as 1752, twelve years

before the passage of the law, there were sixteen Baptist churches in Halifax, Bertie and the other counties of that section, and in 1764, there were reported no less than 42 churches with 3,276 communicants. In 1763 the church at Little River, Montgomery County, with its five branches and five meeting-houses, had upwards of 500 members, and its numbers continued to increase until the provincial troubles reached their climax in 1771.

These provincial troubles grew, very largely, out of the attempt to force this odious vestry law upon a people whose religion taught them to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. The Baptists and Quakers of Orange, Halifax and Anson were thoroughly imbued with the principles of civil and religious liberty. They recognized the right of taxation for lawful, secular purposes; but they denied and resisted the right of the government to tax them for the support of religion, and specially for a church which they did not believe in, and for ministers whose moral character did not command their respect.

Following close on the vestry law came the passage, in 1765, of the odious Stamp Act and the arrival, the same year, of William Tryon as Lieutenant Governor. Tryon wanted a larger revenue for the support of his lordly pretensions. His officers in the counties extorted exorbitant fees, especially in Orange, Granville, Anson and Halifax; and it is a notable fact that in these four large counties, where the Baptists were most numerous, the first popular up-rising in behalf of civil liberty occurred.

In 1768 the people of Anson rose in self-defence, entered the court-house and drove out the officers who had been exacting exorbitant taxes and fees of them, and addressed a letter to Governor Tryon giving their reasons therefor.

Even before this—in June, 1765—a paper was circulated in Granville County calling upon the people to combine, in a lawful manner, to put an end to the extortions of the public officers.

It is a fact worthy of note that these disturbances in Anson County occurred in 1768, the year that witnessed the re-enactment of the Vestry law by the Assembly which met in Newbern. The first chapter of said act gave the Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, power, "by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Council, to suspend a clergyman for gross crime or notorious immorality, from serving the cure of such parish whereof he was an incumbent, until such time as the Bishop of London shall either restore or pass sentence of deprivation on him"; and made provision for the payment of the clergyman who might be appointed to fill up the time of his suspension. The second chapter I quote *verbatim* from Davis' Revisal, printed at Newbern in 1773, p. 434:

"AN ACT TO AMEND AND CONTINUE AN ACT ENTITLED AN ACT CONCERNING OF VESTRIES.

"I. WHEREAS, The said act of Assembly, passed at Wilmington the thirtieth day of January, in the fifth year of his present Majesty's reign, was to continue and be in force for and during the term of five years from and after the passing of the same, and no longer, which term is now near expired; and it being found necessary, in order to make provision for the clergy and for the taking care of the poor, and the due management of parochial affairs, that the same should be amended and continued:

"II. *Be it enacted by the Governor, Council and Assembly, &c.* That where there hath been an election of

vestrymen, and the vestrymen so elected have neglected or refused to qualify agreeable to the before-mentioned act, that the freeholders of every such parish are hereby directed to meet at the usual place of electing vestrymen in every such parish, on Easter Monday next after the passing of this act, and then and there to choose and elect twelve freeholders to serve as vestrymen: which vestrymen so chosen shall be summoned by the Sheriff to appear and qualify in the same manner, and subject to the same fines and penalties, and be vested with the same powers and authorities as other vestrymen are by the before-recited Act; and the vestry so elected shall serve until the next general election of vestrymen, to be had on Easter Monday in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy; anything in the before-recited Act to the contrary notwithstanding; and

"III. AND WHEREAS, By the before-mentioned Act, known dissenters from the church of England only are subject to a fine of three pounds, proclamation money, for neglecting or refusing to qualify when chosen vestrymen agreeable to the directions of the said Act, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid,

"That every person hereafter chosen as a vestryman in any parish, and summoned as by said Act directed, and refusing or neglecting to qualify, agreeable to the directions of the said Act, shall forfeit and pay the sum of three pounds, proclamation money, to be recovered and applied as other fines in the aforesaid Act directed.

"IV. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid:* That this and the aforementioned Act shall continue and be in force during the term of five years from and after the passing of this Act; and from thence to the end of the next session of Assembly; anything in the aforesaid Act to the contrary notwithstanding."

The re-enforcement of this odious law was like a bomb-shell thrown into the homes of the patriots. They had been looking forward to the time when it would expire by its own limitations; and now that the Assembly, after having been prorogued by Tryon for three successive terms, meet together and determine to enforce it for another term of five years, their patience and forbearance could endure it no longer. Mutterings of resistance, soon to take visible shape, were heard throughout the colony.

The original Act laid the fine of £3, for refusing to act as vestrymen, on known dissenters only. The amended Act extended the fine to all persons who, having been elected vestrymen, should refuse or neglect to qualify. Tryon was determined to force the liturgy of the church of England upon all the people, whether they pretended to any religion or not. A general uprising followed naturally. The irreligious were ready to take up the cause of the Baptists and Quakers and to oppose with them the collection of such fines. Before long the masses of the people were supporting the cause of the Regulation, while the office-holders and office-seekers were, on the other hand, supporting the royal Governor. It is not the last instance in our history where the office-holders and office-seekers were arrayed on one side and the masses of the people on the other.

REV. WM. ROYALL, D. D., LL. D.

BY PROF. F. P. HOBGOOD.

Rev. Wm. Royall, D. D., LL. D., was born in Edgefield District, South Carolina, July 30, 1823, and passed suddenly away January 3, 1893, in Savannah, Georgia. His father, whose name also was William, was a grandson of another William who was a soldier of the Revolutionary War. This soldier was a son of still another William Royall, who, in the latter part of the 17th century, settled on James Island, near Charleston, S. C., on a grant of land obtained from the Crown. Dr. Royall's mother was Mary Ann Riley, who was the daughter of John Riley, a factor and commission merchant of Charleston, S. C.

In 1829 his parents settled on James Island, on a farm adjoining that of Wm. Royall, the grandfather. This gentleman, who had been Principal of an Academy in Charleston in the early years of the century, now became the inseparable companion and teacher of his grandson, who was just six years old. While other boys of his age were at play, he was kept at his books, and made so rapid progress that at the age of ten he was prepared to enter the High School. At this time, the grandfather dying, the parents decided to remove to Charleston to secure better educational and religious advantages for their children than the country districts furnished. Here he was thrown under the influence of Dr. Basil Manly, Sr., who was now pastor in Charleston, but who had

been the pastor and intimate friend of the Royalls while they were living in the country. Dr. Manly was a man of deep and earnest piety, of strong personality, of a catholic spirit, and was a great preacher. In a revival meeting conducted by him during the first year of the residence of the Royalls in the city, William Royall made a profession of religion and united with the church at the age of eleven. Some of the others who joined the church with him were, Basil Manly, Jr., aged nine, James Tupper, Bayfield Whilden, Thomas Melichampe. These all became young men of noted piety and were his constant companions. The Christian life that began under these favorable conditions was the grain of mustard seed that grew into a large tree and gave shelter and protection and comfort to many a weary soul ere it reached its full development, if yet it has, in the presence of the Life Giver.

He began the study of the languages under Mr. Jos. Lee, who was regarded as the best classical teacher of the city, and remained under his tuition for two years, easily leading his classes. Dr. J. L. Girardeau, of the Presbyterian Seminary of Columbia, S. C., says that he used to listen with wonder to his recitations in Greek. Even then he was manifesting his capacity for the acquisition of language.

But the teacher of whom he oftenest spoke as the one who had most to do with the thoroughness and accuracy of his scholarship, was Mr. Wm. E. Bailey, who had married his aunt, Miss Riley. He was a native of Halifax County, Virginia, but had been educated at the University of North Carolina, and had occupied the Chair of Languages in the Charleston College. Of him Dr. Gildersleeve bore like testimony, in saying: "What-

ever I may have of accuracy as a scholar, I owe more to him than to any other of my teachers." At this time he was presiding over Furman Manual Labor School and Classical Academy in Fairfield District, S. C. The theological department of this institution was presided over by Dr. Wm. Hooper, whose star was rapidly rising. These two, Bailey and Hooper, had been classmates at Chapel Hill. To this school young Royall, at the age of thirteen, was sent; and the building having been burned at the end of his first year, he, with a few others, remained in the home of Mr. Bailey and continued his preparation for college.

At the age of fifteen his preparation was completed and he entered the South Carolina College, joining a class of seventy-five. At once he took a stand among the first of the class and held it for two years. In the third year his health became so feeble, from excessive application, that he attended recitations quite irregularly; and though he graduated with none of the class honors, Dr. Hooper, then Professor of Languages, spoke of him as the first in his classes. His course at this institution was exceedingly valuable to him. Dr. Jas. H. Thornwell was Professor of Metaphysics, Dr. Hooper of Languages, Dr. Lieber (a national authority) of Political Economy.

In addition to being one of the best scholars in the college, he had the reputation of being one of the most eloquent debaters in the literary society, of which he was an active member.

After graduation he began the study of law, in the office of Attorney-General Bailey, brother of the great teacher, who himself had also moved to Charleston and opened an academy. To support himself while securing his professional education, he taught classes in the academy in the

mornings, attending law lectures in the afternoon and evenings. As pupils of the academy at this time, it is interesting to note, were Jas. P. Boyce and H. A. Tupper—distinguished names. During this period he was an active church member and frequently led the prayer-meetings. Indeed, one can hardly think of any period of his life when he was not engaged in the Master's service. Here he was thrown under the influence of Drs. J. L. Reynold's and Thomas Curtis, pastors in the city. The influence of these men, together with that of his aunt, Mrs. Bailey, turned his attention in the direction of divine things; and he was not slow to obey the call of the Master to enter into the ministry. Having decided to do this, he removed to the village of Mt. Pleasant, near his father's home, and took charge of a school, meantime studying theology under Drs. Brantley and Curtis, of Charleston. One cannot help remarking upon the number of able and godly men under whose influence his youth was passed. And yet a stronger influence than that of all these, was now brought to bear upon him—an influence that for fifty years was to strengthen and sanctify his nature. At the age of twenty he married Miss Elizabeth Bailey, a daughter of a prominent English physician of high character. It is entirely fitting to turn aside and sketch her life and character, and I do it lovingly and gratefully.

She had been educated in Madam Talvan's Seminary, Charleston, which ranked as the best in the city. With a mind of great native strength, she had improved to the utmost the opportunities of this thorough school, and she was in all respects a suitable companion for her gifted husband—able to sympathize with him in his highest aspirations and to strengthen and help him with wise counsel. They were the complements of each other—he

impulsive, she calm; he sometimes on the mountain tops and sometimes in the valley, she on neither, but uniformly cheerful. He often spoke of himself as a mountain torrent, and of her as a placid stream. Those who knew them both see the aptness of the figure. But let me quote the beautiful tribute to her memory by her gifted son:

"Had my dear father been called upon to name the human influence that had operated most powerfully upon him in stimulating him to all noble endeavor, in inspiring him with hopefulness and courage and patience and charity, those who knew the estimate he placed upon her who walked hand and hand with him for well-nigh half a century, need not be told what his response would have been.

"Into the union with my father she entered with the full consent of her mind to be a preacher's wife, and never was station more faithfully, more heroically filled. Forty years ago, amid the wilds of Florida, my father, often absent for weeks as a missiouary, bravely and lovingly she did her part as the help-mate of the Lord's servant. Her exalted conception of the preacher's calling was such as to invest that calling in the minds of her children with a wholesome sacredness and dignity, while it left untrammeled the man of God who knew that all was well at home, so far as a heart loyal to his Master and to his Master's servant could make it so. Wherever duty found him, whether in the pulpit, the country school or the professor's chair, her unwavering confidence in the integrity of his purpose rendered her an intelligent and cheerful sympathizer with him in every detail of his work. When there was no token of appreciation from others of arduous task performed, her 'well done' was

often to his soul as the prophecy of the Master's plaudit."

This noble woman preceded her husband to the heavenly land by half a year.

In 1843 he was ordained to the gospel ministry by Drs. Brantley and Curtis, who, as it has been said, had been his teachers of theology. Soon after this event, Dr. Brantley having been stricken with paralysis, the young preacher for several months supplied his place. Dr. Edward M. Royall, of Mt. Pleasant, S. C., his brother, to whom I am indebted for the facts of their early history, says: "The ministers of the church at that time, according to prevalent custom, wore a black gown in the pulpit. William had to preach in this gown—a young man, weight 125 pounds—in the gown of a man whose weight was 250 pounds.

But his first pastorate began in 1844, when he took charge of three country churches in Abbeville and Edgefield counties. His wife used to relate that the first person known to be convicted of sin under his preaching was a negro, and that her husband slept neither day nor night until he was converted. This pastorate in Abbeville County continued for five years, during which time the churches grew in numbers and efficiency; and what is true of this pastorate is true of every pastorate that he ever held.

After a short term of service in Georgia, near Brunswick, in 1851 he removed to Florida, which had then been cleared of Indians, and became pastor of the Ocala church, but preached to a number of mission stations also. Most of this preaching was done at his own charges, and he assisted liberally in building the house of worship in Ocala, his means at this time being ample for the support of his family.

He remained in Florida till 1855, when, his own health and that of his family suffering from malaria (one member relates that the dose of quinine, and that, too, not in capsules, came as regularly as the breakfast), he decided to accept the call extended to him by the Trustees of Furman University to be Principal of their Preparatory School. This was a step of the greatest importance, for it was the beginning virtually of the great work which he accomplished as a teacher. From this period he never quit the recitation-room. The reputation made in the Furman University soon extended over South Carolina and into North Carolina. In 1860 he was elected Professor of Latin and German in Wake Forest College. He entered upon the duties of this position with all the enthusiasm of his ardent nature and with attainments unsurpassed in all the South. His coming was valuable in the highest degree to the college. Prof. L. R. Mills, then a student at the college, says: "At that time the methods of instruction in our colleges were mechanical and unphilosophical in the highest degree. And this was especially true in the department of Ancient Languages. Dr. Royall's method of teaching was analytical, logical and philosophical, and created great enthusiasm in his own department. Its stimulating and quickening influence was felt by the entire college." Such as Prof. Mills describes his teaching in the beginning of his connection with Wake Forest College, such it continued to be till his death.

The Civil War soon came on and the college bell ceased to ring, and the faculty and students were scattered. Dr. Royall entered the army as chaplain and served one year and a half. How much good he did in this relation eternity alone will tell. Those who knew him there ever afterwards held him in grateful remembrance.

The war over, he and Prof. W. G. Simmons, with Professors L. R. Mills and W. B. Royall, reopened the college, and a year afterwards Dr. W. M. Wingate resumed his duties as president. To Dr. Royall is due the organization of the course of study into the flexible system of schools instead of the inflexible curriculum.

In 1870 he resigned his professorship to become President of the Raleigh Baptist Female Seminary. Failing health caused his withdrawal at the close of the first year; and after a period of rest and recuperation he accepted the Presidency of Louisburg Female College. He afterwards removed to Texas, and from 1875 to 1878 was President of Baylor Female College.

In 1880 he was recalled to Wake Forest to fill the chair of Modern Languages, which then embraced English. A few years afterwards, the Trustees having created the chair of English, he was placed in charge, and was holding this position at the time of his death.

As pastor he served about twenty churches in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and North Carolina, and baptized fifteen hundred persons. Two hundred and twenty were baptized at the close of one revival in Georgia, and four hundred, during a pastorate of several years, were baptized into the fellowship of Flat Rock Church in Franklin County, North Carolina. The causes of his success as a country pastor are not far to seek. He was prompt to meet all his appointments. The causes were unusual that prevented his keeping his engagements. He had rare tact in managing his churches. His clear insight into human nature made him a successful peace-maker, so that personal differences between the members of his churches were rare indeed. He was self-sacrificing in pastoral visitings. These were made oftener to the poor

than to the rich, for he said the poor needed him more than the rich. These visits were often made to those whose means did not permit them to make him comfortable; and all his life in feeble health, he often suffered from exposure.

His preaching was easily understood by the simplest in his audience, and was designed to do all good. He despised affectation and effort at display; and his own mode of life gave emphasis to what he said. I quote, in part, with pleasure, Prof. W. L. Poteat's estimate of him as a preacher:

"He was deeply enamored of truth and pursued it with unabated zeal to the day of his death,—pursued it in health and in sickness, by all methods and into every hiding place. * * *

"His mind was of the logical order, with a power of analysis and insight surpassing that of any man whom it has been my privilege to know. * * * But there was nothing cold or uncompromising in his rational method. On the contrary, overspreading the course of the most exacting argument, there was the play of a generous glow of feeling which allured the less gifted and somehow seemed to make them sharers in the investigation and in the triumph of the conclusion. * * *

"It could not be otherwise than that such a combination of qualities and powers should produce a great preacher. Though not conspicuous in some of the lighter accomplishments of the popular orator, which are of small worth as compared with clearness and grasp of intellect, he never failed to grapple my attention, to instruct me profoundly, and to stimulate me intellectually and spiritually. Every text which he treated wears for me now a new complexion, more satisfactory, more beautiful,

more luminous. His method was conversational—ever the most effectual. With steps not too rapid, he went straight to the heart of the text and laid it open."

Now take these lines from Cowper which, whenever I read them, seem to me to be descriptive of Dr. Royall as a preacher:

> "Would I describe a preacher, such as Paul,
> Were he on earth would hear, approve and own—
> Paul himself should direct me. I would trace
> His master strokes and draw from his design.
> I would express him simple, grave, sincere;
> In doctriue uncorrupt; in language plain
> And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
> Aud natural in gesture; much impressed
> Himself as conscious of his awful charge,
> And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
> May feel it too; affectiouate in look
> And tender in address as well becomes
> A messenger of grace to guilty man."

He was one of the great teachers of the land—one of the few real masters. President Taylor of Wake Forest College says, that if a list of the great teachers that the South has produced could be made, his name would stand high upon the roll.

He was thoroughly equipped for his work. As has been stated, he was the companion from six to ten years of age of his grandfather, a man of culture, who took the deepest interest in his studies; he began the study of the Ancient Languages under the best classical teacher in Charleston; he was for two years under the tuition of Mr. Bailey, the best preparatory teacher in South Carolina; he entered the South Carolina College when Thornwell and Hooper and Lieber were doing their best work; he studied theology under Brantley and Curtis. Possessed of talents of a high order and of persistent applica-

tion, it is no marvel that with these opportunities he became an accurate and finished scholar and a learned man. On this broad foundation he continued to build till he was called away. He strove to make acquisitions to all departments of knowledge. While it was to the department of languages mainly that his life as a teacher was given, yet he was a good mathematician, an enthusiastic student of metaphysics, especially in his latter days, and an untiring student of science. It is said that an educated man is one who knows something about every thing and every thing about some things. Dr. Royall came as near being an example of this definition as any man of my acquaintance. After his election to the Chair of English, at an age when most men cease to make acquisitions, he learned Anglo Saxon. Just before his death he said to a colleague that now he was old, he felt the necessity of study more than ever before; "for," said he, "the more I can find out here, the higher up I shall start in the University above."

His scholarship was accurate. There are few teachers who are not sometimes tripped by students; but I do not recall an instance during my course under him in which he made a mistake. His method of study was analytical, logical and scientific, and he was a thorough master of every subject he undertook to teach.

He was apt at illustration, both as a teacher and as a preacher. From his vast and varied stores of information he could throw light on the subject under consideration and make it plain to the dullest member of the class. He seemed intuitively to know just how much information and explanation to give the student and how much to leave to be worked out by the student himself.

He was sympathetic in an unusual degree. He was of

a delicate, nervous organization that was easily put into vibration. His was a generous soul. His sympathies extended to all classes of his students. A bright man himself, he could genuinely appreciate a bright boy. His face would brighten and glow when a student made a happy translation and discrimination of one of the odes of Horace, his favorite Latin author; and the student's heart would swell and burn, when by a nod or a word or the kindling of his eye he showed his approval. He enjoyed the delicate and good natured humor of Horace. I remember his keen relish of the humor of the satire in which the poet gives a ludicrous account of a stroll along the Via Sacra, and how a loquacious fellow overtook him and came near causing a fulfilment of the prophecy made by the fortune-teller in his youth, that he should not die from natural causes, but should be talked to death.

This sympathy was extended without stint to the plodding boys of the class. There he never wearied in helping; and when sometimes by their blunders they excited the laughter of the class, his manifest pain and displeasure would check the outburst. But woe to the student who was vain and conceited. One keen stroke of his blade, made always in kindness, was all that was necessary. He never inflicted unnecessary pain. He was one of the most approachable of men; but his natural dignity of manner forbade familiarity, and students never dared practice jokes upon him.

But his success was due, after all, to his strong personality. He was striking in appearance,—tall, erect, benevolent in face and noble in bearing; his spirit was unselfish in a marked degree; his piety was fervent and permeating; his devotion to duty was unflagging; his attainments were extraordinary. These constituted the man,

and the man gave force to what was said. Such is the history of a busy and useful life. Pastor Gwaltney said on the occasion of his funeral services: "How the life that is now closed could have been better or more faithfully spent, those of us who have known Dr. Royall for more than thirty years cannot possibly see. Nothing but circumstances entirely beyond his control could keep him from the performance of any duty, great or small. In board meetings, in committee meetings, in faculty meetings, in meeting with the young preachers on Saturday nights and Sunday afternoons, giving them instruction in the Word of God, in church meetings, in prayer meetings, and in the Sunday services, he was present, ready to do earnestly his part. The weather and other causes of absence to many who are young and stronger were no cause of absence to him."

Dr. Royall, in some of the elements of his character, bore a striking resemblance to Thomas Arnold, the great Head Master of Rugby. The lines by his son Matthew, suggested by a visit to the tomb of his father, seem applicable to the life in question:

"O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now? For that force
Surely has not been left vain
Somewhere, surely, afar
In the sounding labor house vast
Of being, is practiced that strength
Zealous, beneficent, firm.

"Yes, in some far-shining sphere
Conscious or not of the past,
Still thou performest the work
Of the spirit in whom thou dost live,
Prompt, unwearied, as here.

"But thou wouldst not *alone*
Be saved my father! *alone*
Conquer and come to thy goal,
Leaving the rest in the wild.

We were weary, and we
Fearful, and we in our march
Fain to drop down and to die.
Still thou turnedst, and still
Beckonedst the trembler, and still
Gavest the weary thy hand.
If, in the paths of the world,
Stones might have wounded the feet,
Toil or dejection have tried
Thy spirit. Of that we saw
Nothing; to us thou wast still
Cheerful, and helpful, and firm!
Therefore, to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself,
And, at the end of thy day,
O faithful shepherd! to come
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand."

"JERSEY SETTLEMENT"

BY REV. HENRY SHEETS.

THE OLD "JERSEY" BAPTIST CHURCH AND SOME OF ITS HISTORY.

Sometime previous to 1755, probably not many years, a colony from the State of New Jersey came down here and settled in what was then Rowan County, now Davidson, on the Yadkin River, and mainly on the south side of the Southern Railway.

There is much of absorbing interest connected with this "settlement." It must have been a fine country indeed that invited the colony to settle among tribes of hostile Indians. What it must have been when the colony came is described by Lawson in his history of North Carolina. He made a journey from Charleston, S. C., to Pamlico Sound in North Carolina, in the year 1701. In this route he crossed the Yadkin at "Trading ford." He calls the Yadkin the "Sapona River." He also tells us that there was an Indian town just below the Ford, which is on the famous "Jersey lands." He says: "Coming that day about thirty miles, we reached the fertile and pleasant banks of Sapona (Yadkin) River whereon stands the Indian town and fort; nor could all Europe afford a pleasanter stream. * * One side of the river is hemmed in with mountainy ground, the other side (Jersey lands) as rich a soil to the eye of a knowing person with us as any this western world can afford."

The ancient and celebrated "Trading Path" (leading

to Trading Ford) extending from Virginia to the Catawbas and other tribes of Southern Indians was just north of the section of which we write. It is not improbable that the people composing this colony had learned of the beauty and fertility of this section from traders who came from the States north of us.

Those who know this section now, fine indeed, can only imagine what it must have been when its soil and forests were in their virgin state. And we can somewhat understand why these people would leave their native State and come here, some 800 miles, where they might expect to be harrassed more or less by the Indians.

Much time has been spent in correspondence with parties in New Jersey trying to ascertain when the colony left there, how many composed it, and how many of them were Baptists ; but there seems to be no record concerning their emigration, either in religious or secular history. The best historians know nothing of the early movements of the colony. We know that Benjamin Miller preached here in 1755. Elder S. J. Yerkes, pastor at Plainfield, N. J., offers the following plausible suggestion : "The Scotch Plains (Baptist) Church was organized in 1747. The first pastor of the church was Benjamin Miller, who remained with the church until his death in 1781. During his pastorate, the party referred to in your letter must have left New Jersey. Now, supposing they were members of his church, it is not unlikely that he accompanied or followed them for the purpose of organizing them into a church."

We quote some of the names of the parties who came, as they have been handed down : they are the McKoys, Merrills, McGuires, Smiths, Moores, Ellises, Marches, Haydens, Wisemans, Tranthams, and many others. The

late Governor Ellis of this State, we are told, had his ancestry in this colony.

There are strong reasons for believing that there were Baptists in the colony and that Benjamin Miller had been asked to visit and preach to them. And it is highly probable that the Philadelphia Association had been informed of the existence of Baptists here. Note the following quotation:

"Appointed, that one ministering brother from the Jerseys, and one from Pennsylvania, visit North Carolina."—*Hist. Philadelphia Association, 1755.* But this was agreed to in October, 1755. It seems that Benjamin Miller was here earlier still. Here follows, perhaps, the very earliest printed record of Baptist work at "Jersey Settlement." It is from Foote's Sketches of North Carolina. Speaking of Mr. McAden, a Presbyterian minister, he says:

"On Wednesday, September 3d (1755), he set out for the Yadkin (Jersey Church). Note, at this date it was sometimes called the 'Yadkin,' or, the 'Church on the Yadkin.' Next morning, came to Henry Sloan's at the Yadkin Ford (Trading Ford), near the church where I was kindly entertained till Sabbath, rode to the meeting-house and preached to a small congregation. Here there appears to have been a congregation of some strength that had a meeting-house, but had become divided. Many adhere to the Baptists, that were before wavering, and several that professed themselves to be Presbyterians; so that very few at present join heartily for our ministers, and will in a little time, if God prevent not, be too weak either to call or supplicate for a faithful minister. O may the good Lord, who can bring order out of confusion, and call things that are not as though they were, visit

this people! One cause of the divisions in this congregation arose from the labors of a Baptist minister among them by the name of Miller."

The author, Mr. Foote, is writing for Presbyterians and mentions the Baptists only incidentally. A little later on, he wrote as follows:

"After visiting Second Creek, and preaching at Captain Hampton's, he passed on to the Yadkin, and having crossed it with difficulty, he lodged with his former host, Mr. Sloan, and preached in 'the meeting house' on the second Sabbath of January, the 11th day (1756), in company with a Mr. Miller, the Baptist minister from Jersey, of whom, as a Christian man, he speaks favorably."

This is all the information concerning Benjamin Miller's work here. In the above we find that there was a "meeting-house," but it is not stated that there was a Baptist Church constituted—it does not seem that there was one as yet.

A short time before this, John Gano was converted and tried to be a Presbyterian. In his research after truth he met with Benjamin Miller, the pastor of Scotch Plains church, who induced him to take the New Testament on the mode and subjects of Baptism. In a short time he joined the Baptists. Feeling before a call to the ministry, he now entered with all his might. Having been with Mr. Miller, and learning of the work in North Carolina, he at once decided to visit the "Jersey settlement" on his way to South Carolina. Soon after his return from this journey, he says:

"I was induced to engage in a second journey. I therefore set out, and when I arrived at the Yadkin, in North Carolina, I was strongly solicited to move among them. They sent two messengers to my church to give me up."

