THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION, 1814-1845: A STUDY IN BAPTIST CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION, 1814-1845: A STUDY IN BAPTIST CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

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APPROVAL SHEET

THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION, 1814-1845: A STUDY IN BAPTIST CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

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FOREWORD

In 1964 Baptists in North America will celebrate the sesquicentennial of the organization of "The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America, for Foreign Missions."[1] The Preamble to the original constitution of this General Missionary Convention spoke of "organizing a plan for eliciting, combining, and directing the Energies of the whole Denomination in one sacred effort, for sending the glad tidings of Salvation to the Heathen, and to nations destitute of pure Gospel-light. . . ."[2]

The General Missionary Convention, however, became much more than a society for the promotion of missions to heathen and/or destitute lands. Developing into the kind of general structure which its name implied, it represented the first serious attempt at a national organization of the Baptist denomination in the United States--an organization

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[1]This is the original title of the organization. The legal title, contained in the charter granted by the state of Pennsylvania, was: "The General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions, and Other Important Objects Related to the Redeemer's Kingdom." The more popular designation "The Triennial Convention" has been used in the title of this dissertation for the sake of brevity and clarity.

[2]Proceedings of the Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes; Held in Philadelphia in May, 1814 (Philadelphia: Printed for the Convention, By Ann Coles, 1814), p. 3.

embracing foreign missions, home missions, and education. It was a forerunner of modern American Baptist denominational organizations with their multiple interests and concerns.[3]

It is hoped that this dissertation may make some contribution to the observance of this sesquicentennial by giving Baptists, and others, some general acquaintance with this General Convention.

I. PURPOSE OF STUDY

It might be expected that a convention holding such a relationship to modern American Baptist denominational organizations would have been the subject of much research. However, this is not the case. The author knows of no published title dealing specifically with the General Missionary Convention and/or with it alone.[4] Moreover, works which do

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[3]In the strictest sense, of course, the General Missionary Convention is the forerunner of the Southern Baptist Convention and of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies.

[4]As early as 1835 the Convention requested James D. Knowles to "prepare and publish a History of this Convention, from its organization to the present time. . . ." Knowles, who was Recording Secretary of the Board of Managers, died in 1838, not having begun the project. Cf. Proceedings of the Eighth Triennial Convention of the Baptist General Convention for Missionary Purposes. Held in Richmond, April, 1835 (Boston: Published by the Convention, 1835), p. 12.

Robert G. Torbet, Venture of Faith (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1955), tells the story of the Convention more

include materials relating to the Convention necessarily present them in a limited or partial manner, thereby failing to record either a clear picture, a total perspective, or a structured presentation of the Convention itself.[5] It is the purpose of this dissertation to present a structured history of the General Missionary Convention, beginning with its antecedents and concluding with its dissolution.

II. NATURE OF STUDY

The author is aware that any one of several methods or approaches might be adopted by the historian who would write a dissertation on this particular subject. Moreover, the approach or method will, at least in part, determine materials used and the way in which they are used. Thus, an understanding of the nature of this particular study is

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fully than any other source this writer has seen. Torbet, however, is concerned with relating the story of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies. He necessarily omits much material which might have been included had he been concerned with the Convention only.

[5]Baptist general histories or works on the modern missionary movement deal with the Convention in a rather limited manner. This must be expected by the very nature of such studies. Baptist historiographers often treat the Convention as incidental to a broader topic with which they are concerned: evangelism, education, missions, the slavery question, etc. In this way much material relevant to a history of the Convention is presented, but at the expense of failing to give the reader a total picture of the Convention itself.

necessary at the outset.

It is intended that this dissertation be a general history of the organization popularly known as the Triennial Convention: its antecedents, its missionary operations, its educational concerns, and its organizational and functional problems. Such a general history is characterized as a "study in Baptist co-operation and conflict." Co-operation among Baptists is evident in such matters as the formation of churches, of associations, of mission and education societies, and of the General Convention itself. It is obvious in the establishment and maintenance of mission stations, home and foreign, and of the educational center at Washington, D. C.

On the other hand, conflict is anticipated by the very presence of differing views on ecclesiology and connectionalism. It is witnessed in such affairs as the "anti-effort" schism, the "Great Reversal" of 1826, the slavery issue, and the final dissolution of the Convention in 1845.[6]

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[6]From the foregoing it is obvious that this dissertation does not purport to be an analysis, critique, or appraisal of the Triennial Convention. The author's primary concern is not to evaluate the sources of co-operation and/or conflict. The primary consideration is to present the story of the life and work of the Convention--a story characterized by both co-operation and conflict. This does not mean the exclusion of elements of analysis, appraisal, or critique. Such elements are clearly delineated in certain portions of the dissertation. Furthermore, the very fact of research and selection of materials presupposes some evaluation not clearly stated in the dissertation itself.

III. SOURCES

In relating the story of the Triennial Convention much attention has been given to the official publications of that body. These include the Annual Reports of the Board of Managers and the Proceedings of the triennial meetings of the Convention. In addition to these, much use has been made of The Latter Day Luminary[7] and The Baptist Missionary Magazine,[8] both of which were published under the direction of the Board of Managers of the Convention. Newspapers and journals of the period have been consulted. Biographical materials and correspondence of certain major figures in the work of the Convention have been consulted also. "Primary" sources have been necessarily supplemented at various points.

It is to be regretted that Baptists generally have not been careful in the preservation of documents relative to certain phases of their history. Such negligence adds to the difficulty of the historian's task. It is conceivable that additional materials of specific importance for a dissertation of this nature may have existed. The present

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[7] Infra, p. 105 n.

[8] Formerly published by the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society under the titles The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine (1803-1816); The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer (1817-1824); and The American Baptist Magazine (1825-1835). The Board of Managers became proprietor of the publication in 1827.

existence and location of such materials the author has been unable to ascertain.

IV. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In making acknowledgments it is difficult to know where to begin and with whom to conclude. Thanks are due Doctor Theron D. Price, formerly David T. Porter Professor of Church History at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, for stimulating an interest in historical studies. Special appreciation is expressed to Professors C. Penrose St. Amant and W. Morgan Patterson for their guidance in the present study. Winthrop Still Hudson, James B. Colgate Professor of the History of Christianity, Colgate Rochester Divinity School, has given of his time to correspond with the author with regard to certain parts of the study. Gratitude and indebtedness to him are freely acknowledged.

Librarian Leo T. Crismon and his staff at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary have been most helpful in making available source materials for the study. Likewise, Curator Edward C. Starr and his staff made a week of research in the Library of the American Baptist Historical Society a profitable one. Appreciation should be expressed also to the Reverend Dewey F. DeTrude, Recording Secretary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies; and especially to Miss Jessie K. Bates, whose familiarity with the general

files of the Societies--familiarity gained over a period of thirty years of service to the Societies--kept the author from spending a great deal of time in futile search for materials. Mrs. Wendell Arnett has transformed the author's attempts at typing into a work of art. Appreciation is expressed also to fellow students Glynn Ford and Bob Patterson for proofreading and helpful suggestions.

"The Triennial Convention, 1814-1845: A Study in Baptist Co-operation and Conflict" is now presented, with fondest hopes that this study, despite its shortcomings, may serve to acquaint its readers with a better knowledge of one small segment of Baptist history.

Raymond Hargus Taylor

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

CHAPTER PAGE

CHAPTER I

BAPTIST ORGANIZATION PRIOR TO 1814

The year 1814 marks the beginning of a new era for Baptists in the United States. A developing national consciousness, propelled especially by the rising missionary movement, had reached the point at which the assembling of a general convention was possible.[1] The thirty-three men who convened in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 18, 1814, "for the purpose of diffusing evangelic light, through benighted regions of the earth,"[2] represented Baptist bodies scattered from Salem, Massachusetts, to Savannah, Georgia. They were largely unknown to each other personally. Now they were met to launch a new missionary venture in the name of the Baptists of the United States.

The antecedents of this general convention are traced here. Baptist organization from a few believers, to a church, to associating churches, to a general convention was neither swift nor certain. It is necessary, therefore, to

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[1]Cf. W. W. Barnes, "The Development of Nationalism among American Baptists," The Chronicle, I (July, 1938), 110-14.

[2]Proceedings of the Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes; Held in Philadelphia in May, 1814 (Philadelphia: Printed for the Convention, By Ann Coles, 1814), p. 6. All future references to the triennial meetings will be listed: Proceedings, with the date of meeting.

speak of Baptist beginnings and the rise of associations; of various proposals for more extensive organization; and of the rise of the "society" among Baptists.

I. BAPTIST BEGINNINGS AND EARLY ASSOCIATIONS

Baptist beginnings in the United States are not traceable to any one source.[3] Their numerical strength in pre-revolutionary days varied from colony to colony. Early formation of associations was determined, in part, upon both immediate heritage and numerical strength. In view of these facts this section is treated according to geographical division.

New England. The first gathering of Baptists into a church occurred in Providence, Rhode Island, in March, 1639.[4]

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[3]In addition to the streams of Baptist tradition denominated "general" and "particular" in England, many German Baptists found their way to America, especially to the Middle Colonies. Six Principle and Sabbatarian Baptists appeared early in liberty-loving Rhode Island. The effects of the "New Light Stir" paved the way for the rise of the Freewill Baptists in New England. Separate Baptists, the products of the Great Awakening, were to play a leading role in the South. Cf. Edwin S. Gaustad, "Baptists and the Great Awakening in New England," The Chronicle, XV (January, 1952), 41-48, for a brief account of the Separate influence.