He says, further on: "I called a church meeting to give the church at Yadkin an opportunity to present their message, which they did, and used all their influence with the church to no apparent success." But afterwards they reconsidered it and left it all with Mr. Gano, who decided at once that he ought to go. "I at length took leave of the church and my friends, and started on a long, expensive and tedious journey; and, through the goodness of God, arrived there in about five weeks, after traveling about eight hundred miles. We met with a favorable reception from the people, and Col. G. Smith received us in his house, where we continued until I built a house. The people met, and determined on building a meeting-house, which was completed in a few months. As there was no other place of worship near, and there was a great collection of inhabitants of different denominations, they all attended, and it became generally united. In order that all might be concerned upon necessary occasions, we appointed a board of trustees, some of each denomination. They continued to be united while I remained there, which was about two years and a half. Before I left the place, a Baptist church was constituted and many additions made to it. During my residence in this place we were blest with another son, who was born Nov. 11th, 1758. . . . . The reason of my leaving this place was the war with the Cherokee Indians. I had a captain's commission from the Governor; but there being no immediate call for my services, and my family being much exposed, I concluded it was expedient to move back to New Jersey. I therefore resigned my commission, and left this place, under the protection of a kind providence, arrived at my father-in-law's, at Elizabeth-Town, with my wife and

two children, after being absent two years."—*Autobiography of John Gano.*

There is some little confusion as to the exact time when the church was actually constituted. It arises from what Mr. Gano says above and the quotation which follows: "Soon after he returned from this excursion (his second tour South) he was invited by an infant church in North Carolina, which he had raised up in a place called the Jersey Settlement, to remove and become its pastor."—*Benedict, Vol. II., page* 313.

Mr. Gano says that it was constituted while he was living there. Mr. Benedict says: "He was invited by an infant church in North Carolina" to become its pastor. It is quite probable, owing to the fact that there were but few churches in the state at that time and Mr. Miller having just been among them, that the Baptists here were recognized as an "arm" by the mother church from which they came, and that they exercised all the prerogatives of a church. It may be that it was an "arm" referred to by Mr. Benedict. And it is most likely true that Mr. Miller's visit there in September, 1755, was the first visit ever made there by a Baptist minister. Mr. Gano says he was here *about* two years and a half. As he was here in November, 1758, it is not likely that circumstances favored his return before the spring of 1759; so that it seems he must have come to North Carolina in the fall of 1756. He says the church was constituted before he left—probably in 1757. As the church was probably menaced by the Indians—so much so, that Mr. Gano felt that the safety of his family demanded that he return to New Jersey—it is a reasonable presumption that the organization never had another pastor. Admitting this, in connection with the

unfavorable surroundings, it is supposed that they did not hold together many years.

Morgan Edwards, writing in 1772–'73, and speaking of the formation of Shallow Ford's church, says: It "began with a few from Little River, (and) the remains of Jersey Settlement church." It is a source of regret that a church, starting so early in our denominational history in the State with a favorable following—for it seems that the community was largely Baptistic—should come to such an untimely end. But, though the organization died so soon, we have abundant reason to believe that Baptist principles did not cease to live on in that community. While the first organization did not remain intact, it can hardly be said to have died. Were not the smoldering embers of divine truth, only awaiting an opportunity to burst forth into a live, interesting church? From some cause, the other denominations—the Presbyterians and Episcopalians—never did rally.

It was about twenty-five years between the time when John Gano left them and the constitution of the present church. This was constituted October 16th, 1784, by Elders Drury Sims and William Hill, and it was styled "The Church of Christ at the Jersey Settlement Meeting House."

It began with a membership of fourteen, including the pastor. Drury Sims was installed as pastor at the time of its constitution, and continued with them a little more than five years.

The church was then without a pastor for some three years. Thomas Durham, a young married man in the prime of life, had recently moved his membership here. He felt called to the ministry, and was accordingly ordained as pastor of this church in January, 1793. Soon

he gave the church three Sundays of his time. No mention is made of his salary further than in 1795 the church "agreed to make up money enough to purchase a negro to support brother Durham." This was, most likely, all that he received for his services.

The records are not clear and definite in their statements, but it appears that he remained with them as pastor until October, 1812. Again they seem to have been without a pastor until July, 1817, when Elder Nathan Riley of Tom's Creek church was called to the pastoral relation. He was succeeded by Elder James B. Badgett, who died in 1827. The church then extended an "unanimous" call to Elder William Dowd in June, 1827, who served the church till 1833. He was followed by Josiah Wiseman, who was ordained to the pastoral oversight of this church in February, 1833, in his fifty-first year. He served the church till his death in October, 1844, with the exception of two years, which were occupied by Elder Paul Phifer. Since then, the following ministers have served as pastors, viz: Wm. Turner, Amos Weaver, E. Allison, J. B. Richardson, J. B. Boone, J. H. Booth, S. H. Thompson, Henry Sheets and, since 1889, Thomas Carrick. Three of the above-named pastors, Allison, Boone and Booth, were with them only one year each. The late venerable Wm. Turner preached by far the longest of any one pastor, he having preached there twenty-six years in all, at three different calls.

This church reached out to assist destitute neighborhoods and established "arms"; one at Reed's X-Roads at as early a date as February, 1795, and another at Holloway's, early in 1796, and another at Tom's Creek, early in 1808.

About 1797–'98 they seem to have been without a

house, as they met for worship with the "arms" of the church.*

They met occasionally at the Jersey Settlement *place* and discussed the building of a house. The Yadkin Association met with this church in October, 1799, and they held the session with the arm at Holloway's that year. They, however, got their new house in the year 1800, when they discontinued meeting (only on particular occasions) at these other points.

It is almost certain that this church first united in an associational capacity with the Old Yadkin Association. This body was constituted a branch of the Virginia (Strawberry?) Association in October, 1786, about two years and a half after the Jersey church. In its organization it was composed of eleven churches, and it is reasonable to suppose that Jersey joined in at first.†

A list of the churches composing this body was not made till 1791, when we find Jersey enrolled. She remained in that body till August, 1818. We find this record: "The church unanimously petitioned the Yadkin Association for a letter of dismission." This is accounted for: The Pee Dee Association had just been formed (October 19–21, 1816,) of all the churches belonging to the Sandy Creek Association on the southwest side of

* On May 2, 1794, the church fixed the places of preaching for the year: "Meeting stands *at this place* as usual the first in every month, the second in one month at Bro. Owens' and the second in the next month at Bro. Butner's, in course, the third in the month at Bro. Scrivener's, the fourth in the month at the *new* meeting-house near Bro. Reed's." P.

† On August 7, 1790, "Abraham Lewis and John Hallis were chosen delegates to the Association held at Eaton't Meeting House." And on Sept. 11, 1790, "the church agreed to contribute something for the support of delegates to the Virginia Association." It would thus appear that the earlier affiliation was with the Virginia Association, and this year the change was being made. This view is strengthened by the fact that messengers were not after this time sent to the Virginia Association. P.

Deep River. This being more convenient, she decided to unite with this body. With it she worked till the Abbott's Creek Union Association was formed at Liberty Meeting House, in Davidson county, N. C., on Saturday before the second Sunday in November, 1825. With this body she cast her lot and labored for the Master's cause till September, 1832, when the Association divided, a majority of the churches going into Hardshellism. But Jersey was not one of them. She, with six other churches, remained loyal to the Lord's work. So far as appears from the church records there was not a ripple upon the wave to disturb her serenity. But she has this record to her credit September 13th, 1823: "Church met, contributed $4.88¾ to Robert T. Daniel, Missionary of the Baptists." This shows where she stood in regard to aggressive denominational work.

This church carried on all its business meetings without a moderator till August, 1804, when "a plan was adopted by the church in consequence of disorder that a moderator be appointed to admonish and keep order." Our brethren used to be opposed to moderators over religious bodies; it seemed to partake too much of the world to arise and address the chair.

And doubtless *these* brethren had been afflicted with the same malady. The having of a moderator was not a matter of fancy as they imagined, but born of sheer necessity. Before the late war this church had large numbers of slaves in her membership, and, for their accommodation, large and well-arranged galleries were provided for occupancy by them. Many of them always attended, and were eager, anxious listeners. During the year ending August, 1834, one hundred and sixty-three additions were made to this church by baptism—most of these, perhaps, from amongst the slaves.

Nearly all the old "landmarks" of this church and community now rest in the city of the dead. A new generation, of an entirely different type, take the place largely—mainly—of the people of whom we have been writing. It is hard to realize the change that has taken place in the Jersey Settlement and in the Jersey church within the last twenty years. And it is now in a state of rapid transition. It can scarcely be imagined what the change will be ere another generation passes from the stage of action. Perhaps the greatest mistake this Settlement and church ever made was the neglecting to build up and sustain a school of high grade, such as their means would have richly justified.

December 15, 1896.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BAPTIST BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

According to a previous appointment, brethren from different parts of the State met in Greenville, on Tuesday, the 10th of February, 1829. Elder P. W. Dowd preached, after which the brethren assembled together, and after prayer to Almighty God, brother H. Auston of Tarborough, was chosen Moderator, and brother R. Blount of Greenville, Secretary. Elder P. W. Dowd then rose and explained the object of the meeting, which was to form a Society for the purpose of disseminating the Gospel more generally within the bounds of North Carolina, especially among the destitute parts of the same; and then moved that such a Society be formed, which was unanimously agreed to. Elder T. D. Mason then proposed the adoption of some rules for the purpose of effecting this object, when the following Constitution was unanimously adopted, viz:

Being concerned for the condition of multitudes within the bounds of our own State, who are unhappily destitute of the preaching of the word of God, and of all the invaluable blessings of gospel ordinances regularly administered, we, the subscribers, in the name of the Great Head of the Church, and trusting in His grace to succeed our efforts, do agree to form ourselves into a Society to be called the North Carolina Baptist Benevolent Society, and to be governed and conducted according to the following Constitution, viz:

ART. 1. The exclusive object of this Society shall be to raise funds and appropriate them to the support of

travelling ministers, for preaching the Gospel and administering its ordinances within the bounds of North Carolina.

2. Every person who shall subscribe to this Constitution, and pay the sum of five dollars, shall be a member of this Society, as long as he shall continue to pay two dollars and fifty cents annually; and every person who shall pay the sum of fifty dollars at one time, shall be considered a member for life, without further contribution.

3. The Society shall hold its annual meetings in March, on the days and at the place appointed, and a sermon adapted to the occasion shall be preached by some person previously appointed, and a collection shall then be made in aid of its funds.

4. The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, and not less than three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding and a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, who, with not less than eleven other persons, all members of a Baptist church, shall constitute a Board of Directors, to be elected by ballot or otherwise, at every annual meeting of the Society.

5. The Board of Directors, in the recess of the Society, shall have the power to employ such ministers as they may think proper, appoint them their sphere of action, give them their instructions, draw upon the Treasurer for the sums necessary to carry their designs into execution, receive donations, fill all vacancies that may occur in their Board during the recess, and adopt such further measures, consistent with the Constitution, as they shall deem necessary or expedient, and make a report to the Society at every annual meeting.

6. The Board of Directors shall meet by its own adjournments, and special meetings of the Board may be called by the President or one of the Vice-Presidents, with the concurrence of any two of its members.

7. No money shall at any time be paid out of the Treasury but by a written order of the Board of Directors, signed by the President or one of the Vice-Presidents, and countersigned by the Recording Secretary.

8. Seven members of the Society shall be a quorum to transact business, and three Directors, together with the President or one of the Vice-Presidents, shall form a quorum of the Board.

9. No alteration or amendment shall be made in this Constitution, except at an annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

After prayer by Elder A. Congleton, the Society adjourned for a few hours. After a short intermission, the Society met according to adjournment. Prayer by brother G. Stokes. It was then moved and seconded that we proceed to the election of officers, when the following officers were chosen, viz:

Elder P. W. Dowd of Raleigh, President; Elders W. P. Biddle of Craven County, Thos. Meredith of Edenton, and W. H. Jordan of Granville County, Vice-Presidents; brother P. P. Lawrence of Tarborough, Corresponding Secretary; brother R. Blount of Greenville, Recording Secretary, and brother H. Auston of Tarborough, Treasurer. Board of Directors: Gen. S. Simpson, Craven County; Elder L. Ross, Beaufort; Elder S. Wait, brother W. Saunders, Newbern; Col. Dunn, Jr., Elder C. Congleton, Lenoir County; Dr. J. B. Outlaw, brother R. Lawrence, Bertie County; brother W. Clemons, brother J. Rountree, Pitt County; Elder T. D. Mason, brother G. Stokes, Greenville; brother J. Hartmus, Tarborough; Elder J. Armstrong, Stantonsburg; Elder P. Bennet, brother J. Battle, Nash County; Gen. D. Boon, Johnston County; Elder J. Purify, Elder J. Crudup, brother W. R. Hinton, brother G. Huckeby, Wake County; W. R. Ragan, Raleigh; Elder T. Crocker, Franklin County; brother C. McAllister, Fayetteville; brother J. Maning, brother E. Hoskins, Edenton; Elder H. Merritt, Orange; Elder H. Harman, brother N. G. Smith, Chatham

County; brother J. Hawl, brother S. Phereby, J. Backster, residence not known; Elder E. Phillips, brother D. Kennedy, and brother B. Boroughs, Moore County; Elder W. Dowd, and brother J. Terry, Stokes County. The Society then

Resolved, *1st*, That the first annual meeting of this Society be held in Greenville the fourth Lord's day in March, 1830, commencing the Friday before.

2d, *Resolved*, That Elder S. Wait of Newbern be requested to preach the introductory sermon, and the President to preach the sermon on Sunday in behalf of the Society.

3d, *Resolved*, That the Board of Directors meet in Tarborough, on Friday and Saturday before the first Lord's day in June, and that Elder T. D. Mason preach the introductory sermon, and Elder W. P. Biddle in behalf of the Society on Sabbath.

4th, *Resolved*, That four hundred copies of the proceedings of this meeting, together with a Circular Letter, be printed and distributed as soon as possible, and that P. W. Dowd write the circular letter and attend to the printing of the minutes.

The Moderator then called on the President-elect to close the meeting, which was done by a short exhortation and prayer.

H. Auston, *Moderator.*

R. Blount, *Recording Secretary.*

February 10, 1829.

P. S.—Brethren who were not present, whose names are inserted above, we hope will pardon us for the liberty we have taken; we endeavored to select such as we thought would feel entirely friendly towards the institution.

MEHERRIN CHURCH.

A few particulars concerning this ancient body, not given in the history already published, will be of interest to the general reader.

The church was organized in 1729, six years before the building of the first house of worship. In 1790 the membership was 100; in 1846 it was 370. Many of the leading families of the region round about, as the Cowpers, the Gatlings, the Murfrees, the Vaughns, the Wheelers and the Winbornes, belonged to it. Jas. H. Lassiter, Esq., for many years now a beloved deacon of the church at Henderson, was a member at Meherrin from 1839 to 1848, when he became a deacon of the church at Murfreesboro on its organization in 1848.

From the organization of the church to 1846, a period of 117 years, eleven men, in succession, had filled the pastorate. For one of them, John Wall, who was pastor 1802–1812, the church purchased a plantation, making him a present of it. The first Sunday School was organized in 1833.

The church-covenant is the oldest document of the kind that we have seen. It is in general use among the churches in the eastern part of the State, and, as a matter of historical interest, we give it below:

CHURCH-COVENANT.

FORASMUCH as Almighty God has been pleased to call us, by His grace, out of darkness into His marvellous light; and in token thereof we have been regularly bap-

tized upon a profession of our faith, and have given up ourselves to the Lord and to one another in a gospel church way, to be governed and guided by a proper discipline agreeable to the word of God;

Therefore, We do, in the name of our Lord Jesus and by His assistance, covenant and agree to keep up the discipline of the church we are members of, in the most brotherly affection towards each other, while we endeavor punctually to observe the following rules:

1. In brotherly love to pray for each other, to watch over one another, and in the most tender and affectionate manner to reprove one another if need be; that is, if we discover anything amiss in a brother, to go and tell him his fault according to the direction of our Lord, in Matthew 18, and not to be whispering and backbiting.

2. To pray in our families, to attend our church meetings, to observe the Lord's day and keep it holy, not to absent ourselves from the communion of the Lord's Supper without a lawful excuse.

3. To be ready to communicate for the defraying of the church expenses and not to depart irregularly from the fellowship of the church or remove to a distant church without a regular dismission.

These things we do covenant and agree to observe and keep sacred, in the name and by the assistance of the holy Trinity. Amen.

This solemn compact, together with the articles of faith and the rules of decorum, was read in the presence of the whole church four times a year.

The church is still a strong and prosperous body. For many years John Norfleet Hoggard has been the beloved pastor. H.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

In June, 1888, Dr. Whitsett delivered an address at Wake Forest College on "Several Questions in North Carolina Baptist History." In his own language: "The first of these inquiries relates to the position occupied by North Carolina in the history of Southern Baptists, and of religion in the Southern States. At this point I am persuaded that North Carolina has never claimed her rights, and that justice has never been awarded to her merits. Certainly she is the main seat and seminary of Baptist power and influence for all the Southern States. It was the great movement, under the auspicies of the Separate Baptists, which more than any other agency, conferred upon the Southern Baptists their prestige. And it was North Carolina which first extended to Daniel Marshall and Shubael Stearnes, the fathers of the Separate Baptists in the South, a right home and welcome. They had previously resided, for a brief period, near Opeckon in the northern portion of Virginia, but few doors were open for them in that quarter. But for the fire that it was given these men to kindle in Guilford County, North Carolina, they might never have been heard of in Baptist history. That fire shortly spread over most of the colony, and, leaping the boundaries, was communicated to South Carolina and Georgia on the one side, to Virginia on another, and to Kentucky, Tennessee, and all the far western and southwestern regions on still another side. * * * * Certainly, as a promoter of Baptist interests, North Carolina easily occupies the foremost

position of any State on this side of Mason and Dixon's line."

His second inquiry "relates to the date of the origin of North Carolina Baptists." He thinks, on the authority of Knight, that there were probably Baptists in North Carolina as early as 1690, and, "if the truth were brought forth, it is believed that a number of Baptist churches were in existence here between the years 1690 and 1727." He controverts the idea that North Carolina Baptists derived their origin from Virginia, and suggests that the reverse is probably nearer the truth.

His third inquiry "relates to the influence of Mr. Whitfield upon the fortunes of the Baptists of North Carolina," and he advances the opinion that "the Calvanistic Baptists do owe to Mr. Whitfield their present position, their power and their prestige."

Dr. Whitsitt's eminence as a teacher and writer of church history, and his high official position, gives great weight to the urgency with which he asks, "Who will lend a hand to cultivate this too much neglected portion of our records? No single student can perform the task to satisfaction; none are quite so well qualified to labor upon it as the Baptist scholars of North Carolina themselves." Surely, when such claims are made for our state by a student of so high repute from another State, it is time for us of North Carolina to respond to the call for an investigation of our history, and to place the result of such labors before the world. Dr. Hufham, after much persuasion, has been induced to undertake the preparation of a series of papers upon our early history, dealing first with the Baptists of North Carolina prior to 1727. The first paper will probably appear in April. Many will rejoice that he is also to prepare a history of the Tar River Association. We hope to an-

nounce, at an early day, the preparation of papers covering the Sandy Creek movement, and the influence of Whitfield upon the Baptist of the South.

PROF. THOMAS HUME, D. D., LL. D., of the State University, a scholar of high repute, and a master of English, has written a paper on "John Milton and the Baptists," which we hope to publish in April. In this instance we depart from the plan of confining ourselves to North Carolina subjects, but the value of the paper well justifies the exception. We predict that it will attract more general interest than any recent contribution to Baptist history. Dr. Hume was President of the North Carolina Baptist Historical Society from its organization until its last meeting.

IT IS by the courtesy of the *Wake Forest Student* that we are permitted to present the portrait of Dr. Royall. All who knew Dr. Royall share our appreciation of this kindness.

THE PAPER on "The Jersey Settlement" was originally prepared for the *Biblical Recorder*, and appeared in its columns some two years ago. We thought it deserving of a more permanent form, and present it in this issue as revised by its author. P.

REV. N. B. COBB, D. D., contributes the first paper in this issue of the QUARTERLY. He is a man of singular energy and versatility. For a period of forty years his life has been full of arduous and diverse labors. A graduate, *cum laude*, of the State University in the golden age of that institution; teacher at Goldsboro; lawyer and Clerk-and-Master in equity at Greenville; pastor at

Goldsboro; superintendent of army missions and colportage during the war; Sunday-school Secretary of the Baptist State Convention soon after the war; pastor at Kempsville and Portsmouth, Va., at Elizabeth City, Shelby, Fayetteville, Waynesville, Hickory, Chapel Hill, Lilesville, Hillsboro, Pittsboro, and other places in North Carolina; Trustee of Wake Forest College; founder and publisher of the N. C. Baptist Almanac; President of the Baptist State Convention, and afterwards Statistician and one of the Secretaries of that body, he has filled a large place in the Baptist activities of the State. His paper will be read with interest. It treats of the romantic period of our denominational history, not exhaustively but in outline. From published records he has gathered many salient facts, which he treats in such a way as to instruct and entertain the reader. The illustrative notes are omitted because we have not space for them.

THE Baptists have had no small share in the making of North Carolina. Much of what they have done has been accomplished through their educators and educational institutions. Armstrong, Wait, Wingate, Hooper, McDowell, and J. H. Mills should be held in everlasting remembrance. Co-laborer with them, and the peer of them all was Dr. Wm. Royall. President Hobgood tells lovingly and gracefully of his beautiful life and useful labors.

THE Jersey church, which has stood almost a century and a half, holds an honored place in the Baptist annals of the State. Its founder and first pastor, Rev. John Gano, was driven out by the Indian wars of that region. Later he became a favorite chaplain in the army of Gen. Washington during the war of the Revolution. There was a tradition long current that he secretly and at night

baptized the Father of his Country. The tradition is, of course, groundless. Neither Gano nor Washington was the man for secrecy in a matter of this kind. The church was seriously affected by the troubles of the Regulation. While the British were occupying South Carolina, Cornwallis offered a reward for the arrest of the elder Furman, who was then pastor of a church at the High Hills of Santee. Compelled to flee from the State, he found a refuge among his brethren of the Jersey church and preached for them until it was safe for him to return to his flock in South Carolina. A full account of the church, for the first century of its existence, would be of thrilling interest. That is impossible now, but much of what is known is well told by Rev. Henry Sheets, in the third paper of this issue of the QUARTERLY. He has overlooked one fact which is commonly overlooked by writers on North Carolina Baptist history: that the organization of churches in the earliest days was loose and informal. Articles of faith, church covenants, rules of decorum and church records came in at a later period. So it came about, in some instances, that the adoption of these things is set down as the date of the organization, though the churches had been exercising all the functions of a church for twenty-five years. The church at Jersey was one of these. It was organized by John Gano soon after the beginning of the work at Sandy Creek; and while, owing to the scarcity of ministers and the troubles of the period, its organic life was often feeble, it has never ceased. Mr. Sheets lives in a region which has been made illustrious by the labors and sacrifices of noble men and saintly women for the "faith once delivered to the saints." What he has done for Jersey he may do for Sandy Creek, Haw River, Abbot's Creek, Deep Creek and Little River. H.

BOOK TABLE.

A History of the Baptists in New England. By Rev. Henry Burrage, D. D.

A History of the Baptists in the Western States East of the Mississippi. By Rev. J. A. Smith, D. D.

The *Baptist History Series*, now in course of publication by the American Baptist Publication Society, to be complete in five volumes, is most happily conceived, and, as respects the volumes before us, well executed. They are worthy the reputation of their distinguished authors, and ought to receive a hearty welcome from American Baptists. The accounts of the struggle for religious liberty in New England, and of the "Early Times in the West," are intensely interesting. The volumes are independent, each being complete, with index, etc. Price, $1.25 each.

We shall look with interest for the appearance of the remaining volumes, particularly the fourth of the series, which will deal with the Baptists in the Southern States east of the Mississippi.

A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States. By A. H. Newman, D. D., LL. D.

The author is of Southern birth and training. For a number of years he has occupied the chair of ecclesiastical history in McMaster University, Toronto, Canada. The title indicates the purpose and scope of the book. The story of the rise and progress of the Baptists, from one church in 1640 to a membership of 65,345 in 1790, and 3,717,969 in 1890, is well worth the telling, and Dr. Newman has done his work well. It stands the test laid down by Macauley, that history should be as interesting as a novel. Those who begin to read it will be unwilling to lay it aside without finishing it. As a hand-book for the study-table of pastor or intelligent layman, we

know of no book that can take its place. Many readers will not agree with the author in all his conclusions, but this is to be expected. Price, $2.50.

Marvels of cheapness and neatness are the two small volumes by Rev. A. J. Gordon, D. D.—*The Ministry of the Spirit* and *How Christ Came to Church.* Both are spiritual and practical. In a short time they have become famous, and through them the great preacher, though now dead, ministers to a larger audience than ever attended upon his preaching. They are sent postpaid for thirty cents each.

Helps to Bible Study. With the ever-increasing interest in Bible study helps have multiplied amazingly. *Outline Analysis of the Books of the Bible*, by Prof. Barnard C. Taylor, has the merit of being only what it professes to be, a help to study. It is a small volume of one hundred and ninety-one pages, and to those who are willing to study the Bible itself, this, as a help, will be found suggestive and useful.

To such as wish an analysis of the books and also comments and criticisms, *Bible Hand-book for Young People* will be more satisfactory. These are small books, but they furnish comprehensive studies of much value. The volumes before us are *The Pentateuch*, by Rev. A. J. Rowland, D. D.; *The Historical Books of the Old Testament*, by Rev. Barnard C. Taylor, D. D.; and *The Development of Doctrines in the Epistles*, by Rev. C. R. Henderson, D. D. The first of these contains the most satisfactory brief discussion of the "higher criticism" we have seen. We commend these little books to every one who would make a careful study of the Scriptures. They easily surpass any similar publication which has been brought to our attention in many years of active service in the Sunday-school work. We shall take great pleasure in calling attention to other volumes of the series as they appear. A volume on Acts, similar to those already issued, would be of immense value at this time.

Sermons. *The Southern Baptist Pulpit* contains thirty-three sermons from Baptist preachers of the South,

and includes Dr. Whitsitt's historical sermon before the Southern Baptist Convention, in Washington, on the occasion of its semi-centenial in 1895. The larger number were delivered on the same occasion. North Carolina is represented by the editor, Rev. J. F. Love, now of Suffolk, Va., and by Rev. Drs. T. H. Pritchard and R. T. Vann. There are also sermons by J. L. White, A. G. McManaway, J. C. Hiden, and H. W. Battle, former N. C. pastors. Such well-known brethren as Drs. Gambrill, Carroll, Hawthorne, Eaton, Landrum, Burrows, and Nunnally are represented. Judge Haralson, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, writes the introduction, and there are portraits of all the preachers represented and of Judge Haralson.

All the books named above are from the American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia.

The Modern Reader's Bible: A series of books from the Sacred Scriptures, presented in Modern Literary Form, by Prof. Richard G. Moulton. 18mo. The Macmillan Co., New York.

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are indicated. A single instance will illustrate the value of this: Take Solomon's Song, ch. i, v. 4:

"THE BRIDE (*to the Bridegroom*):
Draw me—
ATTENDANT CHORUS:
We will run after thee.
(*The Bridegroom lifts the Bride across the threshold*).
THE BRIDE:
The King hath brought me into his chamber.
ATTENDANT CHORUS:
We will be glad and rejoice in Thee,
We will make mention of Thy love more than of wine.
THE BRIDE:
In uprightness do they love Thee."

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"Himself from God he could not free;
He builded better than he knew."

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THOMAS HUME, D. D., LL. D.

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NORTH CAROLINA

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By Rev. J. D. Hufham, D. D.

John Milton and the Baptists.
By Prof. Thomas Hume, D. D., LL. D.

Notes and Comments. Book Table.

Work of North Carolina Baptist Churches for 1896.
By Rev. John E. White.

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RALEIGH, N. C

THE BAPTISTS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

J. D. HUFHAM.

FIRST PAPER.