[4]The first "immersionist" church in New England was the church at Newport. Just how early it had adopted the Baptist principles for which Williams stood is not certain. Immersion had been adopted as the proper mode of baptism by 1644. For a vindication of Williams' claim to the Baptist name, though he was not immersed and did not long remain

This colony proved fertile ground for those who dissented from the "Standing Order."[5] Newport, under the leadership of John Clarke, had a church by 1644. By 1656 factions from each of these churches had withdrawn to organize under the Six Principles.[6] In 1671 a faction of the Newport church withdrew in favor of observing the Sabbath rather than the first day of the week.[7] "In 1768 . . . there were more Baptist churches of all kinds in Rhode Island, than in any of the American colonies."[8]

Beginnings in the remaining sections of New England were neither as early nor as prosperous as those in Rhode Island. The earliest Baptist church in Massachusetts was gathered at Rehoboth in 1663.[9] The first church in Boston

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with the Providence church, cf. R. E. E. Harkness, "Principles of the Early Baptists of England and America," The Crozer Quarterly, V (October, 1928), 440-60.

[5]The "Standing Order" refers to the Establishment in Massachusetts.

[6]Six Principle Baptists based their order upon the "first principles" of Hebrews 6:1, 2. Their quarrel with their brethren seems to have arisen over their insistence upon laying on of hands upon all those baptized.

[7]Henry Sweetser Burrage, A History of the Baptists in New England (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894), p. 28.

[8]David Benedict, A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1856), p. 424.

[9]John Miles, the founder of this church, was forced to leave Wales because of the Act of Uniformity, 1662. He

dates from 1665. With the aid of the Boston church a new congregation was gathered at Kittery, Maine, in 1682, but it did not long survive.[10] There were no Baptist churches in the present states of New Hampshire and Vermont before the middle of the eighteenth century.

The impetus to Baptist growth in New England was to stem from the Awakening of 1741-1742. A few churches had been gathered previously in Connecticut.[11] But the "New Light Stir" was to alter the situation. In the words of Gaustad:

> In the generation following the revival, Baptists were affected in two principal ways: first, the ranks of the denomination increased enormously, often by entire churches exchanging their status as New Lights, or Separates, or strict Congregationalists for Baptists; and second, the major portion of their denomination took on a Calvinistic character which was to determine, in large measure, that group's subsequent development.[12]

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had gathered a church at Swansea as early as 1649. Several from this congregation came with him to New England. The church removed from Rehoboth in 1667, calling their new home Swansea in memory of the old settlement in Wales. Cf. Isaac Backus, A History of New England with Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians Called Baptists (second edition, with notes, by David Weston; Newton, Massachusetts: Backus Historical Society, 1871), I, 282 ff.

[10]At least a part of the Kittery congregation moved to South Carolina. Infra, p. 10.

[11]The earliest church in Connecticut was gathered by Valentine Wightman, who had moved from North Kingston, Rhode Island, to Groton, seven miles north of New London, in 1705. There may have been no more than four congregations of the Baptists in the colony before the Awakening. Cf. Backus, op. cit., I, 466; Burrage, op. cit., pp. 62, 63.

[12]Gaustad, op. cit., pp. 42, 43.

Rapid growth was witnessed in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine in the last two decades of the eighteenth century.[13] "Before the revival there were in Massachusetts five Baptist churches; within the ensuing half-century that number rose to one hundred and thirty-six."[14]

Associating of churches for mutual help was more slowly realized in New England than in the Middle or the Southern Colonies. As indicated previously this was partly due to the numerical strength of Baptists in this area. It must also be traced to the individualism of the Baptist leaders, and to their fear of losing local autonomy.[15]

The Six Principle Baptists of Rhode Island were the first to organize a Yearly Meeting. This may have occurred as early as 1670.[16] But it was to be almost a century before the formation of the Warren Association in 1767, largely through the efforts of James Manning. Only four churches agreed to join in association until, again through Manning's

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[13]Benedict, op. cit., p. 486; Burrage, op. cit., pp. 65-68.

[14]Gaustad, op. cit., p. 47.

[15]Edwin S. Gaustad, "The Backus-Leland Tradition," Foundations, II (April, 1959), 131-52, treats of one source of Baptist individualism and fear of church power.

[16]W. W. Barnes, "Churches and Associations among Baptists," Review and Expositor, LII (April, 1955), 199.

efforts, the fears of some were relieved.[17] As Backus said:

> They [referring here to First Church, Middleborough, of which Backus was pastor] waited until they could be satisfied that the association did not assume any jurisdiction over the churches before they joined. And they now joined upon the express condition that no complaint should ever be received by the Association against any particular church that was not of the Association, nor from any censured member of any of our churches.[18]

Largely through its part in the struggle for religious liberty the Warren Association gained the confidence of New England Baptists. At the close of the war it included some forty-four churches, with three thousand five hundred and seventy members.[19]

Soon other associations were organized, usually after the pattern of the Warren. By 1814 there were twenty associations of Baptists in New England,[20] with approximately thirty

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[17]Manning, who had come to Warren in 1764, submitted the idea to his own church. He then visited other churches and pastors in behalf of such an organization. In 1769 he presented a plan of organization which allayed the fears of men like Backus. The key statement seems to have been: "That such an Association is consistent with the independency and power of particular churches, because it pretends to be no other than an advisory council, utterly disclaiming superiority, jurisdiction, coercive right, and infallibility." For a fuller account of Manning's influence, cf. Burrage, op. cit., pp. 81-84.

[18]Backus, op. cit., II, 409 n.

[19]Burrage, op. cit., p. 84.

[20]The other associations, according to date of organization, were: Stonington (1772), Shaftsbury (1780), Woodstock (1783), New Hampshire (1785), Vermont (1785), Groton Union (1785), Bowdoinham (1787), Meredith (1789), Hartford, earlier

thousand church members. These were destined to play a leading role in the fortunes of the new general convention.

The Middle Colonies. Like her sister colony, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania was to prove fertile soil for the Baptists. As early as 1684 one Thomas Dungan, from Rhode Island, gathered a church at Cold Spring, Bucks County.[21] Pennepek was constituted in 1688, with Elias Keach, pastor.[22] Daughter churches were soon formed at Middletown, New Jersey (1688), Piscataway, New Jersey (1689), Cohansey, Pennsylvania (1690), and Philadelphia (1698).[23]

> It was natural that with such a beginning each of these should have felt a close relationship to Pennepek and to have desired meetings for the spiritual edification of the general membership and to discuss problems of faith and discipline. Such gatherings were held regularly and from these came the stimulus for the formation of the first association among American Baptists.[24]

Danbury (1790), Leyden (1793), Fairfield (1795), Sturbridge (1801), Lincoln (1804), Barre (1807), Dublin (1809), Danville (1810), Cumberland (1810), Boston (1811) and Westfield (1811).

[21]Morgan Edwards, Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists, I, 10. This church did not survive past 1702. It was Dungan who baptized Elias Keach.

[22]Keach was the son of Benjamin Keach, the famous English Baptist. Edwards, op. cit., pp. 9-11, relates the story of Keach's strange conversion.

[23]The Philadelphia church seems to have maintained a kind of branch relationship to Pennepek until 1746, when it was formally constituted. Cf. Edwards, op. cit., p. 44.

[24]Raymond J. Bean, "The Philadelphia Baptist Association," The Chronicle, XX (April, 1957), 51.

Pennepek and her daughters, along with the Welsh Tract church in Delaware,[25] formed the Philadelphia Association on September 27, 1707. Bean described its purpose as "one of offering counsel and assistance but never one of supervision over the churches which constituted it."[26] In 1742 this Association adopted the Articles of Faith since known as the Philadelphia Confession.[27] Philadelphia was to exert an influence upon American Baptists unequalled by any other association.

Meanwhile, other Baptists were active in the regions of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. The first historian of American Baptists, Morgan Edwards, discusses the Keithian Baptists,[28] the Tunkers,[29] and the Seventh Day

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[25]Welsh Tract had been settled around 1703 by a small group of Welsh Baptists who first had settled near Pennepek, and joined with the church there. Not being in full agreement with the Pennepek group, they moved to Delaware, bought a tract of about 30,000 acres, and gave it the name Welsh Tract. Cf. Edwards, op. cit., pp. 17-21.

[26]Bean, op. cit., p. 53.

[27]This was substantially the English "Century Confession" of 1689, which in turn was but a Baptist adaptation of the Westminster Confession. In addition, the Philadelphia Confession has articles on singing in public worship, and the laying on of hands after baptism. Cf. Henry C. Vedder, A History of the Baptists in the Middle States (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1898), pp. 86-95, for a good account of the significance of the Association and its Confession.

[28]Edwards, op. cit., pp. 55-60.

[29]Ibid., pp. 64-90.

Baptists,[30] confined largely in the present state of Pennsylvania. In addition to those already mentioned, Cape May (1712), Hopewell (1715), and Scotch Plains (1747) are among the early churches of New Jersey. Welsh Tract was the only church in Delaware for over three-quarters of a century.

While Baptist churches were not organized in New York as early as in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, New York soon surpassed them in the number of Baptist adherents. Benedict spoke of traces of as few as five Baptist churches in New York as late as 1770.[31] But he hastened to add, "In 1790 the number of churches had increased to about sixty; there was something more than that number of ministers, and the communicants were four thousand."[32]

With the rapid growth of Baptists in the last half of the eighteenth century the number of associations grew also. The next associations in this area were the Warwick and the New York, organized in 1791. The Otsego was constituted in 1795; the Rensselaerville and the Chemung in 1796. By 1814 there must have been between twenty and twenty-five thousand Baptists in this area,[33] with a majority of these in eastern

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[30] Ibid., pp. 60-64.

[31] Benedict, op. cit., p. 540.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Benedict, loc. cit., claims 252 churches and almost 18,000 members for the state of New York in 1812.

and central New York.