In this paper, and some others which are to follow, I shall tell of the Baptists in North Carolina, and the part which they have borne in the making of the commonwealth. The story is well worth the telling. It begins with the earlier settlements and runs with a widening sweep and a deepening flow through all changes of govment and administration to the present time. It is of men clear of head, firm of purpose, large of heart, who touched life at every point and made blessings come forth from every point of contact. They believed in the life which is to come and, therefore, sought to make the best and noblest of the present life, both for themselves and for others. Unnoticed by the colonial authorities at first, or sneeringly spoken of as Anabaptists; sometimes encountering violence, as in 1777, when John Tanner was shot on the banks of the Roanoke; once, in New Berne, going to jail for conscience' sake, they yet moved forward quietly like a force of nature, carrying the blessings of a pure Christianity into every part of the Commonwealth, bearing its heavenly radiance in those early days into Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, South Carolina and Georgia, as they are doing in our own time into South America and Mexico, China and Africa. While men, high in position and influence, towards the close of the seventeenth century were crying that the colony would be heathenized unless their own church were established

by law, fenced in by the civil authority and watered by streams from the public treasury, our Baptist fathers were traversing the country, churches springing up along their path that have lived, that are living to-day, nourished and sustained only by the power of truth and the indwelling Spirit of God. From the beginning they were the promoters of education. The spirit of education came of the new life of faith and service which they preached; as when an unlettered woman, who had been received into one of those early churches, said to her husband, "I must read God's word for myself, and you must teach me;" as when, more frequently, the husband said to the wife, "I must learn to read and you must be my teacher." From the first, the preachers have often been teachers also. In large sections of the State there is a schoolhouse in the yard of every Baptist Church. They were the first of the religious denominations in the State to found and equip a college for the training of young men, and they have been liberal in building seminaries for the education of their girls. They were the first to harness the newspaper and make it the bearer of religious as well as secular knowledge to the people. It was a Baptist who, in the face of indifference or ridicule, founded the first orphanage in the State; and, as a body of Christians, the Baptists led their brethren of other denominations in providing and maintaining a home for the homeless little ones of their own congregations. Fearless men were they who, many years ago, prepared the way for these things, and ever ready to give a reason of the hope that was in them, or to contend earnestly for the faith which they held; as when one of them met a champion of the Established Church in public debate and confounded him, argument with argument and reason with reason,

out of God's word and the nature of things. But they were men of sweet and catholic spirit also, and delighted, as occasion offered, to welcome Presbyterians like McAden to their pulpits or to sit under the preaching of such clergymen of the Church of England as had learned that the kingdom of heaven is larger than Establishment, and that the love of Christ makes all men brothers. In the times when political questions were fermenting in the minds of the colonists, and they were groping their way towards the commonwealth, of which free representative government is the cornerstone and freedom of conscience the capstone, the Baptists, without being politicians, took a lively interest in all those questions and discussed them fearlessly, sometimes ably. They were always on the side of the people against the classes, and in favor of the largest liberty compatible with social and civil order. So they became increasingly prominent as the struggle which began with the founding of the Colonial Government and ended with the adoption of the Federal Constitution went slowly forward. When, in the campaign of 1776 for the election of Delegates to the Convention which framed the Constitution and made North Carolina a State, party lines were first clearly drawn and there was the first trial of party strength, the Baptists were aligned with Willie Jones and the other leaders on the popular side; and in the Convention Abbott, Battle, Burgess and the others cast their votes and used their personal influence on that side. In the war of the Revolution not one, layman or preacher, out of all the men whose names were on their church-rolls took sides with the king against the State. One of their preachers was shot dead in his own house and in the presence of his family, his only offence being his adherence to the cause

of liberty and independence. And when in the Convention of 1788, the Federal Constitution was pending, the Baptists were present in good force; Abbott and Lancaster being among the speakers and Battle presiding, when the body declined to ratify the Constitution without amendments, which were specified and formulated. The Baptists gave early attention to the religious needs of the negro slaves among them, and made better provisions for their instruction in the doctrines and duties of the Christian life as the number increased. How well the work was done is seen in the faithfulness and industry of the slaves during four years of war; in their quietness and good behavior since they have been free; and in the fact that they are to such an extent a Christian people to-day. Of the men who achieved these things, of their times and their work, I shall speak in this series of papers with such fulness of detail as the space at my disposal may allow. For the sake of clearness it will be necessary to give some attention to the civil and political history of the colony in the periods of which I am to treat, but only such facts will be presented as may enable the reader to understand the spirit and work of the Baptists who have gone before. The period to be considered in this paper closes with the year 1729, when the colony passed from the Proprietors into the possession and control of the King of England.

When in 1663 Charles II. gave to eight Proprietors a right to the territory, which extended from the Virginia border southward along the Atlantic coast to the Spanish settlements of Florida, and westward to the "Southern seas," he named it the Province of Carolina. Colonies being formed towards each end of the coast line, with a separate government for each, they came to be known as South Carolina and North Carolina.

The beginnings of North Carolina were made in the northeastern corner of the State. On the old maps it is designated as the County of Albemarle, with four precincts: Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank and Currituck, since become counties and subdivided so as to add Camden and Gates, while the old name, Albemarle, survives in the beautiful sheet of water which washes the southern border. It had many advantages as a place for the planting of a commonwealth, which was soon to go out into a larger home and a more extensive domain. Virginia on the north and the Chowan River, the sounds and the ocean on the other three sides, gave it comparative immunity from Indian raids and massacres. Several small rivers, all having a southern trend, flow through it into the Albemarle Sound. They are fed by creeks which admit small vessels of light draught, thus providing convenient and cheap transportation for the farmers. Even after more than two centuries of cultivation the soil is of exceeding fertility. The territory is small and compact, containing about 1,500 square miles, and having at this time a population of 51,000 souls. From Edenton, which, at an early period became the seat of government, it is twenty-five miles to Gatesville, twelve to Hertford, twenty-eight to Elizabeth City and about fifty-five to Currituck C. H. It was easy, therefore, for the people to come together for social intercourse, for business or for co-operation in times of need. It is still a pleasant land to look upon, whether one sees it from the deck of the steamers which pass along the river and the sound, or strolls along the shore or drives over the level roads through the woods, between the plantations and across the streams. Later, colonists began to cross the Albemarle Sound and form settlements in all direc-

tions. By the close of the period now under consideration the country had been settled as far up as the present line of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. But for some years North Carolina was included within the limits of the County of Albemarle.

In 1661, two years before the charter of King Charles, George Durant, who had been ordered to depart from Virginia, because he was not pious according to the tenets of the Established Church, came into North Carolina and purchased from the king of the Yeopim Indians a tract of land lying along the Albemarle Sound and the Perquimans River. It is still known as Durant's Neck. Some settlers came with him and others were there when he came. How many there were of this latter class, and when or whence they came, cannot now be known. But it is certain that when the Proprietors set up their government in Albemarle, they found a considerable body of people in possession of lands which they had purchased from the Indians, or secured by grant from the Governor of Virginia, who held some sort of shadowy authority over that part of the province.

Of the government under the Proprietors it is not necessary to speak in detail. The principal features remain substantially unchanged. There was a Governor who held his office at the pleasure, and sometimes by appointment, of the Proprietors. The General Assembly, corresponding in some respects to our House of Representatives, was elected by the freeholders, a freeholder being the owner of a town lot, or of fifty acres of land. There was a Governor's Council of twelve men, half of whom were selected by him and the other half elected by the Assembly. The legislative authority of the colony was vested in these three: the Governor, the Council and

the Assembly. This simple and natural arrangement seemed adequate to ensure tranquility and prosperity. But the home authorities wished to direct legislation from London and held the right to annul such laws as were disagreeable to them. They also sought to create and to hold a monopoly of the trade of the province, making England the market for the products of the people and the source of supply for their needs. At an early date an active trade sprang up with New England. The small craft of that enterprising province came through the sounds and up the streams to the landings on the plantations, carrying off the produce and giving in exchange for it goods of foreign manufacture. This trade it was sought to discourage and suppress.

It will be seen at once that, without complete subserviency on the part of the colonists, a long and bitter struggle between them and the authorities in England was inevitable. And there was no such subserviency. The colonists had a clear understanding of their rights, as well as courage and patience to maintain them. And so the contention began almost with the setting up of the colonial government and continued with increasing bitterness until the close of the Revolution. On one side were the representatives of the Proprietors and the Crown, with a small but gradually increasing class of sympathizers. On the other were the people who, settled along the water-courses and on the ridges lying between, were slowly opening farms and founding villages in the wilderness. They were fearless, vigilant and persistent. The Governors, who were at the head of the government party, would have had no easy task, even if they had been the wisest and best of men. But in most instances they were neither wise nor good. Some of

them were among the worst men in the colony, and the people dealt with them according to their deserts. Of those who were Governors under the Proprietors six were turned out of office by the people. Some were imprisoned or banished and one was disfranchised. In all this long struggle the Baptists were of the people and with the people. They believed in civil and political as well as religious liberty, and held themselves in readiness to contend earnestly not only for the faith once delivered to the saints, but also for the chartered rights of freemen. To understand their rapid growth in numbers and influence it is necessary to bear these facts in mind.

This severance of the people from the ruling class in matters of political opinion and questions of civil government extended also to the higher concerns of religion. Naturally the representatives and advocates of the government were adherents of the Church of England and in favor of its establishment by law. On the other hand, while the people differed among themselves as to their church preferences, they were in great part agreed in their opposition to the Church of England, and especially to its establishment by law and its support by taxation. This was the natural and inevitable result of the conditions under which the colony was settled. At that time persecutions were raging in almost all the regions from which the Proprietors could hope to draw immigrants to their province of Carolina. Within six months after Charles II. came to the throne of England, John Bunyan was in Bedford jail, to remain for twelve years. Vavasor Powell, "the apostle of Wales," was also a "prisoner for conscience' sake," to be transferred from jail to jail until, after eleven years, he perished in the Old Fleet prison in London. Many other Baptists, not so prominent,

and therefore not so widely known, were in the jails of England, their only offence being their dissent from the teachings and forms of worship of the Church of England. One of the most touching things in the literature of that period is a letter written by some Baptist preachers from their English prison to their brethren in America. There were 4,000 quakers in jail in England. There were more than 500 in the city prisons of London. In New England things were little better. The authorities were striving with the utmost rigor to repress every form of dissent from the State church. The banishment of Roger Williams has gone around the world. Other Baptists were whipped, imprisoned, fined and otherwise maltreated. The Quakers fared even worse. In a few instances they were put to death. Long after North Carolina had become a settled colony a Quaker from Massachusetts would, on rare occasions, put aside his long hair and show how his ears had been cut off as a punishment for his religious opinions. In Virginia, also, which had a well ordered government with the Church of England as the State Church, there was scant mercy or courtesy for dissenters. The public whipping of a Quaker woman until the blood ran down the breasts showed that the Cavalier could rival the Puritan in his lack of charity towards those who differed from him in religious opinions. The laws were severe against "Separates," "Quakers and other recussants," and, in one instance the persecution of these "Separates" was among the causes which led to armed resistance of the authorities. And in Wales which furnished many colonists to the Carolinas, Delaware and Pennsylvania, dissenters were greatly troubled. The Baptists of that principality long observed the day of Queen Anne's death as a day of deliverance.

Knowing these things the Proprietors, seeking settlers for Carolina, proclaimed everywhere that freedom of religious opinion and freedom of worship would be granted to all. Printed pamphlets and other documents were extensively circulated, setting forth the natural attractions of the country and making specially prominent the declaration that no one would be made uneasy on account of his religious opinions. Their agents and representatives were instructed to make this clear wherever they went. In England, Clarendon, who was one of the Proprietors and in high office under Charles II., pushed the persecutions at home with one hand most rigorously, while with the other hand he held out the offer of religious freedom in his province of Carolina. Under such circumstances it would have been strange indeed, if, among those who came into Albemarle, there had not been a preponderance of men, who, besides seeking good land and cheap homes, wanted also a place in which they might worship and serve God without hindrance from the authorities of a State Church.

The following classification of the early settlers as to their church connections and preferences will be found sufficiently accurate. The Quakers and their adherents constituted the largest body of religionists in the colony. They claimed that they were the first to come into Albemarle. In 1679 an address, signed by twenty-one men, "in scorne called Quakers," was sent to the Proprietors in London, the subscribers declaring that they were among the original settlers under the charters in 1663 and '64. In 1672, they were visited by Edmundson, and in 1676 by Fox, who preached for them, and, what is more, organized them for effective work in spreading their peculiar views. They were quiet, industrious,

thrifty people, profoundly earnest in their religious opinions, blameless in their lives and zealous of good works. They were noted then as they have been at all other times for the steadfastness with which they strove to promote the well-being of the whole body and for the faithfulness with which every member stood by all the others. Archdale, one of the Proprietors and for a year or so Governor of the Province, was a Quaker. His son-in-law, Emanuel Low, also a Quaker, was a resident of Albemarle. These causes operating together, gave them prominence and influence. Their greatest strength lay in Perquimans and Pasquotank, the wealthiest and most populous precincts in the colony, and as they were keenly interested in politics, they were able to exert a controlling influence in the legislature. They also held many offices of trust or profit. But from the year 1715, through causes which are to be related hereafter, they disappeared as a political and evangelistic force in North Carolina.

Next in point of numbers and strength were the Independents and Baptists. They co-operated in Albemarle, as they had been wont to do in England and Wales. There, Baptists sometimes held membership in Independent churches, and Independents, where there were no churches of their own, joined the Baptists. They held in common the complete sovereignty and independence of the individual, local church; and where need required they came together on this, holding in abeyance their difference as to baptism. The first company of General Baptists, coming over from Holland to London, joined the Independents and afterwards withdrew in friendly spirit to form a separate organization. Meeting in Albemarle, where there were no churches of their own, they

were naturally drawn together in fraternal communion and labor. They were at first considered and classed as one sect, a "sort something like the Presbyterians," but Baptist views prevailing more and more the organization of Baptist churches followed.

The Independents came to the colony as early as 1661. From a pamphlet of 1656 I make the following extract: "And there was in Virginia a certain people congregated into a church, calling themselves Independents, which, daily increasing, several consultations were had by the State of that colony, how to suppress and extinguish them, which was duly put in execution; as, first their pastor was banished; next their teachers; then many by information clapt up in prison; then generally disarmed (which was very hard in such a country where the heathen live round about them) by one Colonel Samuel Matthews, then a Counsellor of Virginia, so that they knew not in those straits how to dispose themselves." George Durant was an officer in that church, and having been banished from Virginia, so the record runs, he came to Albemarle and settled on Durant's Neck, about twelve miles from Edenton and about the same distance from Hertford. Some members of the scattered church came with him, and others of the same faith came afterwards from England and other quarters. Mr. Durant was a fearless and upright man and bore an active part in the colonial politics of the time. One of the Goveruors imprisoned him and seized a large part of his estate. He was a devout man, and to the end adhered to his early religious views. The Bible which was his comfort in those stormy times is said to be still in existence.

The Baptists were among the earlier settlers, drawn, in many instances, by the same causes that brought Du-

rant and his friends. Many years ago an intelligent old man of good estate related to me a thrilling account of the adventures of one of his ancestors, while making his way on foot from the trials and persecutions of Massachusetts to find a home on the shores of Albemarle Sound. At that time there were many traditions of this kind lingering in the homes of the people of that region. Those preachers and adherents of our faith were what in England were called General Baptists. They held a moderate Calvinism, which, to the high Calvinists of that day, seemed Arminianism. But I shall speak particularly of them, their labors and their views of doctrine and discipline at a later stage of this narrative.

I have referred to the Quakers and Baptists. The last and smallest of the religious denominations to be mentioned here, was composed of such as held to the Church of England. At their head was the Governor. With him were the officers who received their appointment through the Proprietors or the Crown, and families, scattered through the province, of those who, having been brought up in the faith of the Established Church, still held to it in their new home. Chowan, with Edenton as the center, was the seat of their greatest strength, as Perquimans and Pasquotank were of the Quakers. The majority against them in the whole colony was very decided at the first, and it increased rapidly from the year 1690, as the French, the Swiss and the Palatines, the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish, the Germans and the Moravians came in. Though they were the smallest of the religious bodies in the province, their lofty pretentions, the official position of their leaders, aided perhaps by greater wealth and superior culture, gave them an influence out of proportion to their numbers, and also out of

proportion to their example in Christian living, or their activity in Christian labor. By the testimony of their own witnesses they were the least efficient of all the religions bodies represented in the colony. In 1701 Governor Walker wrote to the bishop of London that while the English had been settled in Albemarle well nigh fifty years they had been all that time without priest or altar; no Episcopalian preacher had visited or ministered to them. Their sole form of activity consisted in railing at the Quakers and others who were seeking to give to the people the blessings and comforts of our holy religion.

But a change was at hand: The year 1701 marks the commencement of a period of great activity among the adherents of the Church of England. That year witnessed the beginning of the effort to have the church established by law. At the instance of Gov. Walker, a bill was introduced into the Assembly dividing the county into parishes, one for each precinct; appointing vestrymen; fixing the salary of the officiating clergyman at $150, and ordering a poll-tax of $1.25 on each male inhabitant from sixteen years of age upward, the fund raised by this tax to be used in supporting the clergy, purchasing or building parsonages, and erecting houses of worship. The representatives of the people were taken by surprise but made a vigorous resistance, and the measure was passed by a bare majority. It was annulled in England, but the Churchmen proceeded to act under it, thus setting the example of that lawlessness of which they afterwards made such bitter complaint. The Quakers led the opposition and, apprehending another trial before the Assembly, made ready for it. When the trial came on it was defeated. Meanwhile Gov. Walker died in 1703, and a new Governor, Col. Daniel, succeeded him with

peremptory instructions to have the Church Establishment set up. He came from South Carolina, where a church law had just been passed, which the English House of Lords declared to be founded upon falsity in matter fact, repugnant to the laws of England, contrary to the charters of the colony, an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade and tending to the depopulation and ruin of the province. Some such measure the Governor seems to have had in mind for North Carolina, but his plan could not be carried out. Indeed it was doubtful whether any law for Establishment could be passed. It had been before the people for three years, and had been twice defeated. When the Assembly met the opponents of the measure were in a majority, and the excitement was at fever heat throughout the colony. The Governor met the emergency by a very simple political trick. The Quakers had not been required to take any oath as a condition precedent to holding office. Their solemn asseveration was accepted instead of it. Now, however, Gov. Daniel required them to take the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. They refused to swear and were unseated. This threw out most of the delegates from Perquimans and Pasquotank, and the law was passed, the necessary votes having been secured by intimidation or influence. Naturally the people were determined not to accept the law. It was not only contrary to their strongest convictions, but to many of them it seemed the beginning here of the sufferings which they had experienced in the prisons of England and New England. An agent was sent to England to confer with the Proprietors who removed Gov. Daniel and authorized the Assembly to elect a Governor for themselves. On the supposition that Cary was in sym-

pathy with the people, he was chosen. But, fearing the Church party in England, which was powerful and active at this time, he required all the members of the Assembly to take the oath of allegiance as his predecessor had done. Whereupon he was deposed and Col. Glover was elected. He, also requiring the oath, was deposed and Cary, who was at last willing to omit the oath, was re-elected. Glover at first refused to yield, and for a time there were two men claiming to be Governor; but Cary, with the people at his back, held the office. Then Col. Hyde, a kinsman of Queen Anne, came upon the scene, claiming to be Governor, but having no commission or any certificate of appointment. Cary refused to recognize him or to yield the office, and there was, on both sides, an appeal to arms. Thus matters stood until 1711 when Gov. Spotswood, of Virginia, interposed with an armed force and Hyde was put in office. The opposition was broken and the law for Establishment was enacted. It was re-enacted without serious opposition in 1715, and thenceforward at intervals, with modifications and amendments, until the beginning of the Revolution. The Quakers were rendered incapable of holding any office of trust or profit, and also of giving testimony in criminal causes. Their power and prominence were broken, and they disappeared as a political or evangelizing force in North Carolina. But through their quiet, orderly, blameless lives, their industry and economy, their spiritual worship and their devotion to the cause of education, they have been a blessing to the neighborhoods in which they have resided.

The records of this important period in the history of North Carolina are scanty, and such as we have are mainly from members of the Church party; but the account of it

which I have given above is substantially correct. Daniel, Cary and Glover have been blamed for insisting that all members of the Assembly take the oath, but manifestly they were guided by the Church party in England, which was then in power, with the Queen at their head. In the final struggle between Cary and Hyde the former was in the right. There were some irregularities in the mode of his elevation to office, but the Assembly was with him, as was Edward Mosely, the ablest lawyer in the colony. Hyde had no legal title to the office, and his commission did not reach him for some months after he had assumed its authority. The people had made a brave fight for religious liberty, but they had been beaten temporarily. Might had triumphed over right.

The Churchmen had been successful but, like the Pyrrhic victory of ancient story, the success was disastrous to the winners. Any one not infatuated could have seen in the signs of the times that the State Church in the American colonies was a moribund institution, perishing and ready to vanish away. Rhode Island and Pennsylvania had given forth the note of warning and of cheer. In North Carolina there was no popular demand for Establishment. Nearly fifty years the people had been worshiping God as their own hearts and judgments inclined them, and they were content to have it so. By concurrent testimony from several sources the colony was, in morality and devoutness, at least the equal of Virginia, where they had the State Church in full operation. Both the charters, with the constitution of Locke and Ashley Cooper, had asserted the right to establish, but there was no public expectation that any effort to secure it would be made in the legislature of 1701. And the bill which was forced through that body was iniqui-

tous to the last degree. To tax the people against their consent for the maintenence of any church whatever would have been a perversion of government from its legitimate ends and an infraction of the sacred rights of citizenship. But to lay on them the support of a church from which many of them shrank with aversion or abhorrence, regarding its ordinances as unscriptural, its ministers as "hireling priests" and its forms of worship as relics of Popery, was a crime unfathomable and inexcusable. But there were other elements of inhumanity in the law. It levied a uniform tax of $1.25 on all white males down to sixteen years of age. It was the same for the rich and the poor. To the former it was insignificant; to the latter, when money was so scarce that a bushel of wheat, exchanged for English goods, was worth only six cents, and a barrel of corn only four cents, it was a burden grievous to be borne. Col. Pollock, who was a vestryman, was probably the richest man in the colony, and he was careful to increase his wealth as long as he lived. The thought of him, and others like him, ordering a tax for the support of their own church, out of the small farmer and the day-laborer of Chowan, stirs the blood even at this distance of time. The law could not be enforced. One of the first vestrymen appointed refused to serve, because he was a dissenter. In some cases the vestry could not be gotton to meet; in others they would not collect the tax, while in others they could not. Sometimes the clergyman brought suit in the courts for the collection of the salary, but it was of no use. There was no longer any open resistance or any contest in the legislature. Evasion and neglect were the weapons used. Up to the verge of the Revolution the law was changed from time to time in the effort to cover

these cases of evasion and disregard, but in vain. The law was contrary to public sentiment and to the spirit of the age, and like all such laws it could not be enforced. The church got enough from the taxes to alienate and irritate the masses of the people and to preclude voluntary contributions, but not enough to supply a tithe of her needs. And so her clergymen came into the colony to stay a little while and then go away, bearing an evil report of the land. At one time there was not a man of them left. In 1764 there were only six, and at the beginning of the Revolution the number was little if any larger. Some of the churches built for them under the law, passed with approval of the people into the possession and use of dissenters. There were three such houses in Halifax county, one in Jones and one in Chowan. By request of the vestry one such chapel was regularly occupied by a Baptist minister who afterwards baptized several of the vestrymen and organized a Baptist Church.

But while Establishment blighted the external prosperity of the church its effects on her inner life were even worse. Having become a creature of the civil government, she naturally sympathized with the power that controlled and supported her, and partook of its narrow and intolerant spirit. It was due to no tenderness or catholicity in her or her officers that dissenters were imprisoned but once in North Carolina, and that there was not wide-spead distress under the vestry acts. She had gotten, not what she desired, but all that her party in the Assembly dared to give. She did not once raise her voice in mildest whisper of protest against laws which are the disgrace of our statute-books, or of entreaty that they might be modified or repealed. She was opposed to the establishment of schools unless officered by her

own men, and so she stood in the way of general education. Expansion and growth from within were impossible. The great events which were passing before her eyes were incomprehensible to her. She stood in bewilderment and alarm, or stood as an obstructive, while the stream of human progress was sweeping a whole people away from old superstitions, precedents and traditions into nobler and better things. Sometimes one of her clergymen, and more frequently a layman, broke away and went with the currents of the age. But during the seventy-five years of the Establishment, years of unrest to the people who were anxiously groping their way along, of iconoclasm, of creating and of building up, she had no clear message of instruction or encouragement, comfort or guidance to the earnest men, who were trying to follow the leadings of God's providence or of sympaty with the institutions which they were founding. It is not singular that many public men, who were nominally among her adherents, should have been in reality infidels at the commencement of the Revolution. So mad was the act of Henderson Walker, when in 1701, he harnessed his church to the civil power and made her the servant of its shifting policies, its sordid spirit and its worldly motives. The blight of establishment seems to have fallen even upon the spirit of fraternity, which is supposed to be the chief characteristic of ecclesiastical bodies. The Governor complained of the clergymen, the clergymen complained of their Governors. They also complained of their vestries and of each other. Edward Moseley alleged that the vestries were making an improper use of church funds donated by the Governor of Virginia for a specified purpose, and withheld some money, which had come into his hands, until he could

be sure it would be properly applied; whereupon one of the vestries ordered that suit be brought against him in the courts to compel payment.

I return now from this new method of propagating the gospel by law through a State Church, to those who for more than fifty years had been at work in the colony on the simple plan instituted by our Lord and practiced by the Apostles.

The Baptists had been working effectively but quietly, at first with the Independents, and afterwards, as most of the Independents adopted Baptist views, alone. We know their methods. There were Baptists scattered through the colony and others were coming in. It was the first business of the preachers to visit these people and encourage them. Meetings were held in their homes, and, where the company was too large, in the shade of the magnificent forests. Thus there were gathered groups of Baptists in different neighborhoods, exercising the functions of churches without the name and form. These gatherings in the houses of the neighborhood, "cottage churches," we may call them, formed an important element in the religious life of the colony at that period, and they have continued among the Baptists in poor or sparsely settled neighborhoods unto our own time. There was a social element in them which made them very attractive, and they were secure against interruption from the outside and against any indecorum on the part of those who attended. If a minister was present he preached, of course. In the absence of a minister any brother might speak, and, at a later period, a printed sermon was read if no one would speak. But always there was religious conversation, with singing and prayer. Against these gatherings one clause in the law of 1715

was directed. It required that meetings of Dissenters for worship should be public. But, as a rule, there was no interference on the part of the authorities, so far as shown by our denominational records. Indeed, there was no time when they would have dared to interfere. Establishment had come too late for that. In one instance, in Chowan, they ordered a man to stop preaching without license, but there was no attempt to molest or hinder him in his work.

The simple arrangements which are indicated above, met the needs of the Baptists at first, and for many years while the territorial limits were small and the people were busy clearing their farms or working their way through the political problems which demanded solution with an urgency not to be put off. But, manifestly, this was only the first stage in the journey to larger and better things. The time was at hand when to fulfil their mission they must establish churches that should be thoroughly organized and fully equipped, with settled pastors, houses of worship, books of records, rules of discipline and arrangements for mutual co-operation. The adherents of the Church of England had said that these things could not be without Establishment, backed by authority and furnished with money drawn from the people by taxation. It was the mission of the Baptists, as the chief and most prominent exponents of the voluntary system in those times, to show that the Gospel is the power of God, irresistible when standing alone, but hampered and weakened by aid or touch of the civil government. Their approach to the higher and larger work was retarded by several causes. There was for many years an insufficient supply of ministers. As late as 1789, when Associations had been formed, the ques-

tion of ministerial supply was one of the most serious that confronted them. Another cause was the difficulty of building. There were few saw-mills, and of course there was a corresponding scarcity of building materials. When the first house of worship under the Establishment was ordered by the vestry of Chowan in 1701, it was to be twenty-five feet long. The frame was to be of posts set in the ground and fastened at the collar-beams, enclosed with boards and covered with shingles. It was doubtful whether glass enough could be purchased in the colony. At that time and for years afterwards nails were so scarce and dear that for many of the ruder structures, the boards of the roof were fastened by wooden pegs, or held in place by beams laid across. The walls of many residences, even of the better class, were enclosed from the outside by shingles instead of boards. The church at Meherrin was organized in 1729, but the house was not built until 1735. Later on and farther west the Baptists often built and worshipped in log houses. Some of the older people in Cleveland County tell how Drury Dobbins, the apostle of that region as Vavasor Powell was of Wales, used to preach to the people in one of those houses, standing with bare feet on the dirt floor. There was one such house of worship in Martin County, and they could occasionally be found elsewhere in the East, but the custom was different. The building of churches was rendered more difficult by the scarcity of money. When the Quakers in Perquimans were making ready to build churches in 1702 or 1703, they did not ask for money, but received subscriptions which were to be paid in tobacco.

The last cause which kept the Baptists of Albemarle back from their larger work was the lack of a leader.

And leaders were at hand. Before the excitement which was created by the movement to establish the Church of England had subsided, Paul Palmer came into the colony and settled in Perquimans County. A native of Maryland, he had labored in that State and also in Delaware, New Jersey and Connecticut before coming to North Carolina. He was a man of intelligence, of large administrative capacity, of great personal charm, of unflagging zeal and of untiring energy. Gov. Everard wrote of him to the Bishop of London, in 1729, that he had drawn hundreds to him and that it was impossible to stop him. Morgan Edwards states that he organized a church on the borders of South Carolina, and our records show that his influence was also felt in Virginia. He was a landowner and a slave-holder before 1720. In that year his name appears in the court records of Chowan. A negro slave belonging to him was indicted on a charge of having enticed another slave from the plantation of a neighboring farmer. When the constable went to arrest the slave, Mrs. Palmer, her husband being absent, refused to surrender him. Indictments were then brought against her and her husband. At first Mr. Palmer refused to plead, and the case was laid over. At the next term of the court he entered plea and gave bond. When the term for trial came on the Attorney-General "absconded the court" to avoid prosecuting. At the next term he refused to prosecute and the case was dismissed. It was a great annoyance to Mr. Palmer, but it in no way lessened his influence or lowered his standing among the people, as the letter of Gov. Everard shows. His spirit had been quickened and his methods formed by contact with the Baptists of Delaware, New Jersey and New England, and he continued in touch with them to the last. In 1727,

near his home in Perquimans County, he gathered the first Baptist Church in North Carolina, fully organized and equipped, that has come down to our time. It was organized in Perquimans, but for a hundred years and more its local habitation has been at Shiloh, in Camden County. This apparent discrepancy has perplexed some writers, Benedict among them. The perplexity has arisen from the failure to keep in mind the plan of organization which, beginning with this church, prevailed extensively among the Baptists of North Carolina for three-quarters of a century. The church was composed of members from different neighborhoods and sometimes from different counties. The church was not named as is now the custom, or was named from the county in which it was located. Wherever there was a group of members there was an "arm" of the church. The church was composed of these "arms," each of them usually having a house of worship, and met with them in succession. Sometimes all the arms became independent churches; in others the strongest arm became the church, while the weaker arms were merged into new churches springing up in neighborhoods nearer and more convenient. Thus the church at Rowan, Sampson County, was at first called the Church in Sampson, Bladen and New Hanover, because there were arms in each of those counties. The church at Bear Marsh, Duplin County, was called the Church in Duplin and Wayne, because there were arms in each of these counties. Mr. Palmer's church was composed of two arms, one in Perquimans and the other at Shiloh, near the residence of Joseph Parker and several others, who were members, and of William Burgess, William Parker and others, who did not at once come into the organization.

Perquimans was one of the strongholds of the Quakers, and it also had an Episcopalian church, which was making a vigorous fight for existence. That branch of the new church did not flourish, especially after age and infirmity came upon the founder, while the other, located in a populous neighborhood on the old stage road from Edentou to Norfolk, grew rapidly for two years under the ministry of the Parkers, Joseph and William, and after their removal, under William Burgess from New England, who was the ablest man of them all. New arms were established at Sawyer's Creek, in Camden County; Coinjock, which is now Shawboro, in Currituck; Pungo, now Oak Grove, in Virginia, from which have sprung Blackwater and other churches; Knobb's Crook, which is now Elizabeth City; Salem, in Pasquotank; Yeopim, where once stood an Episcopalian chapel under the Establishment. This last-named place is about six miles from Edenton, in Chowan County, where the friends of the Establishment had their greatest strength. Some twenty-five years ago it was reported in the community that the late James Johnston, of Edenton, once went out and examined the grounds with the view of ascertaining whether they could not be recovered for the use of the Episcopalians. There has been a Baptist church in the neighborhood since 1775. All the other arms which have been mentioned above, are strong churches to-day, all save the branch in Perquimans, which continued to decline. At Shiloh there was steady prosperity. In less than twenty years from the date of organization it was recognized as the church, and it has so continued to the present time. Until 1790, when the church at Sawyer's Creek was organized, it was designated as the Church in Camden. Paul Palmer was succeeded in the pastorate

by William Burgess, a man of fervent piety, great strength of character and of large influence. Two of his sons, John and William, were preachers. The former was a man of superior abilities, especially in his high calling of preacher and pastor. A third son, Dempsy, was Lieutenant-Colonel of North Carolina troops during the Revolution; also a member of the Convention of 1776, which, at Halifax, adopted the Constitution and Bill of Rights, and afterwards a member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States. Henry Abbot, son of John Abbot who was canon of St. Paul's, London, succeeded William Burgess. He came to North Carolina in 1765, while quite young, and took employment as a teacher. Coming into contact with the Baptists, he embraced their views and joined them. After travelling as evangelist for a few years he became pastor at Shiloh on the death of William Burgess. He was immensely popular, and the church flourished under his ministry. In 1776 he was elected a member of both the Conventions which met at Halifax. In the latter of these he was a member of the committee appointed to prepare the draught of a Constitution, and there was long current a tradition which assigned him a chief part in shaping the clause which guarantees religious liberty. In 1788 he was elected a member of the Convention called to consider the Federal Constitution, receiving a large majority over all competitors, and voted with the minority in favor of ratification. Most of the other Baptists in the body, with Elisha Battle and Lemuel Burkitt at their head, voted against ratification. He was succeeded in the pastorate by John Burgess, who has already been referrd to.

With such a ministry the church, of course, increased in numbers and in general prosperity, many of the lead-

ing families of that region being represented in its membership. When, in 1776, Richard Caswell was elected Governor, he requested the deacons of the church at Shiloh to act as magistrates and conservators of the peace until the machinery of the State government could be completed and put in operation. Col. Gideon Lamb was one of the deacons. With his brothers, Luke and Abner, he settled in the Shiloh section of Currituck, now Camden, county, between the years 1750 and 1760. He was elected to the first Congress that met at Halifax in 1776, and on the organization of the North Carolina Line was made Major of the Sixth regiment, Alexander Lillington being Colonel. Col. Lillington having resigned, Maj. Lamb became his successor in office. His regiment with five others, under the command of Gen. Francis Nash, joined the army of the North under Gen. Washington in time to participate in the battle of Germantown and cover the retreat of the Continentals from the field. The losses of the brigade were heavy; Nash, Buncombe and Irwin being among the killed. After serving with distinction in all the battles of that campaign, Col. Lamb was placed by Gen. Jethro Sumner in charge of the recruiting service in North Carolina. A letter written by him to Gen. Sumner, May 30th, 1780, shows him to have been not only a man of lofty patriotism, but also of unusual intelligence and large ability as an executive officer. He died in the summer of 1781.

The church has raised up and sent out many able ministers, of whom the most eminent for talents and usefulness was John L. Pritchard. His life, until he had reached man's estate, was spent in active labor as a house carpenter. Then he went to Wake Forest College to fit himself for the largest possible measure of efficiency in

the ministry. After graduating in 1840 and teaching at Murfreesboro for a year, he spent ten years as pastor in Danville, Va., and four in Lynchburg. In 1856 he removed to Wilmington as pastor of the First Church. When, in 1862, the yellow fever broke out in the city it found him in full tide of usefulness and activity. The pestilence raged with fearful fatality through the summer and fall, but he remained at his post, ministering faithfully and tenderly to the sick and the sorrowing. The destroyer spared him to the close and took him as one of the last victims. He crowned a noble life with an heroic death, giving his life for his people.

In 1723 there were living in Albemarle five Baptist preachers who were freeholders and men of independent estate: two in Currituck, one in Pasquotank, one in Perquimans and one on the south side of the Albemarle Sound. A few years later two of them—Joseph and William Parker—removed to Hertford County, where, in 1729, they organized the church at Meherrin, whose history was given in the first number of this periodical. There may have been others, but they were less prominent and their names have not come down to us. They had their faults and limitations, but they were men of heroic mould. They traveled extensively, preaching the Gospel wherever they went, and always without expectation of fee or reward. The law gave them no recognition as ministers of Christ. They were not exempt from the ordinary duties of militiamen, or from service as soldiers in time of war. Neither were they exempt from the poll-tax for the support of the State Church. It was not lawful for them to join in marriage the members of their own churches. Being men, it is natural that they should sometimes have flung back the cry of

"hireling priests," in answer to the taunts of their opponents; but in the main they pursued their way with quietness and dignity "as ambassadors for Christ," preaching the Gospel with clearness, force and tenderness. They were sons of the soil, living the life, thinking the thought and using the speech of the people around them. In matters spiritual they acknowledged allegiance to no man. They were "in orders" from the King of Kings, and to Him alone they looked for direction and support. They loved the people and the people in turn loved, trusted and followed them.

There were now (1729) two Baptist churches in North Carolina regularly organized and equipped for work: one in Hertford County and one in Perquimans. As they were to multiply rapidly, churches of the same type springing up in most of the counties of the east and as far west as Granville, Wake, Johnston, Sampson and Robeson, it is important to present here the chief features of their doctrine and polity. Their prototype was the General Baptist Church in England, and they did not differ materially from the average Baptist church in North Carolina in our day. Their Calvinism was of a moderate type, and trouble was to spring from this source a few years later, as they were brought into contact with the higher doctrines which came in, chiefly from Philadelphia and New England. Their requirements for membership were simple. All who made a profession of faith in Christ as their Saviour and declared their purpose to lead a Christian life were received. Here and there not so much as this was demanded, but only the expression of a desire to be baptized. Discussion and division were to come of this later on when they met the Separates from Sandy Creek. Each church was complete in itself,

acknowledging subjection only to the law of Christ as revealed in the New Testament. Authority rested in the whole body; all questions, from the calling of a pastor to the receiving and excluding of members, being decided by ballot of the church assembled in conference. Their rules of discipline were few and simple. Personal differences between members were to be settled by themselves. Disorderly living or gross immorality was promptly but mercifully dealt with by the whole church, forgiveness being extended on condition of penitence and confession, while exclusion from fellowship was the penalty of persistent wrong-doing. The provision for pastoral support was liberal, all things considered. The average salary seems to have been about $100. Sometimes it was much more. In some instances, where the pastor was specially beloved, they gave him a farm or built him a house that he might be settled among the flock. The church at Meherrin gave one of her pastors a plantation, and in Dobbs County John Dillahunty, to secure the settlement of a pastor whom the church greatly desired to have among them, gave a tract of land. In all cases, however, their aversion to the State Church made them avoid even the appearance of taxing their members. All contributions were to be free-will offerings. In the universal scarcity of money these offerings frequently came in the form of labor on the pastor's farm or of "presents," which included almost everything needed by the pastor or his family. Over all and pervading the whole body was the spirit of love and brotherly kindness. Among the scanty records of those times which have come down to us are instances of this sweet spirit which make one think better of the possibilities of humanity. A young fellow, whose wife was in poor health, cut his foot while chop-

ping wood, inflicting a wouud which disabled him for two months or more; this was in the spring, when his growing crop required attention. The members of the church took it in turn, chopping wood for the household and workiug out the crop until the wounded man was made whole again; and this done joyfully as a labor of love. The house of a widow was burned with all the household goods on Saturday night. When the church met on Sunday morning one of the deacons called attention to the case and asked for a collection. Promptly the offerings came until the widow was enabled to restore her humble home and resume housekeeping. Each church was thus a charming object-lesson to the people, winning them to the faith and service of our Lord.

At the close of this year 1729, the Proprietors surrendered their charter to the King, and North Carolina became a royal colony. The change in government was considerable, chiefly in the direction of unification. The King had become the head. Before, the Proprietors had been at the head of the colony, while the King had been at the head of the Proprietors. So far there was prospect of improvement. But the old struggle went on between the King on his distant throne, ever seeking for more control over the colony, and freemen, jealous of their rights, determined also to establish and maintain free representative government. The Royal Governors, Burrington and the rest, were not more popular than the others had been. But the purpose of this narrative has reference principally to the development of the religious life of the colony.

The Establishment, since the passage of the first law, had been on trial before the people twenty-eight years; since the law which finally settled and made it perma-

nent, fourteen years. How had it stood the test? By the testimony of many witnesses it had been a failure up to that time. It had not accomplished any of the things which its advocates had claimed for it. It was to provide a sufficient number of suitable ministers, but about this time there was not a clergyman regularly settled over a congregation living in the colony. It was to provide a sure and adequate support for the clergy, but this it failed to do. The salary had been fixed, first at $150, then at $250 and perquisites. But at this time there was a singular concurrence of opinion among the parties interested, that the average clergyman, in addition to what he could get of his salary fixed by law here, must have help from the church authorities in London. The Establishment was to check the growth of dissent, but the Baptists and Quakers were prospering and the Independents were making a show. It was to conciliate the masses of the people to the ministry and worship of the State church, but most of the clergymen do not report any increase of friendliness on the part of the people towards them or the church which they represented, but the contrary.

In the course of a long struggle the contending parties, no matter how bitter their mutual dislike, educate each other unconsciously and involuntarily. It was so in this instance. The Churchmen had little love and scant respect for Baptists and seldom used towards them the ordinary courtesies of speech. Anabaptists, Ranting Anabaptists, dissenters of the Anabaptist kind—these are specimens of the terms used to designate them. A clergyman to whom the Baptists in his parish had tendered the use of their church, records the fact, and also his purpose to accept the offer, but in words which show him a stran-

ger to their liberal spirit and lofty courtesy. But these adherents of the Establishment quickly learned some valuable lessons from the people whom they despised. Among these things thus learned was the importance of having only preachers of good moral character and of decency in outward conduct. And so, after the disappearance of Brett and Urmstone, there was improvement in the type of men who came over to minister in holy things. There was in North Carolina a dearth of fox-hunting, card-playing, hard-drinking parsons, said to have been common elsewhere. The influence of the Baptists is also seen in the growth of a spirit of self-government in the parishes. They asserted their right, through their vestries, to select and also to discharge their ministers; and this right they asserted with increasing frequency and insistence, sometimes making their claim good against the Governor. Some of the clergymen learned in the same way that the free-will offerings of a congregation to a beloved pastor furnish a more reliable as well as a more liberal maintenance than the collections from a tax levy. Some of the parishes also seem to have found out the same thing, though it does not appear that they made any great use of their discoveries in this matter.

The Baptists profited by many things which they learned from their competitors and opponents. Among them were the importance and power of thorough organization. Fifty years they had been in the colony at the setting up of the Establishment, and for twenty years they had been increasing in numbers and influence, but during that period there was among them a sad lack of system and method in their work. They would, some time, have seen and felt that the most effective labor for Christ

is organized labor, but the knowledge came more quickly through the examples around them. How thoroughly they had gotten the truth appears from the rapid multiplication of churches in all parts of the State for more than a hundred and fifty years. There were no houses of worship until the movement to build them was started under the Establishment in 1701. The Quakers took it up a year or two afterwards, and the Baptists still later, and it was important in its bearing on the fortunes of both bodies. The cottage church does good service as a temporary measure in certain stages of society, but no church can have a large or permanent prosperity without its own home set apart and sacredly kept for purposes of public worship. It is not probable that the Baptists would so soon have begun to appreciate the power of religious literature but for the churchmen. The first clergymen who came over brought with them a supply of religious books for distribution. They sought to establish libraries in every parish. Edward Moseley gave fifty dollars with a list of books towards founding at Edenton a church library for Albemarle. The reading of printed sermons in the presence of the congregation by a layman, when there was no clergyman in attendance, became afterwards a great power in the hands of the Baptists. When, about the year 1770, Lemuel Burkitt was converted in a meeting held in his father's house, he at once began to read Whitefield's sermons to the congregations that assembled there statedly, and afterwards to write and read to them sermons of his own, to the edification of Christians and the conversion of sinners. The student of our denominational history will be suprised to learn how often in those early days sinners were saved or careless Christians were quickened into

newness of spiritual life, or churches organized through the instrumentality of a good book which had been left with one family, to pass on its silent but blessed mission from hand to hand and from house to house. The Baptists were also led by reaction from the tax levies of the State Church into more liberal giving for religious purposes. I have found in our records from 1701 to 1776 no complaint of any lack of liberality among the people in any section. Churches were built and paid for with ease and rapidity, and pastors were provided for with cheerfulness and regularity.

It is pleasant to make this acknowledgment of our indebtedness to a class of men of whom Baptists are not inclined to think or speak kindly. Their methods were often wise; their zeal and energy worthy of all commendation, and their sacrifices by their own accounts sometimes very great. Had they not been weighted down by a system which was not only contrary to the Scriptures but also un-American and at war with the spirit of the age, they would have taken root among the people and have left visible fruits to the generations following. When the system died the Church well nigh died with it. A century of feebleness and inefficiency followed.

JOHN MILTON AND THE BAPTISTS.

BY PROF. THOMAS HUME, D. D., LL. D.

John Milton, we know, was a unique personality. Scholar, poet, schoolmaster, politician, pamphleteer, all his gifts were consecrated to the service of humanity. His refinement and culture are the sufficient answer to the sneer that Puritanism is the synonym for vulgarity and narrowness. An idealist, born out of due time, he set his thoughts and his visions in practical relation to life. The scholar, in his view, must not forget that he is a responsible soldier of truth. No mere pedant, he insisted that the ancient and modern languages alike must be so taught as to help us think the thoughts and feel the sentiments of the mighty past and find their result in the throbbing present. Abstractions must be made concrete and vital, and literature reflect and inspire personality. Poetry for him must spring, not from the "trencher fury of a parasite" nor the inspiration of classic muses alone, but "by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all knowledge and utterance." His great heart beats through all he writes in fierce indignation, like that of Hebrew Psalmist and Seer, against evil and injustice.

Mr. Pattison would have had him sit in student gown at Cambridge or Horton, far from the arena of conflict, seeing visions and dreaming dreams, and, in protest against a brawling age, supplying unadulterated literature for the elect of all time. But he was no indifferentist and recluse. His lips had been touched with fire from the altar; he had

heard the divine call and could but cry, "Here am I, send me." His "voice was like a trumpet, whence he blew soul-animating strains, alas! too few." But they roused England and they thrill the world to-day. His poetry is ingrained with his political and spiritual convictions, and his prose has passed into the life-blood of all those who fight for civil and religious freedom and believe in man because they believe in God. One of the choice spirits of the world, he belongs to humanity. But as a prophet of the dawn, he stated certain theories and defined their application to life so narrowly that men have naturally attempted to assign him his special place amongst thinkers and religionists. Any party, any cause, might be proud to claim him as herald and leader.

It has been often asserted that he was a Baptist. I propose to make some examination of the evidence afforded by history and by his published opinions. It lies here and there in pamphlet and treatise; it tinges his sublime poetry; it may be said to be lost to a certain extent in the mass of materials and the "embarrassment of riches," with which his great biographers and critics have surrounded his name and work. I shall attempt to sift this multifarious substance and so to interpret and to condense as to supply reason and ground for a verdict. We know that instead of becoming a minister of the Church of England, as was his first prompting, he revolted in his early manhood from the Establishment. This result is indicated in his "Lycidas," the great elegy on his friend and rival, Edward King. It is proven by his "Reason of Church Government," written in 1641, his "Reformation Touching Christian Discipline," his "Prelatical Episcopacy," his rejoinders to Bishop Hall, in which he praises the Reform Movement of the Puritan

Long Parliament, and charges the Prayer-Book with inconsistency and unscriptural error in its teaching. We note the attempt of King Charles the First from 1638 to 1642 to constrain Parliament to impeach Puritan noblemen and members of the Commons and their determined antagonism to the King. The execution of Strafford and the downfall of the Tory Archbishop Laud occur about the same time with the proposition of Alexander Henderson to the English people to agree with the Scotch Presbyterians upon a Confession of Faith.

The war of Puritanism against the Divine right of Royalty and Episcopacy comes to an outbreak at Nottingham in 1642. Hampden, the gentleman-farmer, about to rise to the leadership, is killed in a skirmish; Milton, nearly thirty-three years old, and a teacher, is a leader, not in the tented field, but in the arena of thoughtful discussion. The Long Parliament establishes the religious Convocation, known as the Westminster Assembly, in June, 1643, despite the King's edict against it. From 1564 Puritanism had been growing in England. Cartwright had aided in organizing it in 1572. Scotch Presbyterianism had risen against King James and given impulse to the new movement. Rectors of Established Churches had revolted to it; Robert Brown in 1580 had poured the inspiration of his glowing spirit into it and retreated under fire to Holland. Early in the seventeenth century Robinson and Smyth became its marked leaders. We are interested in their church affiliations and opinions, for the reason that the first was the founder of the New England Congregationalism, and the last has been ranked amongst Baptists. But it seems to be proven that John Smyth, after remaining in the Established Church until 1603, became pastor of an Indepen-

dent Church of the Brownist party in England, and then retiring to Holland, formed the Second English Church in Amsterdam; but soon (in 1608) adopted the view that infant baptism was unscriptural and that baptism should be administered anew on profession of faith in Christ.

The Arminian taint was on the theology of these progenitors of the so-called General Baptists of England. Thomas Helwysse, with about ten others, refused to unite with Smyth and his thirty-two followers, when they asked for union with the Mennonite people of Holland. This was in 1609. The Helwysse party were called, indeed, Anabaptists, but can be thus designated only because they insisted that baptism is the voluntary confession of saving faith, and "therefore in no wise appertaineth to infants." Helwysse's Declaration of Faith, it seems, does not clearly prescribe, though it suggests, immersion, as the act of baptism. These Separatists, then, took their rise in Holland, though Helwysse for a while held his congregation together in England, having transferred them thither in 1611 or 1612.

Another Congregational Church is seen in London in 1616, but its adherents must retreat once more to Holland, or cross the sea to America. Sad to say, New England Congregationalism easily gravitated to the union of Church and State, insisted on ecclesiastical fitness for voting and persecuted heresy in Baptists and Quakers. In England John Goodwin sees the truth which the godly Baxter cannot understand—that God's Word demands the entire separation of Church and State. Only five real Independents were found amongst the one hundred and thirty-five members of the Westminster Assembly, and these were indoctrinated in Hol-

land. But the imperfectly conceived truth made itself felt in the memorable year, 1643, in the well-defined revolt against that slippery Saint, Charles the First. The leaders of the Puritans, both in the field and in the anti-Royalist Parliament, demanded that the Westminster Assembly should delay its specific work of revising the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, and address itself to the duty of forming an alliance, political and religious, with Presbyterian Scotland. Thus was made the solemn League and Covenant which introduced Henderson and other clerical and lay delegates into the Westminster body. The real object was to secure, through religious sympathy, additions to the Puritan army in England. The Westminster Assembly's work now being resumed, they reached the article called "Of Sin after Baptism," when Parliament required them to turn aside to the plan for a new form of Church government and public worship in England. This demand emphasized the distinction between the Presbyterian and Congregational views in that body. Vivid interest in the independent feature of the life of local churches sprang up round about the Assembly debates. Pamphlets, sermons, discussions, arose without number. Many Anglican ministers were dismissed from their charges, some on account of those irregular lives—as Milton's Lycidas affirms—which brought shame upon religion. Old Thomas Fuller, the quaint loyal churchman, confirms this statement. Westminster divines took these vacancies.

Parliament and the Assembly governed England now. New recruits from Scotland swelled the ranks of the army. Cromwell was as yet a Colonel. Essex, Waller, Fairfax were making an indecisive campaign. Scotch and Eng-

lish councillors met together as an advisory committee to the new commander, Essex. John Milton was now complicating the religious situation by the issuance of his work on Divorce, called forth by the abrupt departure and the obstinate absence of his just wedded wife, the tory girl, Mary Powell. Lady Margaret Ley and other women sympathized with his trials and weighed his opinions approvingly. Careless and vicious minds were ready to condone their own trifling with the marriage bond by an appeal to a high soul like Milton, who fell into the notion that not only adultery, but also incompability, should sanction divorce. Events hasten.

Cromwell is made Lieutenant-General, and the head also of the Independent or Congregational movement in the army. The mild notes of Goodwin and his four associates in the Apology for Independency are scarcely heard amid the bustle of military leaders.

But conviction is growing that neither a Puritan Parliament nor a Presbyterian Assembly can control religious belief and opinion. The misnamed Anabaptists are much in evidence now, and are assailed as part and parcel of the brood of so-called fanatics and heretics of that period of ferment. The Westminster representatives, it must be admitted, were afraid of irregularity, and entreated the Independents to stand with them against it. Episcopalianism, they affirmed, must be rooted out of the Universities, but Presbyterianism substituted for it. Just now the Puritan victory of Marston Moor thrills all England, and General Cromwell is its real hero, and just now he stands for Congregationalism. One erudite biographer of Milton says, "the honor of the first perception of liberty of conscience, and its first English assertion, has to be assigned to the Independents generally

and to the Baptists in particular." The great reformers had heretofore risen no higher than toleration. All alike thought that the civil ruler must, in some way, control and regulate religion. But we have seen that even in James the First's time an influence had radiated from Holland Anabaptists which had affected English sentiment.

It may be true that these progressive thinkers were rather Anti-Pædo-baptists than outright Baptists. But they stood for conversion and voluntary confession before ordinances, and so were like us in everything except the consistent practice of immersion.

John Robinson, the spiritual father of New England Puritanism, could not endure this clear utterance of the Confession of Faith of the exiled English Baptists in Holland, "The magistrate is not to meddle with matters of conscience, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and Conscience." We have spoken of Thomas Helwysse who, more than any other man, approached our faith and practice and imported into the English mind this cardinal distinction between toleration and liberty. His church member, Leonard Busher's tract, defines this position. The baptism of infants they considered to be subversive of the Scriptural conception of spiritual choice and liberty. The regenerate character of each true believer and church member fitted him for government in religious matters, and prepared the local church to exercise the duty of admission and excommunication. Thus the State needed not to make any interference in religion. This was their early trumpet note of spiritual freedom. It was not until 1647 that Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying" appeared. Hallam has no foundation for his statement that this

book was the herald of the movement. So strong is tradition, and so cramping the influence of authority upon those who hold its reins over others that we find the new Presbyterian party protesting fiercely against the exemption of dissenters from civil penalties. Petitions for toleration were treated with neglect. The radical Anabaptist view of perfect liberty was despised and rejected. But, in 1644, Roger Williams' "Bloody Tenent (Tenet) of Persecution for Cause of Conscience, discussed in a Conference between Truth and Peace," made an epoch amongst shilly-shallying advocates of a great principle. Roger Williams, the earnest Welshman, the scholarly Puritan, was, for a brief space only, a Baptist. Some doubt whether he was ever immersed, but the weight of evidence is in favor of it. We know how soon he became a spiritual "Seeker," expecting new revelation from some divinely commissioned prophet or message, then the projector of a new colony to be founded in America on the startling theory of perfect soul-liberty in matters of faith. His book moves us to-day, for his great mind and heart both are in it. He quotes fully the Boston Puritan, Cotton Mather's defence of persecution. He declares that "Christ is the deepest politician that ever was, and, yet *He* commands in us a toleration of anti-Christians." "Persons may with less sin be forced to marry whom they cannot love than to worship where they cannot believe." "Pray for the appointment of godly men only to civil office, but you cannot lay it down as a law that church members only ought to be eligible to be magistrates (or political officers)." Singular that men had, since Christ's day and Paul's, been stone-blind to that great doctrine of the Voluntary Principle in Religion until his assertion of it in books and his practical

exemplification of it in a government. He very carefully guards us against inferring that the office of the ruler or the State is to be reduced to so fine a point as that of the "Laissez-faire" theory which converts government into a police force only. He says that he honored "schools" for tongues and arts, and that secular learning should be supported in schools and universities, but he struck valiant blows at a National Church, and urged that the Spirit of God alive in his members will work out the New Testament conception of a church. Charles and his Tory Bishops had persecuted under the very opposite theory, and the Westminster Assembly became their successors in demanding penalties upon those who were not of the New Established order, viz.: the Presbyterian body. Edwards represented this extreme High Church Presbyterianism, and no one of them at first disputed it.