The South. Charleston Association has the distinction of being the second oldest organization of its kind among the Baptists in America. It dates from 1751, when the churches of Charleston, Ashley River, and Peedee met to plan an organization. The oldest church in the association, and in the South, is that of Charleston, which traditionally dates its origin in 1682.[34] In addition to the settlements in this region of South Carolina the Separate Baptists, from North Carolina, planted several churches in the central and northwestern sections of the state. The Congaree Association of Separate churches was formed in 1771.[35] It was from the Separates in South Carolina that the first Baptist church was constituted in Georgia, at Kiokee Creek, in 1772.[36] The Georgia Association was organized in 1784. By 1790 there were about four thousand Baptists in South Carolina, and about three thousand in Georgia. In 1812 the numbers had

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[34]The church in Charleston dates its constitution from that of the church at Kittery, in 1682. William Screven is supposed to have migrated, with at least part of his congregation, to South Carolina "before June 1684." The earliest certain reference to his presence in the state is in 1696. Cf. John A. Hamrick, "Charleston, S. C., First Baptist Church," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), I, 247, 248.

[35]The Bethel Association was organized in 1789, apparently on the foundations laid by the Congaree.

[36]Benedict, op. cit., p. 724.

increased to "upwards of twelve thousand" in South Carolina, with about thirteen thousand in Georgia.[37]

Baptists in Virginia arose from three sources: English General Baptists, who gathered a church at Burleigh, Isle of Wight County, about 1727;[38] movements from Maryland into northern Virginia about 1743;[39] and from the removal of the Separates from New England, after 1750.[40] The Regular Baptists organized an association in 1766, the Ketockton. With the division of the Separate churches into three associations (1770) those in Virginia took the name Rapid-Ann, or General Association. As early as 1769 the Ketockton had proposed a union with the Separates.[41] The increase of the Baptists, despite severe persecution at times, was rapid.[42] By 1812 Virginia was first among the states in the number of Baptist adherents.

North Carolina became the center of operation for the

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[37] Ibid., pp. 701, 721.

[38] Edwards, op. cit., III, 1.

[39] Ibid., pp. 2-15. These were Regular Baptists.

[40] Ibid., pp. 15 ff.

[41] Ibid., p. 52.

[42] Persecution was more severe among the Separates than among the Regulars. The latter were not averse to obtaining licenses for their places of meeting.

Separate Baptists in the South. From Sandy Creek,[43] constituted in 1755, these missionary-minded folk spread southward into South Carolina and Georgia; northward into Virginia; and westward into Tennessee and Kentucky. Sandy Creek Association, formed in 1758, numbered all the Separate churches in its organization until 1770.[44] While these were not the earliest Baptists in the state,[45] their influence was the most far-reaching.

Not long after the formation of the Sandy Creek Association, Baptists to the east formed the Kehukee.[46] From it arose many of the later associations in this portion of the

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[43]Benedict, op. cit., p. 685, quoting Edwards, wrote: "From this zion went forth the word, and great was the company of those who published it. This church, in seventeen years had spread her branches southward as far as Georgia; eastward to the sea and Chesapeake bay; and northward to the waters of the Potomac. It, in seventeen years, became mother, grandmother, and great-grand-mother to 42 churches, from which sprung 125 ministers, many of which are ordained, and support the sacred character as well as any set of clergy in America; and if some have turned out bad, where is there a set of clergy that can throw the first stone, and say, 'we are all good.'"

[44]At this time the Association agreed to divide into three separate organizations.

[45]General Baptists had come to North Carolina from Virginia in the 1720's. The first church was organized in 1727. A company of Regular Baptists settled on Kehukee Creek about 1742. After 1751 most of the General Baptists adopted the principles of the Regulars, largely through the work of John Gano and P. P. Vanhorn. Cf. Benedict, op. cit., pp. 681, 682.

[46]In 1769.

state. Just as in Virginia, the Regular Baptists approached the Separates on the matter of union.[47] In 1812 Benedict numbered some two hundred churches with about thirteen thousand members in North Carolina. There were eleven associations.[48]

Though Baptists appeared in the South later than in New England or the Middle Colonies--that is, with the exception of Charleston--they had grown more rapidly by the close of this period. Their associations numbered forty-two. Their entire membership approximated seventy-five thousand.

The West. It was natural that the earliest Baptist churches should be gathered along the Atlantic seaboard. The vast territory beyond the mountains was hardly populated before the close of the Revolutionary War. But with the close of the war settlers began to flock westward. Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Indiana had sizeable communities of Baptists by 1814. Good beginnings had been made in Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, and Alabama.

The earliest association west of the mountains was the Redstone, formed in 1776 in Greene County, Pennsylvania.[49]

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[47]Benedict, op. cit., p. 689.

[48]Ibid., p. 681.

[49]James A. Davidson, "The Redstone Baptist Association of Western Pennsylvania," The Chronicle, V (July, 1942), 133-40.

This was only six years after the organization of the first Baptist church west of the mountains.[50] In 1808 there were seventy churches associated in this body, with some fifteen hundred members.[51]

Separate Baptists moved from North Carolina into the eastern part of Tennessee in the 1760's. Holston Association was formed in 1786, with seven churches constituting it.[52] Movement went farther west so that a new association was constituted in 1802, the Tennessee.[53] An association had been formed in Middle Tennessee as early as 1796.[54] In 1812 Benedict listed one hundred fifty churches with over ten thousand members.

Movement into Kentucky was not quite as early but advanced more rapidly than in Tennessee. Three associations were formed in 1785.[55] In 1812 there were thirteen associations, two hundred sixty-three churches, and a fraction

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[50] Ibid., p. 133. This was Great Bethel, of Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

[51] Ibid., p. 134.

[52] Benedict, op. cit., p. 791. These were Kendrick's Creek, Bent Creek, Beaver Creek, Greasy Cove, Cherokee, North Fork of Holston, and Lower French Broad. They were located in Sullivan, Washington, Hamblen, and Jefferson counties in Tennessee, and in Washington County, Virginia.

[53] Changed to Knox County Association in 1917.

[54] Benedict, op. cit., p. 799.

[55] Ibid., p. 812. These associations were: Elkhorn,

beyond seventeen thousand church members.[56] There was a great deal of emigration into the state from Virginia. With the immigrants came the distinctions of Regular and Separate which they had known previously. Efforts at union failed until after a period of revival in 1800-1801. The distinction "Separate" largely disappeared thereafter.

Baptists organized several small churches along the Whitewater River in eastern Indiana about the beginning of the nineteenth century.[57] These were early connected with the Miami Association (1797) in Ohio. Nine churches met to constitute the Whitewater Association in 1809. In the same year the Wabash District Association was formed of churches along the Wabash River in Indiana and Illinois.[58] Silver Creek Association was organized in 1812 with eight churches

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composed of Tate's Creek (1785), Clear Creek (1785), and South Elkhorn (1783) churches; South Kentucky, of Rush Branch (1785), Head of Boon's Creek (1785), Gilbert's Creek (1783), and Pottinger's Creek (1785) churches; and Salem, of Severn's Valley (1781), Cedar Creek (1781), Beargrass (1784), and Cox's Creek (1785) churches. Cf. Wendell H. Rone, "Kentucky, General Association of Baptists in," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I, 723, 724.

[56]Benedict, op. cit., p. 811.

[57]Ibid., p. 864, quoting Peck's Introduction to the History of the Baptists in Indiana.

[58]Ibid. The Indiana churches were: Bethel (1806), Wabash (1806), Salem (1808), Patoka (1808), and Maria Creek (1809).

constituting its membership.[59] The Illinois Association[60] and those that designated themselves "Friends of Humanity"[61] were the only associational organizations in that state prior to 1814.

In 1809 Baptists in Ohio numbered about twenty-five hundred in some sixty churches.[62] In addition to the Miami Association there existed the Scioto (1805), the Beaver (1809),[63] the Straight Creek (1812), the Muskingum (1811), and the Mad River (1812).

A few Baptist churches had been planted in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Missouri prior to 1814. Only one association was then in existence among these.[64] The westernmost Baptist church in the United States at the time of the organization of a national convention was only a few

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[59] Ibid.

[60] This association was formed in 1807 of New Design (1796), Bottoms (1798), Richland (1804), and Wood River (1806) churches. These were located in what are now the counties of St. Clair, Madison, Monroe, and Randolph. Cf. L. H. Moore, "Illinois Baptist State Association," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I, 668 ff.

[61] So called because of their anti-slavery sentiment.

[62] Benedict, op. cit., p. 877.

[63] Beaver Association was composed of churches in both Ohio and Pennsylvania.

[64] This was the Mississippi, organized in 1806. Flint River (Alabama and Tennessee) was constituted in the autumn of 1814.

miles from St. Louis.

Vedder has well summarized the position of Baptists in 1800, which summary will suffice also for 1814:

> By the year 1800, forty-eight Associations had been organized among the Baptist churches of the United States, most of which were in a flourishing condition, active in evangelization, and powerfully promoting the unity, piety, and mutual acquaintance of the churches, systematizing their efforts and provoking one another to good works. . . . Up to this time there had been Baptist churches; in the providence of God there was soon to be a Baptist denomination.[65]

II. EFFORTS TOWARD MORE EXTENSIVE ORGANIZATION

The only formal relationships existing between the early associations of Baptists consisted in the interchange of Corresponding Letters and of Messengers.[66] Letters from one association to another spoke of the condition of the

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[65]Vedder, op. cit., pp. 99, 100. At the time of the formation of the Triennial Convention the number was 113. Cf. Second Annual Report of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States (Philadelphia: Anderson & Meehan, Printers, 1816), pp. 90-93. Future references to the annual reports of the Board of Foreign Missions will be given: Annual Report, with the date following.

[66]Allusion is made in the Philadelphia Association Minutes to correspondence as early as 1734 with the Board of Particular Baptist Ministers in London. In 1766 it was agreed: "That a yearly intercourse between the Associations to the east and west of us be, by letters and messengers, now begun, and hereafter maintained." Citations from the associational minutes are from A. D. Gillette (ed.), Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association from A. D. 1707 to A. D. 1807; Being the First One Hundred Years of Its Existence (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1851), pp. 84, 97.

churches, any particular tribulations suffered, and occasionally warned against imposters. Messengers from one association were received as members of another. At times one association would request aid from another, which aid was generously granted.[67]

The associations continued to have no bond of union which would have dissolved their individual character, or which would have made them units in a larger organization. But proposals aimed at accomplishing the latter goal were much in evidence. Some of these efforts toward more extensive organization are considered below.