One of the most amusing, and yet distressing, features of this Toleration Controversy was the evident contempt for the Baptists as extreme Sectaries and Separatists. It could not be comprehended how one, without being a fool or a fanatic, or both in one, could exclude infants from the church or assign the whole matter of church relationship to the divinely guided individual. So the same poor wit was inflicted upon those clear-seeing and misconstrued fathers of ours, as is now so easily spent on God's ordinance and man's assertion of spiritual freedom. The great controversialist Featley wrote against "The Dippers Dipt; or, the Anabaptists Ducked and Plunged over Head and Ears." The violent Prynne collected the supposed seditious views of "Anabaptistical Independent Sectaries and New-lighted Firebrands." Our fathers were classed with profane deniers of the Inspired Scriptures, whereas they pinned their faith to

them alone. They were huddled, without discrimination amongst fifteen or sixteen so-called Sects. That is the favorite term of all those who claim traditional regularity for themselves alone. But, with most of these Sects, they had naught to do. They far out-numbered all other dissenters as the years went on in England.

It is difficult to fix definitely the period from which to date the consistent practice of immersion in England by those who were called Anabaptists or Baptists. But in the time of Henry the Eighth you find congregations and individuals who stand for views that much resemble those held by us. Lady Anne Askew's acute Scriptural defense against the persecuting Bishops may easily be read by anyone. How radiantly like our simple faith of to-day! We have no concern to prove that an unbroken line of Baptist churches reaches from us to the apostles. We know that immersion was the practice of the early churches, that the great national and provincial churches insisted on it at the first, admitting pouring or sprinkling as a substitute only, because of their unscriptural belief in the necessity of baptism for salvation. Superstitious distortion of the truth created the necessity for some form or makeshift, which should represent baptism until such time as the real act could be performed. We know that immersion was the practice in the Church of England for ages, but that it had died away, and was rarely practiced in the time of Milton and Cromwell. But people like us, with the exception of this act of baptism, attracted the abuse of Luther's half illuminated soul as he lingered in the shadow of sacramentalism. People, like us, in this demand that the soul profess its convictions for itself, arose into prominence in the days of the pedant King, James the First. By Milton's day

the Arminian tendencies of some of the Dutch Anabaptists had been supplanted by the pronounced Pauline type called Particular Baptists. It was difficult to weed out Arminianism and Pædobaptism, but more and more grew those who wished the body of Christ to be homogeneous. Some think that such leaders as the pastors, William Kiffin in 1633, Paul Hobson, who was perhaps the military husband of Milton's friend, Lady Margaret Ley, in 1639, and the so-called Praise-God Barebones in 1640, had, long before, all gone out with their congregations from Henry Jacob's Independent Church, viz., in 1616, as being Baptists. They were the heralds, not always consistent in their utterances, of those Baptist churches of 1641 and 1644. By the latter date there were seven large churches in London and forty-seven outside of London, and soldiers of the Parliamentary army were running into their ranks. Their Confession, printed in 1644, put to blush their detractors. It is readily found and proves that while one with other Congregationalists, and with the Presbyterians entirely one as to the great doctrines of the Gospel, they held our view of the subjects and the act of baptism. The pastors of the London churches, and the great names of Hanserd Knollys and Thomas Holmes and others, to the number of fourteen, are signed to this memorable document. Distinguished University scholars like Tombes and Jessey were Baptist preachers now, though once Established Churchmen. Kiffin, with his various gifts, had the call, as a godly, Bible-taught minister, as well as Cox and Tombes, and would stand accepted as a proclaimer of truth by the side of those scholarly brethren. Wise was the practical insistance that, so far as possible, in such troublous times, preachers should be able to fall back on some trade or profession, even as Paul the

Apostle did on tent-making, they believed that tithes to the government for the support of preachers were unlawful. They were not on the same ground as the Seekers, to whom Roger Williams joined himself later in his life, who denied that there is any church or any ordinance, or rather affirmed that the divine element in man's life had never as yet been fitly symbolized, and that it was still to be "sought in the wilderness." These "Seekers" held the mysticism which ever and anon re-asserts itself in the Search after the Holy Grail, in the quest of spiritual ideals through direct access to God.

The Baptist holds that nothing but a personal experience of Christ's saving grace, regulated by the Word and the Holy Spirit, can restrain such tendencies and transmute such ectasies into stable character. They agreed with the Seekers in the conviction that persecution by the State for religious opinion was wicked and false. But the Assembly attacked all alike. The Baptist heresy, they said, was *primus inter pares.*

Mr. Hanserd Knollys was named for special dealing. On special occasions the Westminster Divines preached on the duty to extirpate Anabaptism and Antinomianism. How easy, you see, to excite an undiscriminating contempt; how easy, indeed, to go farther and suggest that Mr. John Milton's Doctrine of Divorce would never have sprung up if it had not been for those Anabaptists. Cromwell defended at this time a Colonel who was cashiered because he was a Baptist, and Cromwell was, in 1644, becoming a leader of men and measures, though Essex wss still General-in-Chief. He obtained an order of the House of Commons for accommodation or toleration of dissent. Sir Harry Vane, the younger, was on his side in Parliament. All the conventional religionists were

shocked. They could abolish the Prayer Book and announce that England was under the new Directory and Confession, but it was difficult to make the submission to their decree a reality—that 28th of January, 1645. Cromwell has the army remodeled. Milton is publishing his eloquent Areopagitica or A Speech for Unlicensed Printing of One's Opinions on Religion and Life. His intimacy with Independents and Baptists is growing. He writes his sonnet to one of them, Lady Margaret Ley. He knows Roger Williams and his Bloody Tenent. We learn from the Areopagitica that he has turned away from Presbyterianism. He affirms the folly of becoming religious by deputy. His liberty of conscience is not defined as clearly as Roger Williams's. It is toleration of all Protestants, but he says, "I mean not tolerated Popery and open superstition, because," he argues, "it extirpates all religious and civil supremacies besides itself." He is richly eloquent in defence of the people's right to go into "Sects," if they wish, and shows that such movements are the proof of the thoughtful and progressive spirit of his age. Read this passage and it will shake you like the sound of a trumpet or a thunderbolt. As it is thrilling many hearts, Cromwell is justifying the confidence of the outright Independents in his ability and integrity. Sullen government leaders decried, but the soldiers gave him ovations, until Naseby field confirmed their confidence, and the front of kingly influence was broken. In vain Montrose might make all his Scotch Tory diversions in favor of Charles. What a grotesque irony is that deceitful attempt of the doomed monarch to blind the eyes of Scotch Covenanters and make it appear that he would accept the new Covenant! It was opportune in Cromwell to quote Isaiah and warn

them of a new league with death and covenant with hell. Listen, again, to General Cromwell as he reminds Parliament that to deny perfect liberty to Baptists was to discourage brave men who had ventured their lives for England at Naseby. The pious Baxter declares that the common troopers were honest and orthodox, but that Cromwell had too many favorites who praised Dissent and Separatism. Meanwhile, our Baptist brethren were printing and circulating at the door of Parliament their noble Confession of Faith through the accomplished Cox and Richardson. All to no avail. Anabaptists must be punished, if only the public opinion would justify it. Mr. John Bacheler, an official licenser of books, was denounced for licensing "books of all sects and against Pædobaptism." See the effect of Milton's blast. For now is he more the great political thinker than he is poet. He stands by the Younger Vane and Cromwell. He praises Oliver in one of those sonnets which he was inditing in the intervals of public service. He thunders the truth in the poem on "The Forcers of Conscience," in which he shows how "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." Mr. Baillie, a dougthy Scotch polemic, winced under Milton's remonstrance and reply to his attacks, and publicly prayed that Cromwell might be taken off. But the army behind Oliver had to be reckoned with. Macaulay's characterization of this mass of religionists, excited by the reaction from tyranny in the State, and corruption and tyranny in the Church, has both the merits and defects of his powerful style. To set all Puritans together and define them alike is as absurd as to describe the personnel and moral character of all the Democrats or all the Republicans we know from a sweeping generalization based on their political

platform, or on the individual peculiarities of a few partisans. They had one common trait—the earnestness of the Saxon race directed to religious ends. Cromwell praised his army as a host animated by conviction. A typical man was General Thomas Harrison, Cromwell's friend, whom Baxter paints as fervid, eloquent, prayerful, together with his wife, a Baptist. He it was who afterwards took charge of the condemned King's person up to the point of his execution. He had the courage of his convictions, and, in the restoration of the Stuarts, clung to the unpopular faith and sealed his devotion to duty with his blood, calmly, unflinchingly, on the scaffold. He thought it doubtful whether there should be a House of Lords. He was clear as to a better system of voting which should reflect the people more fully. Parliament was at this time demanding conformity to the Westminster Confession, and sought to ostracise Cromwell himself. The army sent in its remonstrances against its action in disgracing Independent officers, and Parliament was forced to use these very generous officers in making terms with the disaffected soldiery. Fleetwood and Cromwell at one time were almost in the toils of the Parliamentary opposition and barely saved their heads. The King began to hope for concessions from such a Parliament, but he was hemmed in by the Independent army under Fairfax, Ireton, Cromwell, Whalley. This strong, victorious mass of soldiers showed a great self-restraint, assuring the Westminster body that it wished only for liberty of conscience and a governing body more representative of the people, and asked for the expulsion of eleven disturbers of the peace of the nation from the Parliament. It was this maligned army that marched on London when the fear-stricken Parliament were ex-

pecting an attack from the people, and re-established them. They delay thir dealing with the King for a while, but Cromwell at length leads the people in a refusal to negotiate with him. The great leader overcomes the Scotch allies of the King at Preston Pans, and his victory is the logic of events that destroys the Westminster attempt to convict him of treason. While the people are crying for justice against Charles, Milton (in 1647) is in sympathy with them. Westminster, or shall we say the spirit of the age in Westminster, aims at scourging him and writes him down as heretic and blasphemer along with Roger Williams. He gives his pen to the illustration of Fairfax's name in the noble sonnet, in which he speaks of "the false North and the broken league." He begins to study the Bible anew in the original, that he may derive from it a treatise of Christian Doctrine. Cromwell gives him his presence and inspiration, for he is in London again, in the House of Commons, after victorious service in Wales and Scotland and the North of England, and with sixty-five others is enrolled in the High Court of Justice to meet in Westminster and try the King. Milton, in his study in Holborn, is writing the answer to Episcopal and Presbyterian defences of the King.

It is of more interest to us to note the Treatise on Christian Doctrine. The Bible is stated, at the outset, to be the sole authority in Christ's Kingdom. Church government is congregational, the members of the body of Christ must be regenerate persons. In the atonement he declares that our sins are imputed to Christ, and his righteousness is imputed to us through faith, and that justification is for us of grace or favor, but Christ paid the ransom for our sins. Of baptism, he says: "Wherein the bodies of believers * * are immersed

in running water to signify their regeneration by the Holy Spirit and their union with Christ in his death, burial and resurrection. Hence it follows that infants are not to be baptized, for it is not the outward baptism, but the answer of a good conscience, of which infants are incapable." In Paradise Lost, Book 12, lines 441, etc., he confirms this article of his faith: "Them who shall believe, baptizing in the profluent stream." His view of Christ in his various writings is somewhat inconsistent, as *e. g.* in the hymn on the Nativity of Christ he sets Jesus the Son in the midst of the Trinal Unity, and he at first declared that there was "no imparity between the Father and the Son," and that "Arians were no true followers of Christ"; and in Paradise Lost he sings, "In Him his Father shone substantially expressed." These expressions would indicate his early belief in the orthodox conception of the Triune God, and so in the eternal sonship of Christ, unless, indeed, that distinction between essence and substance be intended, in the quotation from the epic, which he suggests in the Treatise on Doctrine. But the Treatise is unmistakable in its assertion that the Son derives His essence from the Father and is posterior to the Father, not merely in rank, but also in essence, and has no supreme divinity, and that his is a delegated divinity, but he is mediatorially the Creator of the world.

It is here, then, that we cannot affirm his agreement with Baptist doctrine. Those Baptist Confessions of Faith which have used the subtle metaphysical terms of certain human creeds in defining the truth concerning our Saviour's Divine Nature, are to be regarded as Declarations and not obligatory tests. Yet we all hold that the plain intent of Scripture is to show that He is "very

God," and thus "able to save unto the uttermost all them that come unto God by Him." We would not claim one who takes the Arian or Unitarian view of Christ. But we rejoice to note his clear enunciation of New Testament ideas of church order and life, and his broader view of religious freedom than his age permitted. Strange that he should have changed his view of the state of the soul between death and resurrection so as to hold to its sleeping unconsciously until revivified by the power of Christ together with the body. His idea of the Sabbath was distinctly anti-judaic, anti-legal, perhaps almost too free. Marriage was a civil contract, not a sacrament. We should have remarked that, while he was a moderate Calvinist at the first, he seems to tend to Arminian views of the Divine decrees and of man's free agency in this treatise. But there is an insistance that all doctrinal conceptions shall be tested by the plain assertions and trend of the Inspired Word. God and His Will would be unknowable, he declares, were it not for His Revelation of Himself in that Word. His abstinence from public worship in his last days is attributed by some to his indisposition to come under the penalties of the Conventicle act, which were heavy upon those who attended non-Episcopal services. He recommends church order and voluntary attendance on the house of worship. His last wife was a member of a Baptist Church in Cheshire.

In 1648 and 1649 the Republic or Commonwealth is established in England and a council of state governs. The Westminster Assembly has closed its sessions and issued its Confession, its Catechism and Directory of Public Worship. Strange to say, Scotland was passing over to the cause of the licentious Charles, the son of the

King whose execution prepared the way for English liberty, and Cromwell must hasten to re-conquer the old Covenant ground and send Charles, called the Second, into exile again. The Union of Scotland and England is announced. From Worcester field dates the self-sustained power of what is now Cromwell's and Milton's commonwealth, for it embodies the ideas of one and the administrative views of the other. Milton writes his democratic "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," just as he is made secretary for Foreign Languages to the Council of State. His powerful attacks on prelacy and the evils of church and State lead the High Church party to select Salmasins, a continental scholar, utterly un-English in spirit to answer him. We know how crushing was the foreigner's defeat, and how soon he sank to death. It were too long, though thrilling, a story, that of his noble polemics in defence of the English people from 1650, and on. De Quincey, with subtle humor, satirizes those who stand on the heights of to-day's mount of vision, to which Milton has aided in elevating us, and denounce the controversial zeal of this servant of God and righteousness. "All Europe," as his sonnet says, "rings with this defence." The government is well established. The question of the State support of settled preachers is agitated. Major Butler and his company of Anabaptists see the whole truth about voluntarism in religion, and express it in a petition for the separation of Church and State, which was edited by one R. W., who must have been Roger Williams, for it is his "Bloody Tenent made yet more Bloody" that emphasizes Butler's petition. Cromwell seemed to be with this party. But he must afterwards have arrived at the conclusion that his ideal was impracticable, or he could not have gone to the extreme of dissolv-

ing Parliament as he did, expelling the speaker and the Republican Vane and breaking up the session. Milton holds to his admiration both of Oliver and Vane, as his sonnets in 1651 show. He urges England, through Cromwell, to establish religious liberty and not a mixed Presbyterian and Congregational government; for

> "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.
> Help us to save free conscience from the paw
> Of hireling wolves whose Gospel is their maw."

He addresses Vane as the outright believer in a Republic—Milton's own faith. We can understand such utterances only as we see Milton stemming the tide of opposition to Independency. The Little Parliament assembles in 1653. Its usual name is the Barebones Parliament, the quaint appellation due to one member who impressed his personality on it. His real name was Barbone, whom some authorities call a regular Baptist minister of London. Royalists and High Churchmen may defame him, but they cannot deprive him of the honor of having inspired the Little Parliament of hardly a half year's duration to defeat, after a hard contest, the bill for a State Church. The noble action availed little, for they must dissolve their session in face of a divided sentiment and some change of spirit in Cromwell. He rises to the single headship of England. That true Baptist, his right-hand man, General Harrison, was his able ally up to this time, but he would not lend his hand to this elevation of Oliver, as he believed it to be "a treason to the republic." As earnest as was Milton's advocacy of liberty, he would not go with Harrison, for he felt, it seems, that circumstances required Cromwell's *coup d' etat.* Roger Williams had returned to the admin-

istration of Rhode Island, but John Clarke, the Baptist, remained in England, to hold fellowship with Milton and to represent Rhode Island's position before the English mind. The true Independent theory was ignored when now the law became known that the Protestant religion was established, though civil rights were guaranteed to all except Roman Catholics. Two popular Baptist preachers hesitated not to denounce Cromwell's change of front, though theirl anguage was indeed violent and abusive, and they were arrested and imprisoned. Gen. Harrison was deprived of his commission because of his known views. But other Baptists were compliant on the ground that Cromwell was adapting himself to the necessities of a troubled state. Such a sturdy self-sacrifice as Harrison's is rare. The brave bosom friend of Cromwell, now rejected, cannot be disgraced. Roger Williams writes Governor Winthrop that he was a heavenly man, most gallant, most deserving. The one fault of all these fathers of ours was that, while they were far in advance of their age in acknowledging Christ alone as Lord of the conscience, they seemed to be opposed to systematic public effort in behalf of schools and colleges. There were some unduly obstreperous fanatics amongst them, who alarmed the lovers of order and of religious restraints. Thus Cromwell's protectorate came to be too much of a compromise between the advocates of an Established Religion and those who favored Separation, but feared a reign of fanatical license. Thus Baxter went the middle way, and, hostile as he was to Cromwell, yet accepted the politico-clerical office of County Assessor. The Baptist scholar, Dr. Tombes, was a Commissioner of the Triers or Examiners of Preachers who applied for appointments. Milton's Second Defense of the English Pope contains

striking sketches of Bradshaw, the regicide, of Fleetwood and the noble Fairfax, of Overton and Sidney and Lambert, most of them men who had recoiled from Cromwell's growing conservatism, not to call it his tendency to absolutism. Bradshaw was its special opponent, and Milton praises him unstintedly. Yet Milton accepted Cromwell as the only master of the situation. He indeed gives his chief sound advice on Liberty and Disestablishment of the Church, though he knows the risk of so doing. He urges that there be as few laws as possible, for men cannot be made moral by statute. He favors a State University. He would restrain the power of the President of his Commonwealth by both Cabinet and Parliament. Liberty of the Press there must be. It is a wonderful document. Cromwell might not rise to the height of the great argument, but kept him near his side, and Milton would not desert the hope of England, though the leader could not see according to his light. He worked with Oliver to the end. He called his attention to the need of a really representative assembly. But all too soon Oliver passes away. Richard, his feeble son, lets the reins of government drop from his nerveless hands. But even then Milton hurls forth his radical book on the Short Way to establish a free Commonwealth, holding up his ideal patiently, continually, and so helping us to realize it. The royal despots return to the throne, but he sends his great soul into Paradise Lost and Regained and Samson Agonistes, and blind and desolate he cries to God and sounds a trumpet which resounds to this day. He has close relations with individual Quakers and spiritually minded men free from all church relations. The majesty of his character, his noble and beautiful person, his courtly simplicity, im-

pressed his enemies and left him unscathed. Resigned to his forsaken state, in solitary communing with himself and God, he painlessly sank to his eternal rest, November 8th, 1674.

We have concluded that in his wide career of thought and action his opinions and utterances distinctly ranked him with us, but that in church fellowship he was never a Baptist, and that as years went by his ideas of Christ's person separated him from orthodox believers. He was the representative of free thought on religion and politics, of love of truth, of personal purity, of reverence for conscience, while he believed in the alliance of truth with beauty, of piety with culture, of music with devotion, of high gentlemanlihood and courtesy with simplicity and godliness, and he too was "not for a day, but for all time."

THE WORK OF NORTH CAROLINA BAPTIST CHURCHES FOR YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 1ST, 1896.

The purpose of the Historical Papers is to collect and arrange, in practical shape, the materials for a history of North Carolina Baptists. With the desire to serve the future historian, perhaps a generation hence, I submit a statistical statement of what North Carolina Baptists did during the Associational year 1896.

NUMERICAL STATISTICS.

Associations.	Number of Churches.	By Baptism.	By Letter.	Excluded.	Died.	Restored.	Number of Males.	Number of Females.	Total Membership.	Churches not reported.	Average Baptisms to the Church.	No. Churches reporting no Baptisms at all.
Alexander	15	154	37	12	18	17	779	1238	2210	-----	10	2
Ashe and Alleghany	31	147	57	27	10	10	524	751	1275	-----	4	11
Atlantic	36	170	66	64	43	18	908	1342	2389	2	5	13
Beulah	10	44	6	24	7	3	323	510	835	------	4	4
Bladen County	33	79	44	72	23	6	780	1183	1983	-----	2	20
Brier Creek	31	205	42	28	37	17	1144	1980	3124	---	6	7
Brushy Mountain	19	67	36	24	10	7	453	883	1480	------	3	6
Caldwell County	25	230	67	46	17	47	528	1280	1808	1	9	8
Catawba River	28	107	38	31	22	23	825	1490	2244	------	3	10
Cape Fear	42	44	45	43	30	16	771	1235	2006	19	1	33
Cedar Creek	15	39	58	49	24	18	718	1062	1748	-----	2	6
Central	25	151	107	70	30	17	1259	1795	3054	1	5	9
Chowan	50	421	190	219	95	195	3192	4280	7472	10	8	20
Columbus	18	62	38	25	26	28	585	944	1528	3	4	11
Eastern	60	294	127	141	85	31	1240	3625	4865	6	4+	33
Elkin	25	94	49	15	13	11	650	849	1499	---	3+	9
Flat River	33	145	132	68	38	11	1398	2226	3634	1	4+	12
French Broad	29	160	82	54	29	35	1315	1756	3171	5	5+	16
Green River	38	178	106	39	40	28	1577	2645	4222	------	5+	16
Kings Mountain	31	277	205	33	56	39	2078	2975	5053	------	9	8
Liberty	25	86	31	32	21	5	820	1440	2433	1	3+	9
Little River	23	133	57	33	21	10	960	1268	2228	------	6	5

Mecklenburg aud Cabarrus	19	166	209	26	16	27	669	1010	1679	3	8+	6
Mitchell County	28	132	60	54	30	49	1050	1393	2443		4+	9
Montgomery	14	47	27	24	21	3	373	624	997		3+	7
Mount Zion	43	311	219	82	68	27	2018	3267	5285	1	7+	14
Pee Dee	28	154	99	43	31	8	923	1500	2423	1	5+	6
Piedmont	16	66	52	18	14	3	482	778	1260		4+	5
Pilot Mountain	38	225	150	47	34		1302	2054	3504	3	6	14
Raleigh	49	226	189	114	67	40	2460	2785	5245	3	4+	20
Robeson	37	129	156	102	58	26	1732	2781	4513		3+	14
Sandy Creek	40	131			43		1259	2000	3259	2	3+	19
Sandy Run	24	226	103	26	37	15	1464	2218	3921		9+	5
South Fork	29	195	141	38	36	25	760	1256	2863		6+	7
South River	31	153	46	104	37	8	1122	1722	2844	3	5	12
South Yadkin	23	106	52	32	29	10	687	1170	1857	4	4+	6
Stanly	22	90	44	11	13	19	533	839	1372		4+	10
Stoney Fork	15	70	31	40	13	14	500	693	1193		4+	5
Tar River	77	460	270	69	93	21	2378	3735	6113		6	22
Three Forks	32	114	74	67	71	28	1051	1534	2585		3+	14
Union	26	208	118	51	47	49	1180	1897	3077		8	4
West Chowan	45	461	179	162	120	95	3660	5170	8830		10+	14
Yadkin	34	148	49	63	34	12	1120	1744	2864	3	4+	12
Yancey County	23	147	47	32	18	27	960	1381	2341		6+	8
Totals	1335	7252	4145	2322	1735	2091	49,300	78,247	130,803	72		
Westeru N. C. Confereuce	231	1113							19,471			
	1566	8365	4145	2322	1735	2091			150,274			

Number of white Baptists in North Carolina, 150,274; number Churches, 1,566; number of Baptisms, 8,365.

Most Churches—Tar River 77
" Members—West Chowan 8,830
" Baptisms—West Chowan 461
" Exclusions—Chowan 219
" Restorations—Chowan 195

Most Deaths—West Chowan 120
Largest net gain in Membership—Tar River 318
Best average in Baptisms per Church—Alexander 10⅓
Number of Churches reporting no baptisms at all 487

FINANCIAL TABLE.

Associations.	Pastor's Salary.	Incidental Expenses.	The Poor.	Repairs.	State Missions.	Home Missions.	Foreign Missions.	Education of Ministers.	Orphanage.	Relief old Ministers.	Other Objects.	Minute Fund.	Total for all Objects
Alexander	$ 334 32	$ 925 25	$	$	$ 20 80	$ 20 00	$	$	$ 18 31	$19 46	$	$ 13 97	$ 1,314 57
Ashe and Alleghany	293 58			1,584 20	153 76	2 55	2 01		7 21			21 80	2 005 03
Atlantic	4,719 32	1,376 96	136 07		562 17	87 65	171 63	140 01	88 06		2,110 70	34 66	9,823 58
Beulah	1,260 00	82 39	15 10	6 15	211 90	32 42	77 38	49 66	42 84		91 21	19 05	1,843 00
Bladen	824 93	52 44	7 85	171 10	84 25	50 05	62 83	37 27	11 58	10 62	11 03	12 27	1 361 00
Brier Creek	750 00	75 00	100 00	250 00	1 50	25 00	29 29	25 00	5 50	25 00	2,000 00	23 95	3,410 24
Brushy Mountain	623 25				76 99	3 64	208 02	29 74	123 45			14 35	1.144 81
Caldwell	584 18	688 26	26 44		39 98	7 65	167 45		71 68	6 79	236 30	17 85	1,839 48
Catawba River	1,256 19	1,580 42			34 32		179 79		187 29		128 33	16 45	3.382 79
Cape Fear	800 20	290 33			23 43	4 66	10 22	13 09	11 01			22 25	1,175 19
Cedar Creek	868 25	193 72			77 63	9 35	70 87	6 41	21 93	4 93	68 07	14 20	1,335 36
Central	4 865 00	1,026 15	308 67	3,713 75	924 38	320 25	930 86	286 54	367 69	14 38	1,621 75	37 21	14 467 93
Chowan	7,748 00	1,395 00	267 18	1,227 35	621 96	320 80	386 70	152 31	148 40	18 85	1,528 97	62 87	14 478 99
Columbus	827 52	100 84	35 95	59 22	62 35	18 55	40 27	14 81	34 31	3 51	54 95	12 10	1 264 46
Eastern	4,891 13	2,695 32	161 27	119 59	440 35	103 30	230 98	57 71	224 10	36 18	731 93	31 93	12,189 81
Elkin	250 57	1,148 42			77 04	2 00	12 70	1 60	18 32	1 29		18 11	1,511 94
Flat River	4.850 00	2,293 68	166 10		635 30	123 54	621 45	82 99	299 98	31 20	150 67	21 68	9 280 00
French Broad	861 00	42 00			32 77	13 45	52 37		10 13				1,043 40
Green River	1,550 48	401 66	63 75	496 80	235 86	118 17	292 86	27 12	26 76	14 09	78 47	30 81	3.425 18
Kings Mountain	3,102 20	1,223 94			212 35	102 25	208 31	85 50	28 31		1,258 93	34 42	6 257 54
Liberty	2,292 81	175 71	34 43		145 58	69 50	114 93	55 00	161 05	17 05	662 43	24 56	3.753 38
Little River	1,500 00	50 00	50 00	500 00	74 96	22 15	44 32	26 52	43 36	17 00	100 00	31 15	2,459 46
Mecklenburg and Cabarrus	3,776 00	716 49	177 38	985 75	451 89	90 30	188 07	113 25	76 61	32 55	702 00	18 51	7,308 86
Mitchell	441 00	87 00	31 35				50 17		6 27		53 00	21 75	690 52
Montgomery	555 00	272 75			35 88	32 31	43 97	6 35	25 78	16 45		12 20	1.030 39
Mount Zion	7.431 00	1,417 11	334 67	1,206 04	636 55	140 98	382 22	159 07	225 90	93 65	117 41	51 60	23.971 24
Pee Dee	3,337 95	600 12	105 10	186 00	379 64	221 20	253 64	116 59	206 90	26 79	160 35	26 74	5 621 22
Piedmont	2,271 73	652 57	62 63	183 97	329 79	39 40	104 90	39 50	151 61	21 40	534 02	15 80	4,824 22
Pilot Mountain	4,111 09	439 42		34 20	470 91	147 35	298 68	157 44	362 59		159 26	24 52	7,580 61
Raleigh	4,674 85	1,639 48	384 04	1,062 11	499 61	202 02	413 46	73 06	280 19	54 55	959 27	49 28	9.734 70
Robeson	6,262 22				335 33	295 74	560 90	109 25	347 19	70 91		24 48	8,133 92
Sandy Creek	1,920 00	98 23		1,027 00	181 56	236 36	213 62	114 18	129 27	45 69	364 52		4,378 28
Saudy Run	1 391 70	396 70			91 00	73 07	129 12	33 72	28 72		372 90	24 90	2,584 39
South River	3,085 00	150 00	200 00	720 00	361 74	8 00	21 42	1 40	13 26	1 00		28 80	4.683 80

South Fork	2,700 35	225 42		976 49	277 28	70 25	258 78	81 00	186 77	20 35	1,021 67	22 37	5,840 73
South Yadkin	2,828 80	328 49	83 08	122 95	248 77	43 53	104 75	68 05	212 35	1 65	498 72	19 92	5,657 18
Stanly	763 90	147 14		51 69	54 75	32 50	45 25	13 25	40 81	7 45	46 85	17 40	1,108 69
Stoney Fork					13 00		14 40		1 00		30 03	12 95	70 39
Tar River	10,074 08	1,438 14	435 82	2,090 41	1,221 00	140 00	267 19	182 48	1,195 13	59 07	3,664 12	67 87	20,876 50
Three Forks	712 89	21 15	4 50	367 00	11 10	13 21	116 96		18 18		8 62	32 27	1,305 88
Union	1,819 55	579 64	6 43		102 79	51 52	84 55	14 50	95 19	8 59	96 66	33 92	2,955 02
West Chowan	7,282 00	2,030 00	308 00		690 34	306 17	824 59	285 76	904 47	29 93	562 70	62 42	13,929 17
Yadkin	1,167 40	188 32	6 43		70 22	3 60	32 70	3 37	46 85		76 76	19 08	1,294 32
Yancey	340 50				11 15		7 19		4 01			20 76	383 61
Totals	108,905 91	27,625 49	3,373 87	18,141 77	11,233 03	3,609 89	8,600 79	2,577 73	5,520 46	710 62	26,633 63	2,104 52	321,626 28

Western North Carolina Convention, total for all objects	$ 30,524 60
Collected in cash for Baptist Female University, November 1st, 1895, to November 1st, 1896	10,091 87
Collected in cash for Wake Forest College	15,000 00
Total	$380,242 75

Amount contributed, per capita, for all objects, $2.50.