Morgan Edwards' plan of union. In the "Advertisement" to the first volume of his Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists, Edwards proposed a scheme of union to embrace the Baptists from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Indeed, the desire for a closer relationship among the Baptists of North America was the motive which induced Edwards to collect

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[67]In 1769 Warren Association informed the Philadelphia of a petition made to the legislatures of Boston and Connecticut for redress of grievances, and requested the Philadelphia to join in a petition to the king if redress was not speedy and effectual. The Philadelphia not only voted to join the Warren, but also promised to solicit the aid of the associations of Virginia and South Carolina. The following year the Philadelphia Association voted to help defray the expenses of Hezekiah Smith to sail to England as Agent of the Warren Association seeking relief from the king on behalf of the oppressed Baptists of New England. Cf. ibid., pp. 108, 114.

and publish his Materials.[68]

Edwards proposed: (1) that the Philadelphia Association be incorporated, with one person from every other association a member of the corporation; (2) that an Evangelist be appointed to visit all the churches, his expenses being defrayed from a general fund for that purpose; (3) that the nature of associations among Baptists be clearly defined; (4) that all the churches be made sufficiently known to one another; and (5) that the terms of union be general enough not to preclude churches differing in "unessential points of faith or order." The practice of believers' baptism would have been the norm for Edwards.[69]

While Edwards suggested this scheme to his church in Philadelphia, and, doubtless, to the association, it received no formal recognition from the latter body.

> It was against the current of the time, and was probably not acceptable to any leader but himself. . . . his plan, conservative in his mind, bumped too hard against the democracy of his brethren.[70]

The Warren proposal for a continental association. The Warren Association stood in the vanguard of the struggle for

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[68]Edwards, op. cit., I, i, ii.

[69]Ibid., pp. ii, iii.

[70]Albert L. Vail, The Morning Hour of American Baptist Missions (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1907), p. 294.

religious liberty in New England. Mention has been made of her appeals to the Philadelphia Association.[71] The Warren Association appointed Agents on behalf of religious freedom. Isaac Backus, who was Agent of the association for a period of ten years, was chosen to present the case of the Baptists before the first Continental Congress in 1774.[72]

At the meeting of the Association in 1775 the Agent and Committee were asked to

> . . . draw up a letter to all the Baptist societies on this continent, stating the true nature and importance of religious liberty, and signifying that we think that a general meeting of delegates from our societies in every colony is expedient . . . and to desire that our friends in each Colony would communicate their sentiments concerning the design, and time and place of meeting, with all convenient speed.[73]

Such a gathering as the Warren Association proposed never convened. It is not likely that the question of religious liberty alone could have knit the Baptists into the kind of visible union for which Edwards labored. But the action of the Warren Association deserves attention as the first real call for a national meeting.

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[71] Supra, p. 18.

[72] For an account of Backus' activities as Agent of the Association, cf. Alvah Hovey, A Memoir of the Life and Times of the Rev. Isaac Backus, A.M. (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1859), pp. 180-244.

[73] Ibid., pp. 228, 229, quoting from the Minutes of the Warren Association.

The General Committee of Virginia. Except for brief temporary divisions, Separate Baptists in Virginia met in one General Association from 1771-1783. The following action was taken in the latter year:

> Resolved [underscore in original], That our General or Annual Association cease, and that a General Committee be instituted, composed of not more than four delegates from each District Association, to meet annually, to consider matters that may be for the good of the whole society, and that the present Association be divided into four districts--Upper and Lower Districts--on each side of James River.[74]

The Philadelphia Confession was adopted as a standard of principles for the districts, but with a careful explanation of its proper usage.

In 1786 the Ketockton Association sent delegates to the meeting of the General Committee. These were received upon equal footing with those of the Separate organizations. The major accomplishment of the Committee was achieved in 1787, when Regulars and Separates agreed to drop the old distinctions in name, and "henceforth . . . be known as the United Baptist Churches of Christ in Virginia."[75]

Originally the General Committee was concerned with religio-political questions; e.g., general assessment for the support of teachers of religion, the sale of glebe lands,

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[74]Robert B. Semple, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia (revised edition; Richmond: Pitt & Dickinson, Publishers, 1894), p. 92.

[75]Ibid., p. 101.

alterations in the marriage laws, etc. By 1788 letters of correspondence were prepared for the Northern associations. As Semple has indicated: "Hopes were entertained by some, about this time, of forming a general meeting, to be composed of delegates from all the States in the Union."[76]

By 1791 a majority of the delegates was of the opinion that the Committee had deviated too far from its original purpose. From this time until the dissolution of the Committee in 1799 very little was accomplished. The last act of the General Committee was to recommend to the associations that they form a plan for a General Meeting of Correspondence, designed to preserve the union and harmony among the churches of the state.[77]

The New England General Committee. In 1792 a call went forth from the Warren Association inviting messengers to the first meeting of a General Committee. The suggestion of such a Committee had arisen in the meetings of the Vermont and Shaftsbury Associations. Its chief purpose seems to have been the gathering and preservation of historical materials.

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[76] Ibid., p. 103.

[77] The General Meeting of Correspondence continued in existence until the formation of the General Association in 1823. Garnett Ryland, The Baptists of Virginia 1699-1926 (Richmond: The Virginia Baptist Board of Missions and Education, 1955), pp. 162-78, discusses the work of the General Meeting.

Although its intention was to combine all the associations in New England in the promotion of its object, this General Committee did not receive the support anticipated.[78]

The Bethel proposal. The example of the Baptists in Virginia apparently aroused interest in South Carolina. In 1794 the Bethel Association proposed an organization which the Charleston Association, in its reply to Bethel, interpreted as similar to that in Virginia. The reply of the Charleston Association admitted that such a scheme might be useful if generally adopted by the Southern associations. But it warned that "unless such a scheme should be very general, and directed to definite and important objects, we think it would be ineligible."[79] This appears to have been the end of this proposal.

Philadelphia endeavor for a national conference. The Philadelphia Association had not completely forgotten the dream of Morgan Edwards. In 1799 it issued the following invitation:

> Apprehensive that many advantages may result from a general conference, composed of one or two members from each Association, to be held every one, two, or three years, as may seem most subservient to the general interest of our Lord's Kingdom; this Association

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[78]Vail, op. cit., pp. 297, 298.

[79]Minutes of the Charleston Association, 1794, p. 2.

> respectfully invites the different Associations in the United States to favor them with their views on this subject.[80]

It was requested that a copy of the minutes containing this invitation be sent to each association in the United States.

At the session of 1800 approving resolutions were reported from three sister associations. It was recommended that messengers from other associations who should be in attendance in 1801 be authorized to confer with a committee appointed by the Philadelphia Association to further the plan for a general conference.[81]

In 1801 the action taken at the last annual meeting was continued for another year. By 1802 the prospects for a general conference of associations had grown so dim that the Philadelphia Association substituted for it a "plan for a committee of correspondence," which plan was adopted by the association.[82]

Philadelphia endeavor for a general missionary society. Parallel with its efforts to form a general conference the Philadelphia Association sought to interest the Baptists of the United States in a general missionary society. In reply to a query from the Philadelphia church the Association

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[80]Gillette, op. cit., p. 343.

[81]Ibid., p. 349.

[82]Ibid., pp. 370, 371.

stated that they thought it

> . . . most advisable to invite the general committee of Virginia and different Associations on the continent, to unite with us in laying a plan for forming a missionary society, and establishing a fund for its support, and for employing missionaries among the natives of our continent.[83]

This effort received less attention than did the plan for a general conference. After carrying over the former suggestion in 1801, the Association resolved the following year to form a society of its own. A committee was appointed to form a plan and to report to the next session.

The Rensselaerville query. The Rensselaerville Association of eastern New York included the following query in its Corresponding Letter of 1801:

> We also [following a ringing call to missions] offer by way of query whether a conference to consist of one or two messengers from each Association in the United States, to meet once in two or three years, in order to enlarge our union and establish uniform sentiments, might not be expedient, and likewise to advance the visible Kingdom of our Redeemer in the world.[84]

This letter, embodying the ideas of the two Philadelphia proposals, was prepared by a committee of the Association and adopted by the body.

Because of the facts of its isolation, no previous

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[83] Ibid., p. 350. This was in 1800.

[84] Vail, op. cit., p. 302, quoting the Minutes of the Rensselaerville Association.

communication with the Philadelphia Association, and its continued exhibition of an aggressive missionary spirit, A. L. Vail held the opinion that this small association projected a scheme of its own without any knowledge of what Philadelphia was attempting to do.[85] If this be true, Rensselaerville Association, though young and insignificant, deserves notice as being far ahead of its older sisters in looking toward the future.

In addition to these more general plans or schemes, there were other attempts at more extensive organization, largely confined to some particular state.[86] None of these efforts which have been discussed developed into a lasting organization. Most of them did not get beyond the planning stage. But each of them, whether merely planned or actually short-lived, was something of a foretaste of the future. Each should be remembered as the harbinger of a new day.

III. THE RISE OF THE SOCIETY AMONG AMERICAN BAPTISTS

In the early years of the nineteenth century a new type of organization among American Baptists arose to

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[85] Ibid., pp. 303, 304.

[86] Ibid., pp. 304, 305, discusses two of these state organizations: the General Committee of Georgia, and the North Carolina Convention (North Carolina Baptist General Meeting of Correspondence).

challenge the singular position of the association. This was the "society." Here it will be necessary to discuss the nature of the society, its beginnings among American Baptists, and the kinds of Baptist societies which existed prior to the formation of the Triennial Convention.

The nature of the "society." Unlike the association, the society is not an ecclesiastical organization. That is to say, its constituency is not based upon churches, but upon individuals.[87] Membership is not based upon the acceptance of a common creed, no matter how vague or general such a creed might be, but upon a common interest in some particular goal or purpose. This means that any member of any society is required to support the goal or purpose of that society with his means, his money.