Largest amount contributed by any Association	for all objects—Mount Zion	$23,971 24
" " " " "	for State Missions—Tar River	1,221 00
" " " " "	for Home Missions—Chowan	3 00 80
" " " " "	for Foreign Missions—Central	938 86
" " " " "	for all Missions Central	2 183 49
" " " " "	for Orphanage—Tar River	1,195 13
" " " " "	for Ministerial Education—West Chowan	285 00
" " " " "	for Ministers' Relief Fund—Mt. Zion	93 65

These statistics have been gathered at no small cost of pains and labor and are as accurate as can be made from the Minutes of the Associations. They furnish food for study, congratulation and prayer; for study, because they settle, with approximate exactness, some things which heretofore have been largely matters of guess and conjecture; for congratulation that North Carolina Baptists did so much for the kingdom of God last year under the hard conditions which prevailed everywhere; for prayer, that we may be able to do more in the present year, and that some Associations may make a better showing than is here published.

JOHN E. WHITE,
Corresponding Secretary

RALEIGH, April 13th, 1897.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

We issue nine hundred copies of this number. Hereafter we will accept a few unobjectionable advertisements.

Our July number will have the Life and Work of Elder James S. Purefoy, by President Charles E. Taylor, and Dr. Hufham will continue his papers on The Baptists in North Carolina.

We have to thank many friends for kind words. If space permitted, it would give us great pleasure to call them by name. Many have shown kindness in procuring subscribers, Bro. John E. White securing as many as seventy-five within the past two months. Brother J. W. Bailey, of the *Recorder*, and A. C. Cree, of Wake Forest, have also rendered highly valuable service along this line. For it all we are duly grateful.

Dr. Hume's fine paper in this issue is valuable as an introduction to our history, and possesses a wider interest as a study of the formative period of the Baptist denomination. The religious history of England in the seventeenth century reads like a chapter from the Acts of the Apostles,—a time of quiet and growth, then persecution and dispersion. The Baptists of England employed the short season of rest and security under Cromwell, in organization, and attained a large measure of prosperity. It was the period of their development and coalescence, and of the crystalization of their doctrinal views. With the accession of Charles II. intolerance again prevailed, and those who flourished under the Protector were the objects of suspicion and hate under the king. Sufferers for conscience' sake sought refuge in the New World; many of them came to North Carolina.

T. M. P.

In Explanation.—In undertaking to tell the story of the North Carolina Baptists, I have yielded to the wishes of cherished friends in this State and other States, often expressed and repeated for ten years or more. The first instalment appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*, and others will be given in due time. If the work shall meet the favor of the denomination, I will bring the narrative down to 1861, tracing the rise and growth of all our institutions and enterprises, and giving some account of the character and work of men who deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance. Within the space of a publication like this, it is impossible to do more than furnish a series of outline sketches. Details must be left to the historian. The same lack of space will prevent me from giving citations and quotations in evidence, unless they should be called for. I have tried to make no statement without satisfactory evidence, and I have relied mainly on documentary proof where it could be obtained.

Besides the information which I have drawn from denominational sources, such as church and family records, old letters, published volumes and minutes of deliberative bodies, I have gathered materials from Macaulay and Green; Foote's sketches of Virginia, with the histories of Beverly and Burk; Archdale, Chalmers and Oldmixon, Bancroft, Martin, Williamson, Caruthers, Hawks, McRee's Iredell, Jones, N. C. Statutes in the revisals of Davis and Iredell, Wheeler, the publications of Dr. Stephen B. Weeks and Dr. Bassett, Presbyterianism in Eastern N. C., by Dr. Vass, Studies in the history of Virginia, by Maclaine, Elliott's Debates, Proceedings of the Convention of 1835, Colonial Records, N. C. Church History, by Bishop Cheshire and Dr. Kemp P. Battle, and the Life of Whitfield.

I have also visited the localities mentioned in this first paper, and talked with the descendants of the men who many years ago laid the foundations of our cause and builded thereon at no small cost to themselves. At Shiloh I have preached many times, and strolled among the graves of the saints, who rest from their labors, or along the banks of the river in whose waters the ordinance of

baptism has so often been administered to such numbers as suggested thoughts of the day of Pentecost. Thence I have gone along the road traveled by Abbot and the Burgesses to the churches in Virginia which have sprung from this parent body: Oak Grove, Blackwater, St. John, London Bridge, Kempsville, Pleasant Grove, Northwest and Lake Drummond. I have also followed the stream of Baptist progress from Shiloh to every part of the old county of Albemarle; from Currituck C. H. and Powell's Point to Sawyer's Creek and South Mills; to Elizabeth City, Hertford, Edenton, Gatesville and Middle Swamp; to Meherrin and the churches which have sprung from it. At that time there was no thought of writing, but familiarity with the scenes makes the task easier now that I have entered on it.

Of the paper which will be found elsewhere in this issue, two or three things are to be said. I have called attention to the presence in the colony of the Independents, a religious body which has hitherto been overlooked by writers on the early history of the State. I have also shown that George Durant (who has sometimes been accounted a Quaker) was an Independent, and that persecution drove him, and others with him, from Virginia—a sufficient answer to the point raised in our day, for the first time, that the early settlers in Albemarle were drawn solely by the offer of good and cheap land, and not at all by religious considerations. In classifying the religious bodies in the colony according to numbers and strength, I have followed one of the first missionaries of the Church of England. His statement is sustained by other and independent evidence. The Presbyterians are not mentioned, because they came into other parts of the State, and at a later period. In the Convention of 1788, on the Federal Constitution, Henry Abbot said he supposed that the Presbyterians were the most numerous body of Christians in the State, which may have been true at that time, as large bodies of them had settled in Duplin County and the region lying along the Cape Fear and to the westward.

Of the methods by which the Church of England was

"established," and of the struggle which preceded the act of Establishment, I have spoken freely. It is an obscure period in the history of our State, and the evidence is mostly from members of the church party, but I have given what seems to me a fair and true account of it.

Of the effects of Establishment on the church herself there can be no question. Starting in the race with every advantage, she was soon left behind, and she has held that position ever since. At the close of the Revolution, and for a good many years afterwards, she was hardly recognized or felt among the religious forces of the State. It was because the blight of Establishment was on her. Every statement of the paper under consideration may be verified from the records of her own men. Their talents and intelligence, with their zeal and industry, in some cases at least, justified them in expecting success, and a reasonable measure of success they would have achieved had they not been hampered by a system which rendered it impossible. Of that system and its effects, considered purely as an historical question, I have written.

In the next paper I shall treat of the extension of Baptist principles into all the eastern part of the State; also of the establishment of the Sandy Creek colony and its immediate results. J. D. H.

BOOK TABLE.

The books on our table for this issue are of exceptional interest.

The Complete Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell, in one volume (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York,) will be heartily welcomed by admirers of Mr. Lowell who cannot afford the expensive four-volume edition of his poems. The Biglow Papers were not entirely to the Southern taste when first published. After the lapse of years, however, and the dissipation of the bitterness of those days, we read them with patience, and appreciate in a measure their earnestness and humor. Among Mr. Lowell's warmest admirers are men of the most intense loyalty to the South and her past. He is accounted by some who have a right to speak the first of American poets. All acknowledge his high rank. He was eminent in various departments of public life, and acquired high political honors; but, after all, it is by his poetry—the finer and more exalted sentiment of his nature, expressed in verse of power and beauty—that he is best known.

The volume before us contains the complete collection of his poems as gathered by himself for the four-volume Riverside Edition, with the addition of his last poems collected by his literary executor, Mr. Charles Elliot Norton. It has also a biographical sketch, a portrait and engraved title-page, with a vignette of his home, "Elmwood." An appendix has an Introduction to the second series of the Biglow Papers, Glossary to Biglow Papers, Index to Biglow Papers, Notes and Illustrations, A Chronological List of Mr. Lowell's Poems, and Index of First Lines and of Titles. The volume is fully representative of the excellent work of its well-known publishers. Price $2.00, $3.50, and $5.50.

More than twenty-five years ago Dr. Edward Eggleston made friends with the reading public by the publication of his "Hoosier Schoolmaster," a book which first introduced

the writer of this paragraph in his boyhood to life in fiction, who now makes grateful acknowledgement of the pleasure he derived from it and of its influence on his life. Dr. Eggleston has written much since that time, but that novel is still the book of his reputation as a writer of fiction. By its side *The Beginners of a Nation*, (D. Appleton & Co., New York,) just from the press, must take its stand as the representative of his serious work. The volume is complete in itself, but it is designed as part of a proposed larger enterprise—"A History of Life in the United States." Its distinctive purpose is "to give an insight into the life and character of the people." It is a specimen of the best historical writing of the day. Book 1, The Rise of the First English Colony deals with English Knowledge and Notion of America at the Period of Settlement, James River Experiments, and The Procession of Motives. From England and Virginia the scene is shifted to England and Massachusetts, and Book 2, The Puritan Migration, embraces the Rise and Development of Puritanism, Separatism and the Scrooby Church, the Pilgrim Migration, and the Great Puritan Exodus. Book 3, Centrifugal Forces in Colony Planting, devotes a chapter to each of the following subjects: The Catholic Migration, the Prophet of Religious Freedom, and the New England Dispersion. Religious tolerance in Maryland as an instance of Roman Catholic liberality is fully exploded. The treatment of Roger Williams is full of sympathetic interest, concluding: "He was but a babbler to his own time, but the prophetic voice rings clear and far, and even clearer, as the ages go on." Price $1.50

In 1893 fifty prominent men, interested in social questions, organized themselves into a committee to investigate the liquor problem in the United States. Various lines of inquiry were determined on and committed to sub-committees. The sub-committee to inquire into the workings of liquor legislation (composed of Presidents Eliot of Harvard University and Low of Columbia University, and James C. Carter, an eminent New York lawyer) employed Dr. Frederick H. Wines, of Spring-

field, Ill., and Mr. John Korens, of Boston, Mass., to make the necessary investigations in the States of Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Missouri, Iowa, Ohio and Indiana. Mr. Korens gave about a year to the investigation, and Dr. Wines a shorter period. The result is embodied in a preliminary report and published—*The Liquor Problem in the United States*, (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York). The book is attracting wide attention. Mr. Walter H. Page says, in the *Century Magazine:* "These reports cover sufficient time and area and difference of conditions definitely to establish certain conclusions, which will govern all wise legislation in the future." The *Baltimore Sun* thinks undue emphasis has been placed on the failures. We think the book marks a step in the right direction, but it is by no means to be the last word on the subject. It cannot be ignored by the student or the legislator. We do not think the results obtained sufficiently definite to furnish a "scientific basis for legislation." As a preliminary study it has great value, as blazing the way for further and more scientific investigations. A conclusion, not broadly stated as such by the authors, but painfully forced upon the reader at every turn, is that the liquor traffic represents a lawless element in the community—not merely lawless in sporadic cases, but as an element of society—lawless in spirit and purpose. If, then, all liquor laws are failures this lawless element is stronger than the law, a conclusion not to be accepted for a moment. The book is convenient in form, and the price is $1.25.

Mr. Sydney George Fisher is all out of patience with the efforts which have been made to find the sources of the American Constitution in England or Holland, and has given us *The Evolution of the Constitution of the United States* (the J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia), "Showing that it is a development of progressive history, and not an isolated document struck off at a given time, or an imitation of English or Dutch forms of government." This is the author's title-page statement of the purpose of his book.

We are in full sympathy with his conclusions. It is slowly being revealed that the men of the revolution were scholars and experienced statesmen. This book is a recognition of that fact, and an effort to show that more than a century of experiment in Colonial government had developed an American idea. Mr. Fisher discusses sixty-nine American charters, constitutions, plans of government, etc., beginning with Sir Walter Raleigh's charter of 1584 and including the State constitutions adopted upon the breaking out of the war of the Revolution. Comparing these constitutions he shows that the later ones were very largely a development and expansion of the earlier, and that the Constitution of the United States was but a higher development of the later State constitutions. This is one form of *evolution* that the best among us need not fear. It is thoroughly orthodox and American, and will be found both useful and interesting to students of law and government. It is well printed and substantially bound, and at its moderate price ($1.50) ought to have a large sale.

We have from Dr. Stephen B. Weeks his *Libraries and Literature in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, his Chapel Hill address on *The University of North Carolina in the Civil War*, and his sketch *Henry Lawson Wyatt, the First Confederate Soldier Killed in Battle.*

Unlike most men who have written on North Carolina, Dr. Weeks has excellent University training in historical investigation, and possesses probably the largest collection of materials in existence. His writings along this line have been numerous and valuable. His *Libraries and Literature* is one of the most interesting of his contributions. Here, as nowhere else, is exhibited the learning and culture of the early settlers of the State. We dissent, however, from the statement that "there were no religious refugees among them." We think the evidence conclusive that there were such "refugees" from the beginning.

The address is a just tribute to the alumni of the Uni-

versity who took part in the civil war, and the pathetic interest in young Henry Lawson Wyatt, as the first to die in battle in that war, will cause many to desire the leaflet containing the brief outline of his life.

We would be glad to see the University mark its recognition of Dr. Weeks' valuable work for North Carolina. Literary honors are worth something to a young man, but can only minister to the variety of an old one.

The Southern History Association was formed in Washington, D. C., April 24, 1896. Hon. W. L. Wilson was made President. Hon. Kemp P. Battle is a member of the Administrative Council, and Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, of the Publication Committee; Colyer Meriwether, 325 E. Capitol St., Washington, is Secretary. Its papers appear in a quarterly journal, entitled *Publications of the Southern History Association.* The first number appeared in January, 1897, and contained six papers. (1.) Historical Sketch of the Association. (2.) The Promotion of Historical Study in the South, Stephen B. Weeks. (3.) The Planter of the Old South, Richard Malcolm Johnston. (4.) Two Southern Magazines, Edward Ingle. (5.) David Crockett, Marcus J. Wright. (6.) Bibliography of the Statute Law of the Southern States. (Part 1.—Alabama), Theodore L. Cole. Single numbers, 75 cents.

T. M. P.

VOLUME I,
No. 4.

One Year, . . . $1.00
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NORTH CAROLINA
BAPTIST HISTORICAL PAPERS.

The Baptists in North Carolina. Second Paper.
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Life and Work of Elder James S. Purefoy.
By Rev. Chas. E. Taylor, D. D.

Some Reminiscences of the Baptist Church in Raleigh Fifty Years Ago.
By Dr. Richard H. Lewis.

The Baptists in North Carolina. Notes to First Paper.
By Rev. J. D. Hufham, D. D.

Notes and Comments. Book Table.

NORTH CAROLINA BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE:

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Henderson, N. C.

JULY, 1897.

ISHERS

THE BAPTISTS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

J. D. HUFHAM.

SECOND PAPER.

The organization of the church at Meherrin marks the close and the opening of an era. It was a public recognition of the fact that North Carolina had passed beyond the limits of Albemarle; indeed, that a greater North Carolina had arisen, of which Albemarle was to be only a small part. At first men had thought that the permanent capital was to be located on Pasquotank river, a few miles below Elizabeth City. At a later period so clear-headed a man as Edward Mosely believed that Edenton was to be the metropolis. After a few years, seeing the trend of things he removed to the neighborhood of the Cape Fear, to spend the evening of his life in wealth and great honor. The dream of Albemarle had passed.

2. In 1670 the movement to the southward across the sound had set in. Twenty years later, 1690, the settlements along the Pamlico river were strengthened by a company of French Huguenots, who had first sought freedom and brotherly welcome on the James river in Virginia. In 1707 the settlers along the Neuse river near Newbern, then the southern limit, were joined by the second detachment of Huguenots from the James river colony who pushed their way along until they reached New river in Onslow County. Three years later, 1710, the population around Newbern was increased by

the Germans and Swiss under DeGraffenreid and Mitchell. Everything indicated the steady and rapid growth of the colony. But a bloody Indian massacre, the only one which darkens the annals of North Carolina, followed by two years of war, checked the movement temporarily. One hundred and fifty whites were slaughtered along the Roanoke and sixty on the Neuse. How many were killed on the Pamlico was unknown. But all that had passed. The power of the savages had been broken forever. New settlers had taken the places of those who had fallen; the homes which were destroyed had been rebuilt; the inefficient government of the Proprietors had given place to the stronger rule of the king. Seven years from the time of which we are writing, 1736, a large colony of Irish and Scotch-Irish were induced by Henry E. McCulloch to settle on his lands in Duplin County. This was the beginning of Presbyterianism in North Carolina. It was among these settlers that the first Presbyterian church in the State was formed. It was long known as Goshen, and over it the second Presbyterian pastor in the State, Hugh McAden, was settled. Ten years later, 1746, the movement of the Scotch into the region along the Cape Fear and its tributaries above Wilmington began, and it continued up to the verge of the Revolution. In 1752 Bishop Sparngenburg bought 100,000 acres of land in the neighborhood of Salem and the Moravians, for whom it was purchased, began to occupy it not long afterwards. A few years later the Scotch-Irish and Germans in large numbers came into the western counties and spread over the land to the foot of the mountains. The time of enlargement had come. The spirit of progress, of large endeavor and great achievement was in the air.

3. The Baptists, with the practical insight and the susceptibility to impressions from without which have marked their whole career, were among the first to note the change and make ready for it. The new church on the banks of the Meherrin was to be a post of observation. It was to be also a fortified camp from which the Baptists were to advance into each new centre of population, winning converts or establishing churches. How nobly, under what difficulties and with what success the purpose was carried out, the following pages will show. But in order to the full understanding and appreciation of the thrilling story it is necessary to look back over the sixty-five years which had passed since the granting of the charters by Charles II.

4. One of the first things to strike the student on his first essays into the early history of North Carolina is the contentiousness of the people. The governors complained of it. The authorities of neighboring colonies made note of it, in the way either of denunciation or of ridicule. It called forth endless gibes from old Col. Byrd, of Westover, who made fun of everything and everybody. But it was not the spirit of lawlessness or riot. It was the spirit of freemen who were jealous of their constitutional rights. In it lay their safety. From the appointment of Drummond the first Governor, in 1664, to the meeting of the first Legislature elected by the people it was more than a year. There was a dearth of statutes. There was also a dearth of courts for their interpretation and of machinery for their enforcement. Under such circumstances individual acts grow into precedents and precedents into laws. And so despotism under color of law comes into being: a thing which was prevented in North Carolina by the alertness, courage

and patience of the colonists. Their risings in arms were uniformly on the side of equity and usually in defence of the law. This is illustrated in their method of dealing with the Governors. However vile these officials might be in private life there was no interference with them so long as they ruled according to law. But when they began to set aside the law according to their own pleasure the people appealed to the Proprietors; or if the case was urgent, turned the Governor out of office, appointed a successor, and awaited the approval of the authorities. Their action in what is called the Culpeper rebellion in 1677–'79 illustrates their spirit and their method. Eastchurch, who had been appointed Governor, lingered in the dalliance of courtship in the West Indies and requested Miller, who was to be Secretary and Collector of Customs, to come on and manage for him temporarily. Miller claimed to be Governor and took upon him the authority and the duties of the office. When the people found that he was not only without color of title to the office but was disgracing it by tyranny and injustice, they deposed him and elected Culpeper. George Durant was sent to England to have the election ratified and to have the appointment of Eastchurch recalled. The Proprietors refused to grant his request and Durant notified them that there would be revolt. It was the first distinct enunciation of the right of the people to choose their own rulers, and was as brave a deed as any recorded in the annals of the colony. Eastchurch came but did not receive the office. In their disposition of Sothel, who was not only Governor by appointment but also one of the Proprietors, the people manifested singular forbearance as well as great regard for law.

5. In the protracted struggle over Establishment the

people were contending for their constitutional rights. By the terms of the Charter they had a right, if they chose, to establish the Church of England by law. But they alone had the right. A decided majority of the people were opposed to Establishment. This is manifest from the letters of clergymen resident in the colony at the time and from other participants in the struggle. All laws passed by the colonial Assembly expired by limitation at the end of two years from the date of enactment. Gov. Pollock wrote to the Proprietors, 1712, that if the rule should be enforced as to the law recently passed for establishing the church, "*we could never be able to revive it again.*" The charter also provided that, in case of Establishment there should be no pains, penalties or disabilities inflicted on Dissenters. When the people found that their will was to be thwarted, and the spirit as well as the letter of the charter violated by the governor under color of law, they resisted. That they were right is manifest.

6. Another thing which will appear remarkable to the student of North Carolina history is the absence of bloodshed in all these contentions. There is nothing in our annals corresponding to the inhuman deeds of Gov. Berkeley after Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, or the similitude of "bedlam let loose" in Charleston on the passage of the law for the establishment of the church in 1704. Even in the fierce struggle between Cary and Hyde only one man is known to have lost his life, and that was by accident. The revolutions were uprisings of *the people* in the literal meaning of those words; uprisings of men who were intelligently contending for their constitutional rights and who, having obtained them, laid down their arms and returned to the peaceful

walks of life without thought of punishment. They appealed to physical force only for maintaining the spirit or the letter of the law. As the scope and power of the law increased and better machinery for its enforcement was provided there was less and less reliance on physical force until it ceased altogether. When under royal rule Gov. Johnston, contrary to law, sought to reduce the representation of Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, and Currituck in the legislature, from five members to two for each county, they refused to be represented in that body and appealed to the king. Their appeal was sustained. By such men free representative government was established in North Carolina; by them the laws were made and by them the machinery for the interpretation and enforcement of the laws was set up.

7. The conditions indicated above are possible only among men who have clear religious as well as political convictions, who are animated not only by the love of liberty but also by the fear and love of God. Of such men the controlling element in the colony was composed. About George Durant there is no longer any question. He was a member of the church which, about the year 1642, was gathered on the plantation of Richard Bennett near Nansemond river, Va., and ministered to by pastors from New England. He was driven out of Virginia and found refuge in Albemarle. It is easy to see what his influence would be in North Carolina whose population in 1663 consisted of ony 300 families, among them men from New England, farmers, ship-builders and traders. In that same year, 1663, John Battle was settled on Pasquotank river below Elizabeth City. Religious persecution drove him from England to Ireland and thence to Virginia. He was settled in Nansemond

county, which at that time was a resort for Dissenters, and when Gov. Berkely and Col. Matthews were scattering the church which had been gathered through the influence and by the aid of Richard Bennett, John Battle, like the Durants, would naturally find it safe to pass over into North Carolina. On his death, about the year 1690, his son William returned to Virginia. Later, two of the sons of William came to North Carolina. One of them, Elisha, settled in Edgecombe county and became perhaps the most eminent private citizen of his time. He was also widely known and greatly beloved as a Baptist layman. For at least two generations many of his descendants held to his religious faith. Jesse Battle, another son of William, settled in Hertford county and after the Revolution removed to Georgia. Like his brother he was a Baptist, as were most of his thirteen children. Many of their descendants, even unto the present time, have continued in the faith of their fathers and in every walk in life have adorned the doctrine of God. It would be easy to multiply instances like these, but these are enough to illustrate and confirm the statements of the historians, from Martin and Williamson to Bancroft and Winsor, that North Carolina was settled largely by men to whom the chief attractions of the province were the promise and prospect of liberty to serve and worship God. The clergymen and other advocates of Establishment sent abroad an evil report of the religious condition of the people. They did it partly to serve a purpose, partly because they could see neither virtue nor piety outside their own pale. And this evil report spread abroad, to the injury of the colony. It was a gross exaggeration. There were bad men and mere adventurers among the earlier settlers, but there were also

clear-headed, conscientious, God-fearing men enough to leaven public opinion and exert a controlling influence over the people.

8. About 1680 the first cargo of African slaves came into Virginia. Thence African slavery slowly made its way into North Carolina. It was not without elements of good to both races, and for evident reasons. It lightened the task of transforming the wilderness and the labor of the farms. Ownership and control stimulated and developed all that was best in the whites. Close contact with Christian civilization under Christian masters gradually led the negroes into the faith and service of the great Master of us all, Christ Jesus the Lord.

9. The foundations of North Carolina had been laid in Albemarle and the work had been well done. Stable government had been set up. Laws which were suggested by the needs of the people had been made, and adequate machinery for their enforcement had been provided. And there was need that this work should have been done. In 1663 there were 300 families, or 1,200 to 1,500 souls, in all the province. In 1729 there were 10,000. Seven years later, 1735, there were 50,000; in 1760 the estimate is 105,000; four years later, 135,000. At the opening of the Revolution, 1776, the estimates range from 150,000 to 210,000. This expansion of territorial limits and the rapid increase of population made it necessary that there should be not only stable government and good laws but also wise statesmanship. But it is not our province to speak of these things. We are to tell of the Baptists and their work in this interesting period.

10. From the organization of the church in Perquimans and Pasquotank Paul Palmer was unceasing in his

labors. It was by his counsel and encouragement that the Parkers had crossed the Chowan into Hertford County. He went across to Newbern and thence to New river in Onslow County where at a later period he organized a church. He traveled into Virginia as far as Burleigh, Isle of Wight County, where he found a "beautiful church." Rev. William Sojourner and other members of that church, drawn by the descriptions of the country and by the open door which it offered for the service of God and the preaching of His Word, determined to remove into Halifax county, then a populous and prosperous region, as it has been ever since. They came in 1742. Naturally they would travel the old mail route, crossing the Chowan at Winton, where now they would find two Baptist churches. Going up the river for a visit to the Parkers, Sojourner would now pass Mount Tabor, which is stronger than the parent body at Meherrin then was. That ancient church he would find as vigorous and active as ever, while in Murfreesboro, a mile distant, is another efficient church. Returning to his companions at Winton and pursuing the mail route along the ridge towards Apple Tree, now Edwards' Ferry on the Roanoke, he would pass within a short distance of strong churches at Ahoskie, Union, St. John, Pleasant Grove, Rich Square, Conuaritsa and Aulander. Passing down the river to Norfleet's Ferry his keen eye discerned the strategic importance of Sandy Run and the settlements along its borders. On the south side of the river, among the gently sloping hills, between which flows Kehukee creek, the company rested. There they made their homes. There they organized the third Baptist church in North Carolina, fifteen years after the church at Shiloh and thirteen years later than the church at Meherrin. Sojourner gave

the land on which the house was built and became pastor of the flock. The location was well chosen. It was in a center of population and wealth. The road ran by the church to the east and the south across the Tar and the Neuse to Newbern, thence across New river to Wilmington and on to South Carolina. Northward the road ran to Halifax, and thence to the southeast through the province. The church was easy of access for such as wished to come, and many came. It was also near to thickly settled neighborhoods in all directions. Sojourner was a man of fine intellect and of some culture. He was also a man of great earnestness and of abounding activity; and during his pastorate the church not only received spiritual blessings abundantly but also carried them into the regions beyond. The work of Sojourner was made more effective by what may be called the religious atmosphere of the time. The work of grace in New England, which began under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards in 1734 and extended into New Jersey and the borders of Virginia, made a great stir. The connection between North Carolina and New England was, throughout the colonial period, very intimate. Sailors and traders from Boston and other New England ports, brought to Edenton and Newbern strange reports of God's wonderful work. George Whitfield passed through the province and preached, on his way to the north, 1740–'41. His preaching created a profound impression. He reports that he found "new lights," converts that is, in considerable numbers.

11. The first work of the church at Kehukee was the establishment of an arm at Sandy Run, Bertie county, which became an independent body in 1750, the year after Sojourner's death. It flourished from the first.

Under the pastorate of Lemuel Burkitt and afterwards under that of A. M. Craig, it was one of the most influential bodies of the kind in Eastern Carolina. Soon after its organization arms were established at Potecasi, Pleasant Grove and Connaritsa which have long been strong churches. Through them Baptist principles were established in Northampton county, the upper part of Bertie and a portion of Hertford.

12. An arm of Kehukee was also recognized at Lawrence or Cotton's meeting-house, about ten miles distant on the road to Tarborough. The arm in all the elements of power soon outgrew the body from which it sprang.

13. Sojourner's life in North Carolina was short but very fruitful. He died in 1649 and was buried in the church-yard at Kehukee. Thomas Pope, whom he had baptized and led into the ministry, became his successor in the pastoral office. John Moore, another of his converts, was afterwards pastor at Falls of Tar River.

14. But William Walker, who was baptized at Kehukee in 1746 and ordained to the ministry in 1748, was more extensively useful than any other of Sojourner's converts. He was one of the first to preach the gospel at Reedy Creek, Warren county, and gathered the church at that place about 1750. From this church came Sandy Creek and Maple Springs, Franklin county; Cross-Roads, Wake county; and also churches in Johnston, Bladen and Sampson counties. About the same time, 1750, and partly through the labors of William Walker, a church was gathered on Fishing Creek, out of which came Rocky Swamp, Quankey, and Conoconari, in Halifax county; also three churches in Granville county. The church at Grassy Creek is one of the fruits of this movement at Reedy Creek and Fish-

ing Creek. In the Spring of 1755, before Shubael Stearns and his company had come into the State, Hugh McAden, Presbyterian, preached in the Baptist meeting-house at Grassy Creek, going thence to Fishing Creek where he preached again. The church at Tar River, Granville county, was at first an arm of Fishing Creek and was organized as an independent body by William Walker in 1761. Returning to Kehukee: she bore fruit still farther in the church at Falls of Tar River which was organized in 1745, Robert Sojourner, a brother of the Kehukee pastor being one of the earlier members. Into the fellowship of this church Elisha Battle, who had removed into the neighborhood from Nansemond county, Va., in 1748, was baptized in 1764. No other private citizen of his time was so honored and loved by the people. For twenty-eight years he was deacon of his church. He also served his brethren as Moderator of the Kehukee Association. He was one of the commissioners who laid off the town of Tarborough. Nearly forty years, 1756 to 1795, he was a justice of the peace for Edgecombe county. Fifteen years, 1771 to 1787, with the exception of two years when he declined to be a candidate, he was a member of the legislature. He was a member of the fall Convention of 1776 that framed the State constitution; also of the Convention which by a majority of 100 declined to ratify the Federal Constitution. He was presiding over the body when the final vote was taken and cast his vote with the majority. One of his descendants, Amos J. Battle, was for a good many years a beloved and useful preacher and pastor among the Baptists of the State. It was through him that the first brick church owned by the Baptists of Raleigh was built. He was also instrumental in the erection of the

first two brick residences at Wake Forest. Elisha Battle, another descendant of deacon Elisha Battle, was also a Baptist preacher. He is said to have been a man of polished manners, culture above the average of his brethren, and pleasing address. He was one of the earlier pastors of the old church at Grassy Creek, Granville county. This church at Falls of Tar River was for many years the most prominent and popular church in Edgecombe county. Its organization was followed ten years later, 1756, by the church at Toisnot.

We are now prepared to review this remarkable movement which commenced at Kehukee in 1742. It extended, first, into Bertie, Hertford and Northampton counties; and the Bertie church of 1750, still strong in numbers and spiritual life, has been the source from which forty churches or more have sprung; each of them larger than the parent church was at the beginning. It extended through Halifax, Granville, Warren, Nash, Wilson, Edgecombe, Franklin, Wake and Johnston into Sampson and Bladen. Down the Roanoke and along the Sound into Washington, Hyde and Tyrrell its force was felt, and at least one church was organized in each of those counties. During the progress of the movement some of the ablest ministers that God has given to the Baptists of North Carolina were converted and called to the work of preaching the gospel. Silas Mercer, of Halifax county, was one of them. After a few years of activity and great usefulness he removed to Georgia where he assisted in laying the foundations of Baptist prosperity, and with his son Jesse won a fame which is historic. William Lancaster, of Franklin county, is another of the extraordinary men of that time. He was a strong, rugged, earnest man, endowed with a large

measure of common sense and rare skill in the handling of men. He was much admired as a preacher and singularly successful as a pastor. In the Convention of 1788 on the Federal Constitution he took rank with the ablest men in the body. His speech against the Constitution may be found in Elliott's Debates. It is one of the clearest and strongest in the volume.

While these things were in progress Joseph Parker, leaving William at Meherrin, crossed into Edgecombe and organized a church at Lower Fishing Creek of which he held the pastorate eight years. Then he settled in Pitt county. He was by nature a pioneer. He wanted room. At Meherrin the churches and preachers were shutting him in, and so he removed to Edgecombe where he was alone. As the preachers and churches began to multiply around him, through the movement described above, he went on into Pitt county, to proclaim and establish Baptist principles, and to spend the evening of his life, for he was now growing old. Rhame and others joined him and until he was incapacitated for labor by the infirmities of age he was not unuseful in his new home. Palmer had planned wisely and Sojourner had executed faithfully.

This was a busy period in the lives of the Baptist ministers of North Carolina. The records at Edenton show that Paul Palmer was buying more land as late as 1738. William Parker had made fresh purchases in 1736. They were types of a class of men raised up among the Baptists, to whom North Carolina is greatly indebted. Possessed of independent estates they traveled and preached extensively at their own charges. At the time of which we are writing the church at Fishing Creek offered her pastor, Charles Daniel, a salary of two hundred dollars

a year, but he declined to receive it. A little later Lewis Whitfield, who was one of the wealthiest men in Lenoir County, was abundant in ministerial labors for many years. In Craven County men now living, recall Wm. P. Biddle. He not only gave his labor but freely used his large fortune in building up Christ's kingdom among men. The church at Harriet's Chapel, a few miles from Kinston, now removed to that place, was established and maintained largely through his liberality. One of his gifts to the church was an excellent library. Some of the books were in possession of the church at Kinston when the late war broke out. Others like him, Martin Ross of Perquimans, George Fennell of New Hanover, Jas. Dennis and Patrick Dowd of Wake, David Thompson of Johnston, Josiah Crudup of Franklin, and David S. Williams of Cumberland, at a later day made it possible to establish and maintain the Baptist State Convention, the *Biblical Recorder*, and Wake Forest College. They led the flock not so much by training as by example.

Before the beginning of Sojourner's work on the Roanoke Palmer had visited Newbern, where he found some Baptists. Some had come across from Albemarle and others had come out of the great revival which was then going on in New England. These last told strange stories of what God was doing in their northern home, and their experiences seemed to many of the people around them as the wild dreams of enthusiasts. "New Lights" they were called, because the religion which they taught and lived was new to those who were sunk in formalism. With the zeal for organization which now possessed him Palmer advised the formation of a church. When, in 1740, a few men petitioned the authorities in Newbern

for permission to build a house of worship they were ordered into custody and required to give bond for their appearance at court. Of this there can be no question. There are traditions of whipping and imprisonment, but the object of this writing is to state not traditions but clearly established facts. The "New-lights" created a considerable stir, not only in the town but also among the Germans and the susceptible French families in the country around. The second Baptist preacher mentioned in our records as living in Jones County was named Koonce, and was of this German stock. To him Hon. Nathan P. Bryan, 1796, addressed an affectionate letter while in Philadelphia as a member of the Congress of the United States. There was a church in Jones County which in our early records was designated as "the Church on Trent." The first pastor that is mentioned was named McDaniel. Out of this church came another in the same county, long known as Piney Grove. The movement extended up the Neuse in the direction of Kinston, and led to the formation of the church at Southwest, eight or ten miles from that town. It survives in the church at Fort Barnwell, which for many years was composed chiefly of the family of William P. Biddle, already referred to.

Palmer extended his journeys through the French settlements as far as New river, in Onslow County. At that point he found willing hearers and congenial spirits, and organized a church which was instrumental in carrying the gospel into the region around and beyond Wilmington, as will appear hereafter.

Fresh vigor was imparted to this religious movement by the first visits of Whitfield to Newbern, 1740–'41, and by the labors of Peter P. Vanhorn and Benjamin Miller,

missionaries of the Philadelphia Association, 1755–'57. On the occasion of the last visit of Whitfield, about 1761, things had taken such shape that he thought it necessary to warn the people against the rejection of infant baptism and other forms of enthusiasm. He was throughout his whole life a member of the Church of England.

One of the fruits of the work in this region was Nathan P. Bryan, of Jones County, one of the best beloved men of his time. At eighteen years of age he was baptized into the fellowship of the church at Southwest, 1766. He was elected a member of the Legislature in 1787–'91 and 1793. He was a member of the Congress of the United States, 1794–'98. During the campaign of Cornwallis in North Carolina many fled out of the line of his march into the eastern counties. Nathan P. Bryan, who was a man of wealth, opened his house to these refugees and encouraged his neighbors to follow his example.

Another man, who deserves mention in this connection, is John Dillahunty. The family were French protestants. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes they fled to Holland, whence the grandfather of John removed to Ireland. His father married a Roman Catholic lady and they emigrated to Maryland, where John was born, 1726, and grew up a gay and profane young man. He married Hannah Neal, a Quakeress. For this they were disowned by their families. After waiting four years in the vain hope of a reconciliation they removed to North Carolina and settled between Newbern and Kinston. Richard Caswell was also a native of Maryland, and at the time of Mr. Dillahunty's removal was a rising lawyer, having his home on the Neuse a few miles above Kinston. The two were fast friends until the removal of Dillahunty from the State. He was appointed one of

the sheriffs of the county and prospered greatly in the things of this life. During the visit of Vanhorn and Miller to this region he was induced to attend on their ministry and was savingly converted. Not long afterwards Charles Markland, of Virginia, one of the fruits of the revival at Sandy Creek, came into the neighborhood on a missionary tour. He was a man of fine appearance, pleasing address and uncommon charm as a preacher. To secure him as pastor Dillahunty gave him a tract of land. When Caswell was elected Governor he took him with him in some capacity, and thenceforward he disappears from our annals. There is a tradition that the temptations of the new life were too great for his strength of character and that he sadly declined from the ways of godliness. But of that nothing is known.

The Revolution had opened and the churches were without a shepherd. Gradually Mr. Dillahunty was drawn into the work of the ministry. An Episcopalian chapel in the county which had been in charge of Rev. James Reed of Newbern, was left without a pastor, Mr. Reed having returned to England at the commencement of the war. By request of the vestry Mr. Dillahunty preached for them, occasionally at first and then regularly. In the end the whole body was transformed into a Baptist church. Some time afterwards the Methodists claimed the property on the ground that they were the heirs-at-law of the Episcopalians, but their claim was not allowed. In 1796 Mr. Dillahunty removed to Tennessee, and with some families that accompanied him organized the church at Richland Creek, five or six miles from Nashville. He died in 1816, aged eighty-eight.

Mention has already been made of the settlement of Joseph Parker in Pitt County. He was joined by Rhame

and others. A church was organized at Red Bank, which was visited by McAden on his first missionary journey into North Carolina. From this source and from Onslow, Baptist principles came into Duplin in 1760 or 1761 and took permanent shape in 1763. For some time Baptists had been living in Duplin County. About the year 1762 Francis Oliver, who had been converted in Onslow County, settled among them. He was a man of clear, common sense and great force of character, a leader of men. It was mainly through his influence that, in February, 1763, the organization took place. Jeremiah Rhame and John Nobles, of Pitt County, conducted the exercises, and the former became pastor of the little flock of ten members. In 1792 Francis Oliver was ordained and was called to the pastorate, which office he held until his death. He was a man of commanding influence in every department of life. As a member of the first Convention on the Federal Constitution, like most of the other Baptists in the body, he voted with the majority against ratification. He was much in demand as a preacher and in all the denominational councils of the time his influence was very great. He died after a brief illness in one of the Southern States, whither he had gone on a visit. His descendants are numerous and as a rule have walked in his footsteps, holding the same faith. One of his sons, Benjamin, was a deacon of the church and active in all the work of the denomination. Home missions within the bounds of his Association interested him most deeply. For many years he pushed it with a wisdom, energy and liberality most extraordinary. One of his sons was a minister of the gospel and one of his grandsons is at the time of this writing pastor of the First Church, Wilmington. The church at Bear Marsh occu-

pied a commanding position among her sister churches and her influence was always wholesome and helpful. One of the arms, Pleasant Plain on Neuse river, survives in the churches at Seven Springs and Union, a little farther down the river. The other arm, Nahunga, has given place to the strong bodies, Johnson and Warsaw. The spread of Baptist principles in Duplin County from this beginning at Bear Marsh was rapid. In the course of half a century the Baptists were more numerous than the members of all the other religious denominations combined. It is the more remarkable because the county was settled at first by Scotch-Irish and Irish immigrants, who were Presbyterians in their religious beliefs. Under the Establishment an Episcopalian chapel was built at a point about four miles from Warsaw, where the first court-house stood. But there was so little sympathy with Establishment and those who advocated it that the Legislature had to order the sale of the church property. To this day there is but one church of that faith in the county.

Baptist views came into Sampson County through the movement southward from Reedy Creek in Warren and Fishing Creek in Halifax. In 1759 a church was organized at Rowan, about two miles from Clinton. Before that a church had been gathered at Great Cohari, with one of its arms in Bladen. This arm in due time became a church from which other churches have sprung. This church at Cohari, now known as Brown's, was long a prominent and influential body, strong in numbers and wealth and spiritual life. One session of the Baptist State Convention was held there, Gen. Alfred Dockery being President.

At an early period, just how early cannot now be

known, a company of Baptists from Cape May, New Jersey, settled at Lockwood's Folly, Brunswick county, but they had no pastor and of course could not have much growth under such circumstances. A clergyman of the Establishment makes mention of them: "that they are poor and illiterate, none of the gentry among them"; that "they allowed any of their members who were so disposed to speak in their meetings." In 1757 or 1758 Nathaniel Powell and Jas. Turner visited and preached for them and baptized some converts. In 1762 Ezekiel Hunter, pastor of the church at New River, Onslow county, visited them and organized them as an arm of his church. He baptized some converts and his labors were otherwise blessed. Jas. Turner afterwards settled among them as pastor, remaining until his death in 1772. Robert Nixon, like Hunter a member of the fine gospel church at New River, then served them for a time. In 1765 Hunter organized another church in Brunswick. It was on Livingston creek with an arm at Whitemarsh, Bladen county. On his missionary tour through the State in the Spring of 1755 McAden found Baptists among the Presbyterians on the Cape Fear and a Baptist preacher among them, though he neither saw nor heard of any Presbyterian minister.

This completes the survey of the first movement outward, by the Baptists of Albemarle. From the formation of the church at Meherrin the period under consideration, 1729 to 1765, covers thirty-six years. But the organization of Meherrin was a mistake so far as aggressive work was concerned. It was too near the Virginia border, and shut in by the rivers on one side and too far from the populous settlements on the other. So that the period really begins with the commencement of

Sojourner's work at Kehukee and therefore includes only twenty-three years. The record reads like a chapter out of the Acts of the Apostles. Into every one of the older counties of the State, and some of the new ones, the messengers of Christ had gone and everywhere the people had heard them gladly. Churches had been formed in every county and they survive unto this day.

It is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of the movement. It was the first effort on any large scale that the Baptists had made in any of the colonies to propagate their principles. It was a splendid conception, to establish Baptist churches in every part of North Carolina, and it was splendidly executed. There is nothing in any of the other colonies that answers to it. The great awakening in New England had led to strife in the State church and the other churches which, in large measure, engrossed their attention and their energy. In the Philadelphia Association which was organized in 1707 they were very high Calvinists and so much concerned about doctrinal forms and formularies that the work of Grace in New England and New Jersey brought to them little quickening of spiritual life or increase of numerical strength. Two of their missionaries came into North Carolina, 1755–'57; but there is no record of any meeting held by them in any community in which there were not Baptists and they organized no church which had not been organized before. They were engaged in correcting errors of doctrine or faults of organization. In South Carolina there was activity but a lack of well directed missionary effort. In Virginia the churchmen had their own way. It was unfriendly soil for Baptists. There were a few of them in the Northern portion but they were dominated by the Philadelphia

Association and were so little in harmony with the spirit of Stearns that, after a brief stay among them, he came into North Carolina, drawn by the favorable reports which had reached him of the openings here for evangelistic labor. There were a few feeble organizations along the Southern border but incapable as yet of aggressive labor. With the coming of Stearns the work in this State which was already in progress simply received a fresh impulse and took a wider scope.

A few extracts, taken at random from the letters of clergymen laboring in the province at that time, will show the extent and power of the work which the Baptists were doing. In 1766 Rev. Mr. Earle of Edenton wrote, "Berkley parish abounds with dissenters and sceptics, especially those of the Quaker and Anabaptist kind."

Gov. Dobbs, 1764, complained that there were many "strollers, particularly Anabaptists or dippers." In Bute (now Warren and Franklin) Rev. Chas. Cupples said, "We have a few dissenters of such as are generally called ranting Anabaptists." He thought that if they could have a bishop dissent would "soon be at an end." How little he knew. The "ranting Anabaptists" in Bute continue to increase. In 1759 Rev. Mr. Smith was preaching at six places, making "the benefits of his preaching more diffusive," to "curb, *if possible*, an enthusiastic sect who call themselves Anabaptists, which is numerous and which is daily increasing." From Bath, 1760, Rev. Alex Stewart wrote to London: "Of late years this province is overrun with a people that at first called themselves Anabaptists, but now, having refined upon that scheme, have run into so many errors and have so bewildered, and I may almost say bewitched, the

people that scarcely will they listen to anything that can be said in defence of the church we belong to." The organization by Paul Palmer of a church on New river has been related. Mr. Stewart, 1761, thus describes a visit to the place: "I went into Onslow county to New river, the chief seat of enthusiasm in this province, and preached twice. The few remaining Episcopals there are very thankful." This same gentleman was so hard pressed by the Baptists that he immersed some persons, "only to keep people from falling off from our church." He apologizes to the ecclesiastical authorities in London for his action though he reminds them that "it is conformable to our rubric, and to the practice of the primitive Christians, of the Apostles, and of the Jews before the coming of Christ, generally to baptize in that way." Two years later, 1762, Rev. Mr. McDowell felt obliged to follow the same apostolic example in Brunswick. He spoke sneeringly, in the same year, of "a few poor families of fishermen" who had come from Cape May, and settled by the seaside between the rivers Shallot and Lockwood's Folly. "They call themselves Anabaptists," he says, "but we hope this frolic will dwindle away." Vain hope! Four years later, 1766, Rev. Jno. Barnett said, "Newlight Baptists are very numerous in the Southern parts of this parish," Brunswick county. In 1766 Mr. Woodmason expresses the opinion that "the Baptists are now the most numerous and formidable body of people which the Church of England has to encounter in the interior and back parts of the province." Rev. Jas. Reed, of Newbern, declares, with strange refinement of courtesy that the Baptists are "an idle, disorderly and dissolute sect." And in Granville Rev. Jas. McCartney tells the same story. "There

are many Presbyterians in this parish. * * * There are likewise many Baptists here who are great bigots." And now Jno. Barnett who has moved up from Brunswick to Northampton, finds the Baptists there. He says, 1770, "Last Saturday, Monday and Wednesday two, three and four Newlight Baptist teachers," preachers, "attended our services with many of their people. * * * That sect has very much increased in the country around us." Other witnesses could be called and they would tell the same story. In all parts of the State the churchmen were being pressed and harassed by the Baptists. It is enough. The churchmen did what they could to check the growth of the sect which they manifestly despised so cordially. Allusion has already been made to the treatment which the Baptists received at the hands of the churchmen in Newbern. Any one at all familiar with the records of the time and place and of the spirit which had been enkindled by discussion will feel that the presumption favors the tradition of whipping and imprisonment. Whether anything more was done than to require bond for the appearance of the Baptists at the ensuing term of court or not, the spirit to do other things was present.

Morgan Edwards relates that William Washington was prosecuted in North Carolina for having said in Virginia that churchmen were fools, and that he lost forty pounds, or two hundred dollars, at Enfield. Edwards' style is condensed and elliptical, but the meaning of his statement seems to be that Washington was prosecuted at Enfield, and that the suit cost him two hundred dollars. Washington was a Virginian and was baptized into the fellowship of Sojourner's church, Burleigh, Isle of Wight County, Va., 1745. His ordination took place the fol-

lowing year. He was pastor of the church at Tar river for a few months, but resigned and returned to Virginia.

To escape annoyances like this Jonathan Thomas, of Edgecombe, took out license from the court in Tarborough to preach the gospel. It is the only instance of the kind in the history of the Baptists of North Carolina, so far as appears from the records or traditions. A few years later Captain Campbell, a prominent churchman and public man, would have stopped Jeremiah Dargan, the gentlest and sweetest spirit of the time, from preaching in Bertie County, but he could not. These sporadic cases show the spirit of the churchmen. They went as far as they dared go in the way of interference or opposition. Fortunately that was not far. A minority of the whole population at first, they beheld the State sweeping farther and farther away from them. Help there was none.

The nature and significance of this movement under Palmer and Sojourner has frequently been overlooked. Hon. David L. Swain said, in the *University Magazine*, that Shubael Stearns was "the spiritual father" of the Baptists in North Carolina. Able and fair-minded as he was and industrious in seeking information as to the early history of the State, the real facts in this case had escaped him. Others have made the same mistake. Stearns became a Baptist in 1751. Nine years before that time Sojourner came into the State and at Kehukee, 1742, entered on his brief but brilliant career. After that the Baptist advance through the older counties was rapid and triumphal. Stearns was drawn to the State by reports which reached him, and his work was in continuation and extension of that which was going on at the time of his coming. He infused a new spirit into it,

modified it in several particulars and gave it increase of power by enlarging its scope. But he was not the originator of it.

Paul Palmer was the greatest North Carolinian of his time. Not one of the men with whom he came into contact or collision can be compared with him. In loftiness and firmness of purpose; in quickness and keenness of insight; in breadth of vision which enabled him to plan large enterprises and mastery of details which gave him success in the execution of them; in the courage and patience with which he awaited his opportunity; in the subtle power which enabled him to attract, and inspirit and handle men, he stands alone in his generation. He came on the stage while the excitement and bitterness of the struggle over Establishment were still moving the thoughts and the hearts of the people. The opposition, recognizing in him a dangerous foe, sought to crush him. Suits at law followed, lasting through several years. His vindication came at length; ample, complete. Then he turned to his life-work, the organization of one of the largest and most successful missionary enterprises of modern times. First he marshaled his forces and arranged their work in Albemarle. The simplicity of his plans attests his greatness. He induced the Parkers to cross the Chowan and Sojourner to come to the south side of the Roanoke. He himself went, in his journeyings, to Newbern and the region round about, and thence to New river which was the southern limit of his personal work. He lived in Perquimans County. The date and place of his death and the spot in which he was buried are unknown. In the same county, a good many years afterwards, there lived and died another man of similar spirit but inferior ability, Martin Ross, soldier of the Revolu-

tion and good soldier of Jesus Christ. The Baptist State Convention was his conception, but he died before it passed into reality. He is buried a mile or two from the town of Hertford.

Authorities: For facts concerning the North Carolina Baptists of the period covered by this paper the chief authorities are Benedict, Burkitt, Newman, Morgan Edwards, Semple and Rippon. Church and family records supply many things not found in any published volume. The dates in paragraph 2 are taken mainly from Colonial Records. The year or years will indicate the volume or volumes, and also the place or places in the volume. For the beginnings of Presbyterianism in the State I have relied on Foote's Sketches of North Carolina. The account of the Culpeper rebellion is based on Colonial Records, Vol. 1, years 1676–'80. Durant's visit and anouncement to the Proprietors are given on pages 287–'88, Vol. 1, Colouial Records. Col. Pollock's statement of his inability to re-enact the church law will be found on page 876, Vol. 1, Colonial Records. For the Independent church, Nansemond County, Va., see Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1, page 289; Foote's Sketches of Virginia, pages 31, 32; William and Mary College Quarterly, Vol. 2; History of Virginia, by Burk and by Stith. For John Battle and his descendants, I have relied on notices in Colonial Records, Vol. 1, and on statements by members of the family, which are based on family records, running back for more than a hundred years. The history of Elisha Battle is given in Burkitt, Wheeler, Elliott. The statistics of population are from Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, Vol. 5, chapter on North Carolina. For the New England settlers and the connection between New England and North Carolina at that time, see Hawks, Vol. 2, and Colonial Records. For contest between Gov. Johnston and the northern counties about representation, see prefatory notes, pages 18, 19. to Vol. 5, Colonial Records. Extracts from letters of clergymen are taken from Colonial Records as follows: Vol. 6, pages 59, 287, 316, 562, 730, 1041; Vol. 7, pages 97, 165, 193, 705; Vol. 8, pages 86, 228.

LIFE AND WORK
OF
ELDER JAMES S. PUREFOY.*

BY CHAS. E. TAYLOR.

To perpetuate the memory of a useful life is at once a sacred duty and a pleasing privilege. To ensure the performance of this duty, that the record may be an encouragement and stimulus to others, provision has been made by divine wisdom in the sympathies of our nature and by the teachings of the Holy Spirit. The abiding record is on high; but none the less is the memory of the just, as it is transmitted from generation to generation, a blessing to those who in this life are brought under its inspiring and tender influence.

These general considerations, together with a warm personal regard for the subject of this brief tribute, have actuated the writer to undertake the duty imposed upon him by the North Carolina Baptist Historical Society. He could only wish that ampler justice might be done to the memory of so many-sided and useful a man by some one of his contemporaries who knew him in the meridian of his powers and activities.

James Simpson Purefoy belonged to a family which has been notable in the annals of the Baptists of North Carolina. His grandfather endured persecution in Newbern in the Colonial period for being a dissenter from the established Church. His father, Elder John Pure-

* Prepared by request of North Carolina Baptist Historical Society and read at meeting in Charlotte, December, 1894.

foy, was for many years one of the most useful Baptist ministers in Central North Carolina, and was the founder of a number of important churches. His two brothers, George W. and Nicholas A. Purefoy, were eminent and faithful ministers. The former was the author of The History of the Sandy Creek Association.

The subject of this sketch was born near Forestville, N. C., on February 19th, 1813.