From this characterization it appears that the society is designed to promote some worthy project with the greatest degree of support possible, and, at the same time, with the least degree of resistance from ecclesiastical organization. Indeed, the founders of the Baptist Education Society of the Middle States frankly admitted this in regard to the association. In their "Address" to those concerned for such a

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[87]This characterization of the association runs counter to much popular thinking about the real nature of associationalism. For further elaboration of the associational principle, cf. Winthrop S. Hudson, "The Associational Principle among Baptists," Foundations, I (January, 1958), 10-23.

project they state the opinion

> . . . that the contemplated end will, in their judgment, be better answered by the formation of a society, whose aim shall be simply directed to the point in question, than by an Association, the multiplicity of whose concerns, and the diversity of whose opinions might rather retard than accelerate [underscores not in original].[88]

Beginnings of the society among American Baptists. The society, then, arose to meet some specific, urgent need. In the case of Baptists in America it was the urgency of the missionary cause which prompted interest in the society. In 1792 English Particular Baptists, awakened to the call of missions, had founded the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen.[89] But Baptists in America knew of "heathen" closer than foreign lands, and of isolated "Christian" settlements which were utterly destitute of gospel preaching.

Before the formation of Baptist societies, individual

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[88]William Rogers, et al., "Address to the Friends of Religion, and Particularly to the Baptist Churches and Congregations, in Behalf of an Establishment Which Is Contemplated to Be Formed for the Assisting of Young Men, Called to the Christian Ministry, in Their Education," The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, III (September, 1812), 211-13.

[89]It must not be forgotten that American Baptists had close contacts with the English society and its missionaries. William Staughton, pastor in Philadelphia, had been present at its organization. The early issues of The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine contain many letters from the missionaries, addressed to prominent Baptists in America.

Baptists had participated in the efforts of certain "union" societies. The New York Missionary Society (1796), largely controlled by Presbyterians, had at least two Baptist pastors among its charter members.[90] The Northern Missionary Society (1797), which later came into close affiliation with the New York Society, likely had Baptists among its members.[91] Each of these had the double concerns of converting the Indians, and of supplying the destitute white settlements with at least an itinerant ministry.

The Missionary Society of Philadelphia (1798) was organized to Christianize and civilize the Indians. Prominent in its plan was the industrial education of the Indians to permit them to obtain a new kind of livelihood. No one was qualified to serve the society who was "not capable of practising or teaching some useful art as well as a rational system of religion."[92] It is possible that Baptists played the dominant role in the affairs of this society.

Two societies in New England received support from individual Baptists. These were the Massachusetts Missionary Society (1799), and the Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes (1800). The first of these was controlled by the

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[90]Vail, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

[91]Ibid., pp. 91, 92.

[92]Ibid., pp. 92, 93.

Congregationalists; the second, though its membership included many Baptist women, gave its funds to the Congregationalists alone during the first two years of its existence.

Baptist societies. A great number of societies initiated by interested Baptists had been organized by the time Luther Rice began his first "tour" of the churches in 1813. These included societies for missionary purposes, both domestic and foreign; at least one education society; and one society engaged in the publication and distribution of tracts.

Of the societies engaged in missionary enterprises the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society deserves special attention. It was the first Baptist missionary society in America, being founded in 1802, and it was the most efficient and influential of the earlier societies.

Arising directly out of the efforts of the two churches in Boston, the object of the society was to

> . . . furnish occasional preaching, and to promote the knowledge of evangelistic truth in the new settlements within these United States; or further if circumstances shall render it proper.[93]

Membership was based upon the subscription of one dollar

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[93] W. H. Eaton, Historical Sketch of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society and Convention, 1802-1902 (Boston: Massachusetts Baptist Convention, 1903), p. 9.

annually. The business of the society between annual meetings was entrusted to a board of twelve trustees, eight of whom had to be "ministers, or professing brethren of the Baptist denomination."[94]

Three missionaries were appointed at the first meeting of the board of trustees. At the second annual meeting it was

> Voted [underscore in original]: That it is the wish of the Society that a practical work be published, containing such information as may be considered interesting to the Society.[95]

So began the long career of The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine. At the meeting in 1807 the treasurer reported a balance of nearly $2,000. In 1808 there were thirteen missionaries in the employ of the society. In the same year an Act of Incorporation was granted the society by the state legislature of Massachusetts.[96]

Of the societies founded in the Middle States the Hamilton Baptist Missionary Society deserves the closest attention. Formed on August 27, 1807, in Onondaga County,

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[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid., p. 17.

[96] The Act of Incorporation and By-Laws are printed in the issue of The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine for December 1808, on pp. 115-18. It is a matter of record that the state refused financial aid which the Baptists had requested for their work in Maine. Cf. Eaton, op. cit., p. 21.

New York, it had sent out ten missionaries by 1811. Vail has said of it:

> From the first it prosecuted its work with marked discretion and vigor, earning from the most informed and judicious the credit of having been probably the foremost agency in the expansion and strengthening of the denomination in that region and period.[97]

Many of the leaders of the Triennial Convention had close connections with this society, as is true also of the society in Boston.

Female societies, children's societies, young people's societies--all arose to support the missionary cause. Most of them, and especially those actively engaged in sending forth missionaries, were at first concerned with what is now designated "home missions." The first society having foreign missions as its primary objective was the Salem Bible Translation and Foreign Mission Society, founded in 1812. Lucius Bolles, pastor of the Baptist Church in Salem and Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist Board of Missions for some sixteen years, was the first president of this society.

Only one educational society appears to have existed at the time of the formation of the Triennial Convention. This was the Baptist Education Society of the Middle States. Its "Address to the Friends of Religion . . ." bears the signatures of six Baptist ministers who later played major

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[97]Vail, op. cit., p. 121.

roles in the affairs of the Triennial Convention.[98]

In addition to the missionary societies and the education society, at least one society for the distribution of tracts existed before 1814. This was the Evangelical Tract Society, formed in 1811 in Boston. Thomas Baldwin, pastor of Second Church in Boston, and for eight years president of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, was the first president of this society. Seven of the eight persons who made up its first "officers and board of management" were Baptists.

As American Baptists stood on the threshold of a new era in their denominational life they could look back upon outstanding progress through the years. From some twenty churches existing in 1707 the number had risen to about twenty-five hundred. Most of these churches associated together for mutual aid and fellowship in the district associations, whose number stood at one hundred thirteen. Numerous societies claimed the attention of individual Baptists in educational and missionary endeavors. The call of foreign missions was to challenge all Baptists to a project which no single group of them would be able to accomplish alone.

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[98]Rogers, et al., loc. cit.

CHAPTER II

THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION: FORMATIVE YEARS, 1814-1825

Support of an Asiatic mission was virtually thrust upon the Baptists of America. It is to their credit that they responded to the appeals of their brethren both at home and abroad. This chapter will explore the manner of that response.

The actual formation of the Triennial Convention in Philadelphia in May, 1814, is considered first. Missionary expansion from 1814-1825 is then surveyed. The need for classical and theological education under Baptist auspices was clearly recognized by some of the prominent leaders of the denomination. The concern of the Convention in the field of education is the final consideration of the chapter.

I. THE FORMATION OF THE CONVENTION

It is not possible to point to one event and say: "This is the origin of American Baptist interest in a foreign mission." American concern for the Serampore mission has been noted already. Receipts of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1806 credited the American Baptists with $2,000.[1]

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[1]Albert L. Vail, The Morning Hour of American Baptist Missions (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1907), pp. 238 ff., attempts to determine American Baptist gifts to foreign missions prior to 1814.

Some funds may have gone directly to India through the appeal of individual missionaries. Increasing Baptist concern for domestic missions would surely have raised the question of expansion beyond the homeland, just as the constitutions of some of the early societies anticipated.

But while it is not possible to explain the interest of Baptists by one event, it is possible to point to an event which immediately occasioned response from Baptists in the United States. It is necessary to speak of that event; of reaction to it in America, culminating in the call for a convention to meet in May, 1814; of the convention session itself; and, finally, of the constitution of the newly formed Triennial Convention.

Preparation abroad: conversion of Judson and Rice. On June 28, 1810, four young students from Andover Seminary presented a memorial to the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, convened at Bradford. The four students were Adoniram Judson, Jr., Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel J. Mills, and Samuel Newell. The subject of the memorial was the feasibility of undertaking a mission to the heathen. A committee of three persons studied the memorial and recommended the formation of a foreign missionary board. So came into existence the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first organization of its kind to be formed in

the United States.[2]

It was not until its second annual meeting in September, 1811, that the American Board actually appointed its first missionaries. At that meeting it was recommended that the men be retained "in reliance on the divine favor as it should be expressed in generous giving by the Christian public to provide their support."[3] On February 6, 1812, five missionary appointees were ordained at Tabernacle Church, in Salem, Massachusetts.[4]

That same evening Rice, Nott, and Hall left for Philadelphia, and boarded the ship Harmony, which set sail for Calcutta on February 24. Judson, Newell, and their new brides, left Salem aboard the Caravan on February 19. The Caravan arrived at Calcutta, June 17, 1812. The Harmony did not reach its final destination until August 8, 1812.

During the voyage both Judson and Rice studied anew the subject of Christian baptism, perhaps in anticipation of

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[2]William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board, An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), pp. 3 ff.

[3]Ibid., p. 11. Judson had obtained commissions from the London Missionary Society for himself and his friends in case they should not be appointed by the American Board. The men appointed were Judson, Newell, Nott, and Gordon Hall.