Of his boyhood but little is known, save that he began at an early period to exhibit the energy and tenacity and courage which characterized his manhood. There is a tradition that the neighbors who lived back from the road always knew which of the Purefoy brothers was passing to or from the mill. James would put his horse to its best paces and hurry along with merriment and song, while his older brothers were content to jog along more quietly and slowly. How often the boy reveals, in all essential characteristics, the powers and possibilities of the mature man! We turn the impetuous flow of our rivers into new channels and over wheels that they may irrigate our fields or perform our labor. It is an inspiring thought that the human energy which would go to waste or become destructive may be transmuted into that force which God uses to uplift and regenerate the world.

About the age of seventeen, after several years of somewhat wild and reckless living, he was brought under deep conviction at a protracted meeting held at or near Mount Vernon Church, in Wake county. In speaking of his religious experience, in his later years, he would tell of his distress and anguish while feeling himself to be under the condemnation of God's law. When, at last, he was able to accept Christ as his Saviour, he was

a new man. Transformed by the abounding grace of God, he consecrated himself, thenceforth, to the highest ends of living. He was baptized by his father, Elder John Purefoy, and became a member of Wake Union Church.

At the early age of eighteen Mr. Purefoy was united in marriage with Miss Mary Fort. For more than forty years she continued to be his faithful helpmeet in all his varied work. The poor of the community and many an indigent student for the ministry have risen up and blessed her.

It was to her energy and wisdom that her husband largely attributed, not only his success in business, but his freedom to devote much of his time to his Master's work.

After conducting a farm for three or four years on Horse Creek, Mr. Purefoy removed to Holly Springs, Wake county, where he spent three years in mercantile business. In 1838 he removed to Forestville. Here he resided until January 1850, when he removed to Wake Forest College. Here he resided until he passed to the heavenly home on March 30, 1889.

Elder Purefoy retired from all connection with mercantile business in 1873, but was, to the end of his life, a man of affairs. Gifted by nature with a clear and far-seeing mind, and trained from early youth in habits of thrift and industry, he accumulated a comfortable estate. He possessed some qualities which, had he received academic and professional training, would have made him a great lawyer. He had the rare gift of being able to keep his own counsel. A statement made to him in confidence was never betrayed. His power to forecast events was sometimes almost prophetic. As merchant,

farmer, and, to some extent, as manufacturer, he achieved success. Yet it could never be truly said of him that he loved money for its own sake. He illustrated, as few men have done, the compatibility of business and devotion. Though "not slothful in business," he was also "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.

His gifts as a wise and cautious manager were consecrated to the service of God, and were in constant request on the part of his brethren. There can be no doubt that he accomplished more in the management of public trusts than in building of his own fortunes. From 1842 to 1872 he was the Treasurer of the Baptist State Convention and of Wake Forest College, thus rendering valuable service for which he received no pecuniary compensation.

As an illustration of his prudence, it may be mentioned that when the Board of Trustees, in November, 1862, proposed to sell all the securities of the College and to invest the proceeds in Confederate bonds, he earnestly and persistently opposed the measure. At last, however, finding himself in the minority, he suggested as a compromise that only $28,000 of the $46,000 then held by the College should be invested in this way. This was finally agreed to. That anything was saved from the wreck of the war was due to his conservatism and tenacity of purpose on this occasion.

He was the leading spirit in the system of colportage which was inaugurated among the Baptists of North Carolina several years before the war. In the boards of the Convention, in the Student's Aid Association, in the Board of Trustees of the College, of which he was a member for forty years, in Church Councils and committees his influence was very largely felt, because the

brethren had learned to rely on him as a prudent counselor. It is likely that he attended more sessions of the Baptist State Convention than any other one man who was ever a member of it.

He was one of the charter members of the Baptist Historical Society, and probably no one felt more interest in its aims and its annual meetings. For many years he was the Historian of the Central Association, and for his annual reports he prepared histories of all the older churches of that body.

Undue absorption in secular pursuits is certainly not in accord with the highest ideal of the Christian ministry. Forty years ago, however, but few Baptist ministers in the State were able to live on the pittance received from their churches, and Elder Purefoy differed from most of his contemporaries in the ministry, not in engaging in secular business, but in doing so with more success than they. The fact is, he really believed that it was his duty, as a Christian man, to make money in all honorable ways as a means of usefulness. And this plea was with him no sentimental pretext. It may be doubted whether many men have ever given more largely or more continuously, in proportion to their means, than he did for fifty years. Few appeals ever came unheeded. The poor, all mission enterprises, church buildings, ministerial education, the Theological Seminary, and, above all, the College, found in him a liberal giver. When he was but a youth he was called from the field where he was ploughing to the road-side by an agent of the College. He then made a gift, which was the first of very many, to an institution which became more and more dear to him as long as he lived. Queen Mary of England said: "When I die you will find 'Calais' written on

my heart." Elder Purefoy might have said the same of Wake Forest College. He must have given six or eight thousand dollars to the institution in his lifetime, and when he died it was found that he had carried out his long-cherished plan of making the College one of his heirs along with his own children. There is little doubt in the mind of the writer that, by his executive ability, by his labors as agent, and by his individual gifts, he did more for the perpetuity and prosperity of the College in its earlier years than any other man.

While he was simple and unostentatious in his tastes and habits, and economical in all personal expenditures, Elder Purefoy made his home a centre of refined and lavish hospitality. This was in keeping with his whole nature. He was not only generous in heart, but he loved the companionship of his brethren. His welcome was unstinted and his cordiality unaffected.

Although, in making a correct estimate of the man, great prominence should be given to his rare prudence and energy as a man of business, the work in which he himself most delighted was the service of the churches as pastor and preacher. He has himself, however, borne testimony to the fact that it was with great reluctance and with many misgivings that he submitted to ordination. This conflict, he says, was due to his lack of training for the work.

He was ordained at Wake Union Church on May 1, 1842. His certificate bears the names of Elders Samuel Wait, P. W. Dowd, and W. T. Brooks. At least twelve churches were served by him, some of them for many consecutive years. As a pastor, he was prompt, sympathetic and helpful. As a preacher, he was earnest, pungent and practical. His sermons were largely exposi-

tory, and he drew his illustrations mainly from the Bible. He was especially felicitous, at least in his old age, in presenting the tenderer side of the Gospel and in dwelling on the love of God. He was a constant reader and close student of the Scriptures, and was, on this account, more thoroughly equipped for his work than some who had received better education in the schools. He deeply deplored his lack of early training, and even after he was sixty years of age he seriously thought of spending a year in the Seminary at Greenville, S. C. There is something beautifully unselfish in his gifts and labors to provide for his younger brethren opportunities which had been denied to himself. The world affords few more inspiring spectacles than the sacrifices of scores of our ministers who have been willing to give largely for the education of young ministers, behind whose better equipment their own glory must suffer eclipse.

Elder Purefoy had little patience with "New Theologies," and was at all times ready to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints. In the days when controversies were more fashionable than they now are he engaged in public debates with brethren of other communions, and is said to have displayed no little acumen and skill in dialectic. He was always ready to preach when called on, and spoke freely in deliberative and social meetings. From our Conventions and Associations he has been sadly missed. To the close of his life he was much interested in the building up waste places at home and abroad. Of his own accord he inaugurated mission work at Stony Hill, in Wake county, two or three years ago. Under his ministrations a church was organized, and through his efforts a house was erected, which will remain as one of his monuments. In his

last days it was a matter of deep regret with him that he could not meet with his little flock at Stony Hill. Among the inscriptions on his monument, recently erected in Wake Forest cemetery is the brief statement, "For fifty-eight years a Preacher of the Gospel."

Much of Elder Purefoy's best work was as an agent. This is at all times a trying and disagreeable occupation, but between 1830 and 1850 it was even less understood and appreciated than of late years. It may readily be supposed that nothing but a strong compulsion of duty would lead any man to go again and again before the brethren in this capacity. One does not eagerly accept a task in the performance of which he is sure to encounter rebuffs and discouragements.

In June, 1848, the College tottered on the brink of ruin. Over it hung mercilessly a debt of $20,000. The Presidents, both of the Board and of the College, resigned. The Board adjourned its annual meeting without even suggestion for relief. It seemed that the College must die! The next morning Elder Purefoy, of his own accord, started out on an agency to save the institution, first subscribing a thousand dollars himself. Within a year the debt was provided for.

It was while he was seeking to complete the payment of this debt that he kept the only diary which has been found among his papers. Though brief, it abounds with such expressions as this: "Have done nothing here for the endowment. I put my trust still in God. If it is His work, it will prosper for His glory."

In 1875, when disaster again seemed imminent, he spent several months in New York and New England, and secured $10,000 as the nucleus for a new endowment. And he left friends behind him there wherever

he went—friends who never ceased to make inquiries about the patient, untiring old man, and who sincerely mourned when they heard of his death.

Among his papers, after his death, was found the following prayer, written on a slip of hotel paper. It breathes the spirit and suggests the style of the petitions of Nehemiah. Only those who have tried to do similar work can fully appreciate it:

"Belmont Hotel, New York,
"Fulton Street, March 8, 1875.

"Oh God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:—I commit my ways to Thee. Now Lord, Thou knowest all that I am,—Thou knowest those to whom I have come and will come for help for the Endowment of Wake Forest College. I thank Thee, O God, for what Thou hast done in preserving my health and for the success that I have had,—that Thy Spirit has helped me with wisdom and discretion and has moved the hearts of the people to give me a kind reception and that I have had success thus far.

"Now, Lord, I have much to do. Wilt Thou help me in the work before me. Give me assurance and faith in Thee, O my God, for Christ's sake, that I may go forward in this work. And now, Lord, my God, help me to succeed with Dr. Thomas' Church, with Dr. Moore's Church, with Dr. Anderson's Church, with Dr. Sarles' Church, with Elder Jutton's Church, with Messrs. Colgate and Trevor, with the Orange Church; —Yea, Lord, with those on whom I may call. Now, Lord, my God, I submit this all to Thee.

"O Lord, God; the Power is Thine: we are all Thine. O help me for Thine own sake and for the sake of Thine own cause in North Carolina.

" This is my prayer. I spread it out before Thee. O Lord, hear and answer in peace and love for Christ's sake. Amen and Amen. J. S. PUREFOY."

After his return from the North he became greatly interested in the Wingate Memorial Building. He not only secured most of the money with which it was built, but gave his personal attention to its erection.

He then canvassed the churches of the Flat River, Tar River and Central Associations and secured a number of notes for the endowment of the College.

In 1883 he again went North and secured about $800 for endowment.

May the day never come when his name shall be forgotten by the friends of the College which he so loyally served.

And that the memory of his sacrifices and labors may endure among future generations, it would be eminently fitting for the Baptists of North Carolina to erect as a memorial of him a "Purefoy Building" at Wake Forest College.

The subject of this memorial was not a perfect man. He was himself deeply conscious of imperfections and failures. Those to whom he spoke freely during the last year of his life can bear testimony to the very slight estimate which he put upon his work in the world and upon his own spiritual attainments. But in all that he said of himself, of his work, of his hope, he magnified the grace of God.

The following entry, signed with his full name, which does not occur elsewhere among his papers, has been found in a large book in which for some years he kept his business accounts :

"Feb. 19, 1884. By God's mercy and goodness, through Christ Jesus (in whom I trust for salvation), I have been preserved and blessed.

"I am this day seventy-one years old—threescore and eleven years ; yet, thank God, I have fairly sound body and mind, with a good hope of eternal life through faith in Jesus Christ my Lord.

"Praise be unto his name forever. May his mercy still continue. For his mercy endureth forever."

SOME REMINISCENCES

OF THE

BAPTIST CHURCH IN RALEIGH FIFTY YEARS AGO.

DR. RICHARD H. LEWIS.

When W. A. Graham became governor, in 1845, the white membership of the Baptist church in Raleigh was not large. A very large majority of the members were of the poorer class, and could ill afford to pay enough to support a pastor. But they did what they could, and bravely kept up their organization and helped one another. I remember well how prompt they were to attend the calls of distress that came to them from the sick and those more needy than themselves.

Most of the working members were women—shall we say—of course.

But the name of one man stands out prominent in my memory who was one of the moving spirits in the little band of Christian workers, James Josiah Biggs. There were, no doubt, others, but I do not remember them. He was the Sunday School superintendent, and enjoyed the hearty confidence and esteem of all the children. I have a Bible now, given me by him, more than fifty years ago, for committing to memory two or three chapters of the New Testament.

Mrs. David Stone (afterwards Mrs. Alfred Williams) was at that time, herhaps, the only member of the church that possessed much of this world's goods. Her

kind heart and noble nature showed themselves daily in her labors among her people. It required strength of character and much moral courage, in those days, to unite with the Baptists and work with them and for them.

Mrs. Catherine Lewis, then lately widowed by the death of her husband, Dr. John W. Lewis, had been baptized and received into the church but a short while before the advent of Mrs. Governor Graham.

These three ladies soon united their forces and set themselves the task of uplifting the body of Christians among whom their lot was cast. Their labors were untiring and unceasing. They seemed to have a sixth sense, that of discovering where poverty was pinching and where sickness was distressing. Well do I remember how often and, alas! how unwillingly I lugged heavy baskets along the back streets and deposited them at the doors of litle rickety tenement houses—soon to be followed by one or more of this self-appointed visiting committee of three.

How treachorous is memory! At this moment there rises before me the image of one of the noble band who also aided in a remarkable degree the work of the church, Mr. P. F. Pescud. He was also a Sunday School worker. I believe that he, with Mr. J. J. Biggs, were the powers that kept the Sunday School in active operation and sustained it through the troublous times, and saw it emerge, in after years, from the darkness and dimness of experiment into the broad sunshine of assured success and permanency.

But these three noble women were the moving spirits that made the church grow, with Messrs. Pescud and Biggs as strong seconds.

About the time that Gov. Graham took the helm of the State, or soon after, Rev. J. J. Finch was secured for pastor. Then shouting during the services went out of fashion. And I remember that the suppression of this method of giving vent to animal excitement made me feel very friendly disposed to the new pastor. I took particular pains, not only not to shout or make any noise, but calmly slept through all his sermons.

Many preachers visited the little church during the time of which I am writing. Dr. Wait, President of Wake Forest College, came quite frequently. And I remember when Bro. McNab held a "meeting of days" with the church. Thomas Meredith was editing the *Biblical Recorder*—part of that time the printing office being about five miles west of Raleigh. His two beautiful daughters frequently came in town to attend preaching—and at those times some young gentlemen were seen in the audience who were not in the habit of condescending to become one of a congregation made up mainly of the poor and needy.

Mr. P. F. Pescud, I believe, was the first to introduce Sunday School pic-nics as a factor in the work. And who, of the forty or fifty scholars at that time, that survive, can ever forget the pic-nic on the lawn of Mrs. Parish, on the 4th of July 1846. Mr. Pescud was commander-in-chief, and showed wonderful skill, tact and kindness of heart in so ordering the details that every little soul went home happy and glad of being a member of the Raleigh Baptist Sunday School.

Kinston, N. C.

THE BAPTISTS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

NOTES TO FIRST PAPER.

[A number of persons have expressed a wish to know the sources from which Dr. Hufham derived the facts stated in his first paper on the Baptists in North Carolina. He has prepared the following notes to meet such desire. T. M. P.]

The shooting of John Tanner at Norfleet's ferry, on the Roanoke, is related by Burkitt. *Hist. Kehukee Ass'n*, p. 55. A Mr. Dawson did the shooting, because his wife had been baptized by Tanner at Windsor some time before. The establishment of Baptist principles in Virginia and a large part of South Carolina, also in Georgia and Tennessee, through the Kehukee and Sandy Creek Associations, is a matter of current history. *Burkitt*, *Benedict*, *Semple*, *Newman*. Gov. Henderson Walker wrote the Bishop of London, 1701, "If your lordship . . . . doth not put a stop to their growth," the Quakers that is, "we shall the most part, especially the children born here, become heathens." *Col. Records*, Vol. I, p. 572. For Baptist churches organized during this period and still flourishing see second paper of this issue. The *Biblical Recorder*, 1834, is the oldest religious newspaper in the State. Wake Forest, 1832-'34, is the oldest of the Christian colleges of the State. J. H. Mills organized the first orphanage, Oxford Orphan Asylum, February 23, 1873, in the State. Subsequently, November, 1885, he organized the Baptist Orphanage at Thomasville, the first distinctively Christian institution of the kind in the State. McAden preached in the Baptist churches at Grassy Creek and Fishing Creek, 1755. *Foote's Sketches of N. C.*, p. 166. Rev. John Barnett, Episcopalian, mentions a like courtesy to him. For the position of Willie Jones in 1776, consult *Jones' Defense of N. C.*, p. 138. For attitude of political parties, *Jones' Defense*, Chapter 13. For presence of Abbott, Battle, Burgess, and Horn in Convention of 1776, see *Wheeler's*

N. C., Vol. I, p. 85. For Baptists in Convention on Federal Constitution see *Elliott's Debates.* George Durant's deed from the Indian king bears date 1662. There is no longer any question that there was a considerable body of settlers in Albemarle when the charters of 1663-'4 were granted. 2 *Carroll's Hist. Coll., S. C.*, p. 283 *Winsor's Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. V, p. 287. *Col. Records*, *Prefatory Notes*, p. 10 to Vol. I. For persecutions in England after the Restoration, 1660 and onwards, consult histories of England by Green and Macaulay. For persecution of Quakers in New England and Virginia, see *Hawks*, Vol. II, p. 262. *Bishop. Southern Quakers*, by Stephen D. Weeks. *Rippon's Register*, London, 1790, gives account of persecution of Welch Baptists, also the letter of the Baptist ministers from their English prison.

"There is no doubt that a majority of the early settlers were Dissenters." *Winsor, Narrative and Critical Hist.*, Vol. V, p. 292. On this point the historians are agreed and there is no evidence to the contrary. The rating of the religious bodies numerically in this paper is adopted from the statement, 1704, of Rev. John Blair. *Col. Records*, Vol. I, p. 602. About the year 1700, half the population of Albemarle were Quakers. *Winsor, Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. V, p. 292. *Hawks*, Vol. II, p. 89. John Archdale was appointed Governor of North and South Carolina in 1695.

The Independents came into North Carolina after the dispersion of the church in Nansemond, Va. It was gathered about 1642 by Sir Richard Bennett, afterwards commissioner, agent, major-general and Governor of Virginia. Mess. Knowles and Thompson came out from Boston as pastors and the church increased to 118 members. The Durants were members, when the church was broken up by the authorities. Durant, having been specially ordered to depart from Virginia, came to North Carolina. Others of the same religious faith came from New England. They were spoken of by the governors and others, *Col. Records*, as Independents, Presbyterians, a sect something like the Presbyterians, &c. *Holmes'*

Annals, Vol. I, p. 289. *Foote's Sketches of Va.*, p. 31. *William and Mary College Quarterly, Volume 2. Histories of Va., by Burk and Stith.*

The value of English goods in North Carolina given by Gov. Burrington. *Col. Records*, Vol. III, p. 337. He said, 1735, that there was not a clergyman regularly settled in the colony. Rev. Jas. Reed, 1765, said: "Every clergyman that has attempted to settle in this province for these ten years past, upon the sole dependence of the legal stipend, has been obliged to leave it." *Col. Records*, Vol. III, pp. 429-30. Vol. VI, p. 745.

For the struggle, 1701-15, over Establishment, see *Col. Records*, Vol. I. *Hawks*, Vol. II, Ch. on Civil and Military History, treats it from a churchman's point of view. For effects of Establishment on the church there is ample information. Gov. Tryon, *Col. Records*, Vol. VIII, p. 14, shows the dissatisfaction of the people and the tendency of the vestries to independence; recommends that Rev. Mr. Fiske sue the church-wardens and vestry for his salary; his dislike of the Baptists. Gov. Dobbs complained of Rev. Mr. Moir and Moir complained of him. *Col. Records*, Vol. VI, pp. 1041, 1051. Rev. Mr. McDowell complained of his vestry and his vestry complained of him. *Col. Records*, Vol. VI, pp. 536, 535. Complaints of vestries are chronic, running through the whole period of Establishment. Baptists invite clergyman to preach in their churches. *Col. Records*, Vol. VII, p. 165. Mosely's complaint of misusing funds by vestry. Gale do. *Col. Records*, Vol. II, pp. 133-4, 292. George II., instructions to Gov. Burrington, directs that no school master be allowed to come out to North Carolina without license from the Bishop of London and that no teacher resident in the colony be allowed to exercise his calling without license from the Governor. *Col. Records*, Vol. III, p. 111. These instructions repeated to other Governors.

For purely denominational facts and statistics I have relied chiefly on Morgan, Edwards and Burkitt with information gathered from churches and family records.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

We regret the delay in the appearance of this issue. It has been unavoidable on our part.

We wish our brethren who are not subscribers to see the work which is being done, and to that end will furnish one hundred copies of the April number, containing the three great contributions by Dr. Hufham, Dr. Hume and Secretary White, for half price—fifteen cents each. This offer is confined to the April number. We will thank subscribers to mention this offer to their friends.

The Warren Union makes a new departure. One of the topics for discussion, at the August meeting, is Our Denominational History. It is likely that this topic will also be interpolated into the programme of the Chautauqua at Red Springs. Why not have it discussed over the State at all our meetings and conventions? The Lord has made great use of history, and the inspired writer to the Romans says, "For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope." In the Baptist history now being brought to light there is both present comfort and hope of the future.

The church at Edenton has its local paper, and an interesting history of the church, by Bro. Bond, is being published. A bit of history which we have not yet seen in print is that this church in 1818 had a Female Missionary Society, which on April 29, contributed $25, which it duplicated on May 23 of the same year, and again on December 16, 1819.

Bro. Henry Sheets is also publishing a small paper for the Liberty Association. Such publications, man-

ned as these are, are likely to prove useful. Both these have interesting historical matter. We will thank brethren to send us copies of all such publications, and any other matter relating to the Baptists. We must draw from many sources the facts of our denominational history.

Bro. J. T. Albritton suggests, through the *North Carolina Baptist*, that every church subscribe to these papers, and have the numbers preserved with the church records. It is an admirable suggestion. The Sunday Schools and Young People's Unions ought also to subscribe. By this plan a knowledge of Baptist history would be diffused throughout the State, which is not being done at present, *e. g.*, we have not a single subscriber in Wilmington, the largest city in the State, but a number in many of the small places. The cost of binding the volumes will be small, and the larger schools, such as those of Raleigh, Asheville and Durham ought to have several copies. We will be glad to have the brethren act upon this suggestion.

This issue completes our first volume. We are grateful for the many kind expressions with which our work has been received, and will enter upon a new volume with an earnest purpose of doing better work than in the past.

A new feature will be the department of Queries, Answers and Criticisms. We invite questions upon every phase of North Carolina Baptist History and related church and secular history, short criticisms upon whatever appears in our pages and corrections of all erroneous statements. This may be easily made a most valuable feature and full of interest.

Dr. Hufham will continue his series on The Baptists in North Carolina. The first paper has attracted very wide attention and favorable comment. Such newspapers as the *Wilmington Messenger* and *The News and Observer*, with our own *Recorder* and *Baptist*, and such men as Drs. Whitsitt and Taylor, Capt. S. A. Ashe,

Maj. John W. Moore and Judge Walter Clark have given it high praise. Prof. W. B. Royall is engaged on a biography of Elder Elias Dodson, which we hope to publish soon. Prof. N. Y. Gulley is at work on a biography of Dr. Wingate, and Prof. W. R. Cullom will discuss the influence of Whitfield on the religious thought of North Carolina. Bro. J. T. Albritton has already prepared for us a sketch of Bear Marsh church. Other papers are under promise and we have reason to hope for a further contribution from Dr. Hume. Other plans will be announced later.

T. M. P.

BOOK TABLE.

Prof. Wm. P. Trent, of the University of the South, is responsible for the most unfortunate and disappointing book we have had occasion to notice—*Southern Statesmen of the Old Regime*, (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston). It is composed of lectures delivered at the University of Wisconsin, and Washington, Jefferson, Randolph, Calhoun, Stephens, Toombs, and Jefferson Davis are the subjects. He speaks as a Southern man, but from an anti-Southern standpoint. He has a poor opinion of the honesty of the founders of the Constitution, who, he says "evaded the metaphysical question," whether the United States was a nation from the time Congress assembled in 1775, "and gave us a form of government which would inevitably develop the national idea among us." A thought entirely foreign to any idea of the people they professed to represent, for he says again, "To the mass of Americans in 1789 we were a cogeries of States; fifty years later the average Northerner had given up this view . . . . Now we are all, except a few recalcitrants, united in upholding the national idea." Yet, within the past few weeks, such men as Justice Harlan and even Senator Hoar have recognized the rights of States as most important to be maintained. He calls Southern regard for the Constitution "fetich worship," and says of Davis, "Poor man, it never occurred to him that he was a fanatic worshiping a fetich." He thinks Jefferson was probably not so immoral as some have charged, that Jefferson Davis was nominated for Congress because "the number of available men in the sparsely populated State was doubtless small." He admits that the student of American History must read Calhoun's Disquisition on Government and his Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States, but adds "The reader must, however, be warned that it is not safe to approach these

books unless he has thoroughly disabused his mind of the notion that a sovereignty can really be divided and a government founded on compact. If one start with these notions in one's head, the sure grip of Calhoun's logic will end by making one a nullifier or lunatic, it matters little which." In fine, he is greatly disgusted that Southerners have interpeted the Constitution accordiug to its terms, aided by the Federalists, Elliott's Debates, and the understanding of the people who made it. He finds nothing admirable to say about the land of his birth to an audience which is already out of sympathy with its people, its thoughts and its institutions, and seeming to fear that some credit might attach to the South as the birth-place of Washington and Jefferson, he urges and repeats again and again that they are not distinctly Southern but American.

It is deplorable that a Southern-born man should be the author of a book from which none could form a favorable idea of his section. He ought to have borne in mind the old adage, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest." The price is $2.00.

We turn with a feeling of relief and pleasure to another volume of lectures, *Faith and Social Service*, (Thomas Whitaker, New York,) delivered by Dr. George Hodges, Dean of the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., before the Lowell Institute. These lectures are bright, fresh and spirited. The subjects are, The New Forces, Indifference, Doubt, Poverty, Labor, Moral Reform, The City, The Divided Church. Dr. Hodges has spoken with individual freedom. He has not permitted himself to be hedged in by any school of thought, nor by any church or party lines. He repreents neither the upper nor the lower man, the capitalist nor the laborer. Even those who do not agree with Dr. Hodges will read his book with interest and profit. The freshly human thought, if no more, will bring us into closer sympathy with the perplexities and distresses of our fellows, and a quickened interest will find a way toward greater helpfulness.

Of the writing of school books there is no end. This is especially true of histories. Susan Pendleton Lee's *Advanced School History of the United States*, (B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., Richmond, Va,) has received very high commendation, and has been adopted in many counties for use in the public schools of North Carolina. The book is readable, and though written by a Southern woman, seems to be written in a spirit of fairness to all sections. We are not sure but undue prominence is given to Virginia's part in our country's history, but when we recall her rich contributions to that history it is not in our heart to complain. Written by a Southern woman, sensible of the injustice done Southern history by many writers, it is not surprising that a due measure of her space is devoted to the South, rather too much possibly to the Civil War.

The Questions and Summaries for Review and Essays are by Miss Louise Manly, and these Summaries are a notable and useful feature of the book.

MAGAZINES.

Annals of the American Academy of Politcal and Social Science, Philadelphia, July, has the following papers: The Immigration Question; The Greater New York Charter; Over Nutrition and its Social Consequences; Rosseau and the French Revolutiou; The George Junior Republic.

Publications of the Southern History Association, Washington, July, has John Brown's Raid; A Bibliography of John Brown; Thomas Lamar, of the Province of Maryland and a part of his Descendants; Bibliography of the Statute Law of the Southern States. Part III,—Florida.

Putnam's Historical Magazine, Danvers, Mass., May-June, has Parish Register, Stewkley, Eng.; Hampton Falls, N. H., First Church Records; What should the Family Historian attempt to Accomplish; Bishop Families of Connecticut, 3d Paper; Gleanings from *Salem Gazette*; Early New Hampshire Marriages; Middleborough, Mass., Proprietors, Ipswich Petitioners, 1658; Essex County, Mass., Deeds; Massachusetts Petitions to Marry, 1699; Scott Family.