[4]Luther Rice was added to the list of appointees on January 30, 1812, with the express condition that he provide for his own outfit and passage.

a defense of their position in the presence of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore.[5] The result of their studies was a change of sentiment with respect to the proper subject and the proper mode of baptism. The Judsons were baptized on September 6, 1812, by William Ward. Rice was baptized by Ward on November 1, 1812. "'What the Lord means," wrote Hall and Nott, 'by thus dividing us in sentiment and separating us from each other, we cannot tell.'"[6]

Joshua Marshman, one of the Serampore Trio, knew the answer to this indirect question of the Congregational missionaries. On September 1, 1812, he wrote Thomas Baldwin, of Boston, in regard to Judson:

> This change . . . , seems to point out something relative to the duty of our Baptist brethren with you, as it relates to the cause of Missionaries. It can scarcely be expected that the Board of Commissioners will support a Baptist missionary, . . . and it is certain that the young man ought not to be left to perish from want, merely because he loved the truth more than father or mother; nor be compelled to give up missionary work, for want of support therein: Now, though we should certainly interfere to prevent a circumstance like this happening, . . . it seems as though Providence itself were raising up this young man, that you might at least partake of the zeal of our Congregational missionary

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[5]The fullest accounts of the examination of the subject of baptism are found in the letters of Mrs. Judson to her friends. Rice wrote Thomas Baldwin under the date of October 23, 1812, expressing his change in sentiment. Extracts of letters relative to both Rice and Judson are found in The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, III (March, 1813), 266-70; III (May, 1813), 293-96.

[6]Strong, op. cit., p. 19.

> brethren around you. I would wish then that you would share in the glorious work, by supporting him.[7]

Preparation at home. --Letters telling of Judson's change to the Baptist position reached Boston in January, 1813. Daniel Sharp, pastor of Third Church, Boston, favored immediate organization. Thomas Baldwin objected, wanting to consult pastors in New York and Philadelphia before taking any definite action. Communications with the latter cities did not prove favorable to immediate joint action.[8] On February 8, 1813, in the home of Dr. Baldwin, the Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel in India and Other Foreign Parts was organized. Article twelve of its constitution read:

> Should Societies be formed in other places, having the same objects in view, the Board will appoint one or more persons to unite with Delegates from such other Societies in forming a General Committee [underscore in original], in order more effectually to accomplish the important objects contemplated by this Institution.[9]

The original preference of the founders of this new society was that Judson be under the direction of the English society, but supported by the Americans. This is unmistakable in a letter from Daniel Sharp, secretary of the society in

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[7]Letter in The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, III (March, 1813), 269, 270.

[8]Vail, op. cit., pp. 451 ff.

[9]Constitution in The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, III (March, 1813), 284-86.

Boston, to Andrew Fuller, secretary of the English society.[10] With the arrival of more correspondence from India, it was clear that both Judson and Carey preferred a separate mission.[11] The Boston society renewed correspondence with New York, searching out the possibilities of combined action.

On March 15, 1813, Luther Rice sailed for America, leaving his companions on the Isle of France (Mauritius). He was returning to determine his relationship with the Board of Commissioners, and to appeal to the Baptists should the American Board sever its relation with him and Judson. Landing in New York on September 7, 1813, he proceeded to Boston, arriving on the eve of the scheduled meeting of the American Board. Upon hearing that the Board considered its relation with the missionaries dissolved upon receipt of their letters from Calcutta, he was at liberty to turn to the Baptists.[12]

It was apparently Rice who first suggested a meeting

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[10]An extract of this letter is found in Vail, op. cit., pp. 269, 270.

[11]Letters from Judson to Baldwin, and from Carey to William Staughton are found in The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, III (May, 1813), 291-93; III (September, 1813), 321, 322. The letter from Judson contained news of Luther Rice's change of sentiment in regard to baptism.

[12]James B. Taylor, Memoir of Rev. Luther Rice, One of the First American Missionaries to the East (Baltimore: Armstrong and Berry, 1840), pp. 125 ff.

of delegates at some central location to determine the action of American Baptists in regard to a foreign mission.[13] It was decided that he should visit the churches in order to elicit their response. Leaving Boston on September 29, he traveled to New York; Philadelphia, in time to attend the meeting of the Association; Baltimore; Washington; Richmond; Charleston, where he attended the Charleston Association; and Savannah. Returning by a slightly different route, and spending more time at his stops, he reached Philadelphia in time for the meeting in May, 1814.[14] When Rice arrived in New York in 1813 there were four Baptist societies organized for the support of the new mission. Less than a year later a committee appointed to inquire into the prospects of the Baptist foreign mission societies reported ". . . not fewer than seventeen societies . . . already in operation."[15]

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[13]Baldwin, Bolles, Staughton all suggest that this proposal came from Rice, and indicate that he also proposed the time and place of meeting. Letters from Bolles and Staughton are in Taylor, op. cit., pp. 143 ff. Baldwin's statement is in The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, III (December, 1813), 354.

[14]After meeting with the Philadelphia Association, October 5-7, Rice hastened through Virginia and North Carolina in time to be present at the Charleston Association, November 6, 1813. He stayed in South Carolina and Georgia through January, 1814. By February 10 he was in Raleigh, North Carolina; February 20, in Petersburg, Virginia; March 3, in Fredericksburg, Virginia. After spending several days in Washington, D. C., he journeyed on to Baltimore, Wilmington, and finally to Philadelphia.

[15]Proceedings, 1814, p. 34.

The meeting in Philadelphia. The date finally agreed upon for the meeting which Rice had proposed was May 18, 1814. The place was Philadelphia. At the appointed hour the delegates assembled in the meeting house of First Baptist Church. Richard Furman[16] was called to the chair, and opened the session with prayer. Thomas Baldwin[17] was requested to act as secretary for the group. Thirty-three delegates were present from eleven states and the District of Columbia.[18] The first act of the body was to appoint a "meeting of solemn prayer . . . to implore the direction and blessing of the Holy Spirit, on our measures."[19]

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[16]Richard Furman (1755-1825) was pastor of First Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina. He was much in sympathy with the English Baptist missionary movement and was a leader in the mission activity of the Charleston Association. He was, possibly, the foremost Baptist in the United States in 1814. An orator and parliamentarian of the first rank, it was quite natural that he should be chosen to preside at this first meeting. Cf. Vail, op. cit., pp. 311-17, for a fuller sketch of his life and influence.

[17]Thomas Baldwin (1753-1825) became pastor of Second Baptist Church, Boston, in 1790. He was probably the most prolific American Baptist author in 1814. On boards of management of many benevolent and charitable societies, he was also chief editor of The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine.

[18]Thirty-six persons were enrolled as delegates, three of whom were absent. It is difficult to determine how many of these came with credentials and/or instructions from mission societies. Richard Furman and Matthias Tallmadge were accredited by the Special Committee of the General Committee of Charleston Association. Baldwin represented the Boston society; Belles, the Salem Bible Translation Society.

[19]Proceedings, 1814, p. 7.

After what the Proceedings terms "free discussion," a committee of fifteen persons was chosen to prepare and report a plan for organization. Furman, Baldwin, and William Staughton[20] were requested to prepare an address on foreign missions "and the general interests of the Baptist denomination,"[21] to be circulated among the churches. A committee composed of Henry Holcombe,[22] Stephen Gano,[23] and Luther Rice was appointed to collect and report in regard to present missionary exertions and the prospects for the future.

Both the morning and afternoon sessions on Thursday, May 19, were given to consideration of a "plan of concert," as the minutes of the meeting call the attempt to formulate a constitution. Twice the delegates went into a Committee of the Whole, and twice they failed to reach any agreement

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[20]William Staughton (1770-1829) was born in Coventry, England, attended Bristol College, and was the youngest man present at the organization of the Baptist Missionary Society, October 2, 1792. Coming to South Carolina in response to a plea from Richard Furman, he moved from there to New York, then to New Jersey. In 1806 he became pastor of First Church, Philadelphia. In 1814 he was pastor of the Sansom Street Church in Philadelphia.

[21]Proceedings, loc. cit.

[22]Henry Holcombe (1762-1824) had been pastor of churches in South Carolina and Georgia before accepting the call to First Church, Philadelphia, in 1812.

[23]Stephen Gano (1762-1828), the son of his more famous father, John Gano, was pastor of First Church in Providence, Rhode Island.

on a plan of organization. Finally, the committee of fifteen asked that their plan be dispensed with, and that a new committee be named to draft another plan. Furman, Baldwin, Gano, Robert B. Semple, and William White were named on this new committee.[24]

The sessions on Friday, May 20, and Saturday, May 21, were given over to the reading and adoption of a plan of organization. The last item for Saturday read:

> Agreed, that the members, in their individual capacity, furnish Rev. Mr. Rice with the names of Persons whom they conceive most eligible for members of the board of Commissioners, with a view to assist the Convention in the choice about to be made.[25]

The Convention was then adjourned until Monday, May 23.

After caring for the printing and distribution of the Constitution, opening sermon, and minutes of the Convention; and after making arrangements for a sermon and collection for missions on the opening evening of the next meeting, the

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[24]It is unfortunate that no specific information has been preserved with regard to the difficulties of the first committee appointed to prepare a plan of concert. This committee was certainly too large to work effectively. The smaller committee represented the views of the different sections of the country as did the larger one. Of the new names on this second committee, Robert B. Semple (1769-1831) was pastor of a church in Bruington, Virginia. He was the President of the Convention from 1820 until his death. William White (1768-1843) was pastor of Second Church, Philadelphia. He was also the center of personal animosity between Holcombe and Staughton.

[25]Proceedings, 1814, p. 9.

Convention proceeded to the election of twenty-one members of the Board.of Commissioners.[26] On Tuesday five gentlemen were elected honorary members of the Convention. The Convention recommended a recent publication of one of Dr. Gill's works, and requested Mr. Rice to thank a certain Mr. Waldo of South Carolina for his "lively sense of benevolence."[27] The meeting was dissolved, after an address by the President, to convene again on the first Wednesday in May, 1817.

The Constitution of the Convention. The Constitution styled this newly organized Baptist body "The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America, for Foreign Missions."[28] Provision was made for holding meetings triennially, consisting of not more than two delegates from

> . . . each of the several Missionary Societies, and other religious bodies of the Baptist Denomination . . . which shall each, regularly contribute to the general

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[26]This group was generally referred to as the "Baptist Board of Foreign Missions," or simply "Baptist Board." Of the members elected to the Board seven were from Pennsylvania; two each from Massachusetts and New York; and one each from Georgia, New Jersey, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, and District of Columbia.

[27]Proceedings, 1814, p. 11.

[28]Ibid., p. 3. In 1820 the title read: "The General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions, and other important objects relating to the Redeemer's Kingdom." This remained the official name until 1845.

Missionary Fund, a sum, amounting, at least, to one hundred Dollars, per annum.[29]

A Board of twenty-one Commissioners was to be appointed triennially by the Convention, empowered to employ missionaries, and to see to their qualifications; to determine fields of labor and compensation; to superintend the conduct of the missionaries, and dismiss them if their services were not acceptable.[30]

The duties of the Board also included the publication of its transactions, publication of an annual "Address" to the public, and the calling of a special meeting of the Convention on any extraordinary occasion.

The Constitution proceeded then to the qualifications

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[29]Proceedings, 1814, p. 3. In 1823 the Constitution allowed an additional representative for each additional one hundred dollars contributed annually. By-Laws adopted in 1832 made "individuals" meeting the membership requirement entitled to a vote in the deliberations of the Convention. A change in By-Laws in 1844 made one thousand dollars annually the basis of representation for large societies gathering contributions from different sections of the country. A limit of five delegates was placed on all bodies represented at any meeting of the Convention.

[30]The number of members of the Board steadily rose until there were sixty-seven members in 1844. Stated meetings of the Board were held quarterly, with an annual meeting in April of each year. For purposes of efficiency Standing Committees were named for the areas about Boston, New York, the South, and the West. In 1841 the Board was instructed to name fifteen of its members residing in the vicinity of Boston to be the Acting Board. All business between sessions of the Convention was to be directed to this Acting Board.

of missionaries and to the officers of the Board, with their respective duties. Article Twelve provided for the election of "honorary members of piety and distinguished liberality," who are entitled to join in the deliberations of the Board or Convention, but not to cast a vote. Article Thirteen provided for vote by proxy. Alteration of the Constitution was permitted by a two-thirds vote of delegates present at any particular meeting of the Convention.

II. MISSIONARY EXPANSION, 1814-1825

The original Constitution of the Triennial Convention defined that body as a "General Missionary Convention . . . for Foreign Missions."[31] One of the first acts of the newly organized "Baptist Board for Foreign Missions" was to appoint Luther Rice their missionary. Despite his desire to turn to some foreign field he spent nine years in the service of the Board. From 1823-1826 he was Agent of the Convention. His original appointment was

> . . . with a view to excite the public mind more generally, to engage in Missionary exertions: and to assist in originating Societies, or Institutions, for carrying the Missionary design into execution.[32]

It is largely to Rice that credit must be given for making

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[31] Supra, p. 44.

[32] Proceedings, 1814, p. 13.

American Baptists aware of their missionary activity and of their responsibility for its support.[33]

The Burman mission. When Judson was appointed a missionary in 1814 the Board asked that he continue to labor in places which appear most promising to him, and that he communicate to them his views on a permanent site.[34] It was not then known that he had been in Rangoon, Burma, ten months, and was living in a mission house largely abandoned by English missionaries. On April 11, 1815, the Board accepted George H. Hough, a printer, for missionary service. He was to join Judson at Rangoon as soon as possible.[35]

By 1825 four other missionaries, with their families, had arrived to assist the work of Judson and Hough. Edward W. Wheelock and James Colman, appointed in May, 1817, reached Rangoon on September 19, 1818.[36] Jonathan D. Price,

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[33]An indication of Rice's annual labors may be seen in his letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the Board, June 19, 1816. During the period from May 11, 1815, to June 19, 1816, he attended seventeen associational meetings in the states of New York, Kentucky, and Virginia; was present at the meetings of eight different missionary societies, and helped to establish four others; and collected a total of $4,004.83 for missionary purposes.

[34]Proceedings, loc. cit.

[35]Annual Report, 1815, p. 11. Hough arrived at Rangoon on October 15, 1816, bringing with him a printing press--the gift of the Serampore mission.

[36]Letter from Judson and Hough to William Staughton, in The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, I (September, 1817), 182, 183.

a physician, joined the mission December 13, 1821.[37] Jonathan Wade arrived on December 5, 1823.[38] Judson baptized the first Burman convert on June 27, 1819. Three years later the number of baptized had reached eighteen.[39]

But the Burman mission endured much tribulation during these early years. The actual existence of the mission was illegal as far as the king of the Burmans was concerned.[40] The government was especially wary of the use of a printing press. George Hough deserted the mission in a critical hour. Wheelock died less than a year after his arrival. Colman opened a new station at Chittagong in 1820, but he only lived to work there two years. Price, whose medical skill had attracted the notice of the king, moved to Ava in 1822. Finally, both Judson and Price were imprisoned during the Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826); Hough, who had returned to Rangoon, and Wade barely escaped death at the hands of the

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[37]Letter from Price to Baldwin, in The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, III (May, 1822), 348, 349.

[38]Letter from Wade to Francis Wayland, Jr., in The American Baptist Magazine, V (January, 1825), 19, 20.

[39]"Address . . ." of the Convention in 1823, in The Latter Day Luminary, IV (June, 1823), 162.

[40]Judson was refused liberty to propagate his views in January, 1820.

Burmans.[41]

The African mission. Rice reported the following information to the Baptist Board in 1816:

> The people of colour in Richmond have also manifested a disposition to assist in Missionary efforts; but they wish the funds of their Society to be appropriated particularly to an African Mission. Could this be the case, it is thought they would do something handsome [underscores not in original].[42]

The leading figure among these colored folk in Richmond, Virginia, was Lott Carey. He had purchased freedom for himself and his family in 1813. Two years later he had been instrumental in the founding of the African Missionary Society of Richmond.[43]

It was through the efforts of Obadiah Brown, pastor of First Baptist Church in Washington, D. C., and William Crane, a Richmond merchant, that the Board accepted Carey and Collin Teague as their missionaries. Brown suggested that they be sent in connection with the work of the American Colonization Society.[44] Carey and Teague sailed from Norfolk

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[41]Robert G. Torbet, Venture of Faith (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1955), pp. 31 ff., gives a brief account of the early years of struggle in Burma.

[42]Annual Report, 1816, p. 74.

[43]Torbet, op. cit., p. 81.

[44]Annual Report, 1819, in The Latter Day Luminary, I (May, 1819), 400-403.

on January 23, 1821, and arrived at Freetown on March 7, 1821.[45]

In 1823 Teague left the colony in Africa. C. M. Waring, who had received approval of the Board as early as 1820, joined the mission station in 1824. A church had been built, a school established, and nine converts baptized by the latter date. Carey was relied upon to serve as mediator on the one hand between the colonists and the governor, and, on the other, between the colony and the savage tribes about them.[46]

Domestic missions. In its "Address" in 1817 the Board suggested a change in the Constitution designed to include home missions within the scope of the Convention's work. In accordance with this suggestion of its Board the Convention unanimously adopted the following amendment:

> That the Board shall have power, at their discretion, to appropriate a portion of their funds to domestic missionary purposes, in such parts of this country where the seed of the Word may be advantageously cast, and which mission societies, on a small scale, do not effectively reach.[47]

At the meeting of the Board following the Convention session

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[45] Annual Report, 1821, in The Latter Day Luminary, II (May, 1821), 399, 400.

[46] Annual Report, 1824, in The Latter Day Luminary, V (June, 1824), 171, 172; Torbet, op. cit., p. 82.

[47] Proceedings, 1817, p. 139.

John Mason Peck, James E. Welch, and James A. Ranaldson were employed as missionaries.[48]

The instructions to Peck and Welch requested that they commence their missionary labors in St. Louis or its vicinity. There they were to establish schools and gather a church, or churches, from the settlers in the region. However, it is perfectly clear that the major interest of the Board was in the Indian tribes. These were to engage the "peculiar zeal" of the missionaries.[49]

During the interval between the first and second triennial meetings of the Convention the Board employed nine persons for domestic missions. In addition to Peck at St. Louis, Welch at St. Charles, and Ranaldson at New Orleans, these included: Samuel Eastman, in the vicinity of Natchez,

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[48]John Mason Peck was pastor at Amenia, Dutchess County, New York, when he met Luther Rice in the summer of 1815. Early in 1816 he wrote William Staughton about the possibility of furthering his education in Philadelphia, with a view to receiving appointment from the Baptist Board. He had been studying with Staughton the greater part of one year when he was appointed.

Rice had met Welch during his tour through Kentucky in 1815. Welch had also been studying with Staughton for about one year when he was appointed by the Board.

Ranaldson had attended the Convention in 1814 as a delegate from North Carolina. He had the recommendation of W. B. Johnson for missionary service. Cf. Annual Report, 1816, pp. 69, 73; Annual Report, 1817, p. 141.

[49]The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, I (September, 1817), 189-91.

Mississippi; Humphrey Posey and Thomas Dawson, among the Cherokee Indians in North Carolina; Isaac McCoy, among the Miamis and Kickapoos in Indiana and Illinois; Henry George, among the Wyandott and Sandusky Indians of Ohio; and Starke Dupuy, among the Choctaws.[50]

In 1820 the Convention recommended that the mission stations at St. Louis and St. Charles be discontinued. At a meeting of the Board on May 6, 1820, Peck was requested to join McCoy at the Illinois station. It was hoped that Welch might be "rendered useful."[51] In consequence of certain complaints about the administration of mission stations a "system of rules" was adopted by the Board. These rules concerned compensation, premises, the abandoning of mission stations, and the management of schools.[52] The following year a new system of domestic missions was adopted, whereby domestic missionaries were, in fact, itinerating agents of

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[50]The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXVI (July, 1846), 236-40, lists all missionaries employed by the Convention, with date of appointment and length of service.

[51]Peck reported that he had rented a farm near St. Louis, and was obliged to stay there for at least a year. In 1822 he was appointed by the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. Welch moved to Burlington, New Jersey, and later became Agent of the American Sunday School Union.

[52]Annual Report, 1820, in The Latter Day Luminary, II (May, 1820), 133, 134.

the Board.[53]

Between 1820 and 1825 domestic missions, and particularly Indian missions,[54] continued to receive great concern from the Convention and the Board. No less than thirty-six persons were employed for domestic missions during this five year period. During the same period only one missionary sailed for Burma and one for Africa. Itinerating missionaries seldom served more than a few months.

III. EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVOR

At the organization of the Convention in 1814 a committee composed of Richard Furman, Thomas Baldwin, and William Staughton was directed to prepare "an address on the subject of foreign missions and the general interests of the Baptist denomination, to be circulated among the constituents of this Convention and throughout the Union."[55] This address was printed in the Proceedings of the Convention.

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[53] Annual Report, 1821, in The Latter Day Luminary, II (May, 1821), 385, 386. Peck indicated that this system of itinerating missionaries was favored by several members of the Board in 1817. Cf. his account of the meeting of the Board in 1817 in Rufus Babcock, Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D. (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1864), pp. 67, 68.

[54] By action of the Convention in 1820 all missions within the territorial limits of the United States were to be considered domestic missions.

[55] Supra, p. 42.

The closing paragraph of this "Address" directed the attention of those concerned for foreign missions to another concern, that of education--"the improvement of the minds of pious youth who are called to the gospel ministry."[56] The document reminded the readers of the general increase in knowledge on the part of society and of the necessity that the minister increase his knowledge in equal proportion. It directed their attention to what other denominations were doing for the instruction of their youth. Then, after carefully stating that liberal education is no indispensable qualification for ministerial service, it recommended help for youth

> . . . by the origination of education Societies, and if possible, by a general theological seminary, where some at least, may attain all the advantage, which learning and mature studies can afford, to qualify for acting the part of Men who are set for the defence of the gospel.[57]

Education came to have a place of great importance--undue importance, as some thought--in the early years of the Convention. Here it is necessary to relate the fortunes of Columbian College under the direction of the Triennial Convention. This is preceded by a discussion of theological education among Baptists prior to 1818.

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[56]Proceedings, 1814, p. 42.

[57]Ibid.

Theological education prior to 1818. The first Baptist educational institution in the United States aimed at offering theological training was Hopewell Academy, in Hopewell, New Jersey. In 1756 the Philadelphia Association took the following action in relation to it:

> Concluded, to raise a sum of money towards the encouragement of a Latin Grammar School for the promotion of learning amongst us, under the care of Brother Isaac Eaton, and the inspection of our brethren Abel Morgan, Isaac Stelle, Abel Griffith, and Peter Peterson Vanhorn.[58]

Eaton, who had been pastor at Hopewell Church since 1748, opened the academy in 1756. According to Dean H. Ashton the roster of Eaton's pupils read like a catalogue of the most prominent men of the denomination from 1760 to 1810.[59] Among the better known names were those of James Manning, Hezekiah Smith, and Samuel Jones.

In the same year the Philadelphia Association concluded to raise a sum towards the encouragement of Eaton's school, the Charleston Association considered "the expediency of raising a fund to furnish suitable candidates for the ministry . . . and it was recommended to the churches

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[58] A. D. Gillette (ed.), Minutes of the Philadelphia Association from A. D. 1707 to A. D. 1807; Being the First One Hundred Years of Its Existence (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1851), p. 74.

[59] Dean H. Ashton, "Isaac Eaton--Neglected Baptist Educator," The Chronicle, XX (April, 1957), 67-79, gives a brief account of Eaton's work at Hopewell.

generally to collect money for the purpose."[60] Among the students who benefited from this fund in the early years were Edmund Botsford and Samuel Stillman.

In 1762 Morgan Edwards was Moderator of the Philadelphia Association. He intimated that he was "laughed at as a projector of a thing impracticable" when he suggested the founding of a Baptist college.[61] Nevertheless, some Baptist leaders were interested in the suggestion. James Manning, a recent graduate of the College of New Jersey, was chosen to visit Rhode Island and explore the possibilities of founding a college there. Manning arrived in Newport in July, 1763. A plan for a college was laid before the General Assembly in August of the same year. A charter was granted in 1764, and signed by the governor and secretary in 1765. Thus came into existence Rhode Island College, the first college under Baptist control in the United States.[62]

Academies similar to the one at Hopewell were operated

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[60]Wood Furman, A History of the Charleston Association of Baptist Churches in the State of South-Carolina (Charleston: J. Hoff, Printer, 1811), p. 11.

[61]Quoted in W. C. Bronson, The History of Brown University, 1764-1914 (Providence: Published by the University, 1914), p. 8. Nothing occurs in the Philadelphia Association Minutes in relation to the college before 1764.

[62]Ibid., pp. 8 ff. The name of the college was changed to Brown University in 1804 in honor of one of its greatest benefactors, Nicholas Brown.

by other Baptist pastors. Samuel Jones opened a school at Lower Dublin, Pennsylvania, in 1766. William Williams is supposed to have had some two hundred students under his care at Wrentham, Massachusetts. Burgess Allison established a classical boarding school at Bordentown, New Jersey, in 1778. As early as 1789 the Philadelphia Association created a fund for the education of young men preparing for the gospel ministry. The Charleston and the Warren Associations did the same in 1791 and 1793 respectively.[63]

There is no way to tell how many candidates for the ministry studied divinity with learned pastors. Several are known to have studied with Samuel Stillman of Boston; others with Thomas Baldwin of the same city. John Stanford of New York and William Staughton of Philadelphia read divinity with young theological students. Jeremiah Chaplin, who had studied with Baldwin, had several students under his care at Danvers, Massachusetts.[64]

Baptist education societies began to appear in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Baptist Education Society of the Middle States was formed in 1812. In Massachusetts an education society was formed at the meeting of

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[63]Alvah Hovey, "In Theological Education," The Baptists and the National Centenary. A Record of Christian Work. 1776-1876, Lemuel Moss, editor (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1876), pp. 127, 128.

[64]Ibid., pp. 129, 130.

Boston Association on September 22, 1814. Two years later Warren Association formed a similar society. By 1819 there were at least seven major education societies among the Baptists.

Baptists in Maine commenced a literary and theological institution at Waterville in 1817. The school flourished for a time under the able care of Jeremiah Chaplin. When a charter was secured from the state in 1820, the school chose to attempt the work of a literary institution only. Waterville and Brown were the two Baptist colleges in existence when the Board of the Convention opened a theological institution in 1818.[65]

Columbian College. On May 12, 1817, the following amendment to the Constitution of the Triennial Convention was adopted:

> That when competent and distinct funds shall have been received for the purpose, the Board, from these, without resorting at all to the mission funds, shall proceed to institute a Classical and Theological Seminary, for the purpose of aiding pious young men, who, in the judgment of the churches of which they are members, and of the Board, possess gifts and graces suited to the Gospel ministry.[66]

Richard Furman, President of the Convention, delivered a

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[65] Ibid., p. 131. The school at Waterville is the present Colby College.

[66] Proceedings, 1817, p. 139.

long address advocating the need of a well-informed ministry and proposing a plan for obtaining the same, which address was referred to the Board.[67] When the Board met at the close of the Convention session it took the following action with regard to a theological institution:

> Resolved, That the Board are impressed with the importance of the subject, and will cheerfully adopt measures, as opportunity shall serve, particularly by endeavoring to diffuse information themselves on the subject, by their Agent, and Missionaries, and otherwise to bring it to full effect.[68]

At a quarterly meeting of the Board in June, 1817, a committee was appointed to consider the plan offered by Dr. Furman and to report upon the same. This committee approved highly of the plan, but warned that ample funds were needed before any comprehensive measures could be taken. In July, 1817, a communication was received from the Baptist Education Society of the Middle States expressing its willingness to co-operate with the Board in the business of education. The society offered to pay the salary of one professor for at least one year. At the annual meeting of the Board in 1818 other societies were invited to share in the contemplated work, the Agent was instructed to encourage the formation of

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[67] Furman's plan, which was adopted in large measure by the Board, is printed in The Latter Day Luminary, II (February, 1820), 22-24.

[68] Proceedings, 1817, p. 140.

education societies, and a committee of five persons was appointed to carry the interests of the Board into full effect. Dr. Staughton was asked to be Principal of the proposed institution; Irah Chase, Professor of Languages and Biblical Literature.[69]

In August, 1818, the Board determined to take further measures toward organization of the institution. Agents were appointed to solicit the aid of churches and associations. The plan for the institution called for two levels of education. Those who had received a collegiate or liberal education were to enter upon a two year theological course, embracing biblical literature, divinity, ecclesiastical history, and rhetoric. Less educated students were to take a two year preparatory course designed to acquaint them with grammar, arithmetic, Latin, and Greek. Instruction commenced in the autumn of 1818 in Philadelphia.[70]

When the Convention met in 1820 a committee was named to determine a permanent site for the school.[71] The Board

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[69] Annual Report, 1818, pp. 198 ff.; Hovey, op. cit., pp. 131, 132.

[70] An account of the August meeting of the Board is found in The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, I (November, 1818), 452-58; cf. Henry J. Ripley, "Missions in Their Relation to Educational Institutions," The Missionary Jubilee, J. N. Murdock, editor (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1869), p. 336.

[71] Proceedings, 1820, in The Latter Day Luminary, II (May, 1820), 127, 128. In 1819 Luther Rice, Obadiah Brown,

was requested to remove the institution as soon as expedient and to take measures to give legal title to the premises in Washington. Application was made for a charter, which was granted on February 9, 1821, incorporating "The Columbian College in the District of Columbia."[72] The charter granted full powers to create faculties in law, divinity, and medicine, as well as the ordinary branches of collegiate study. The Trustees, after consultation with the Board, accepted the charter and passed a resolution to divide the institution into classical and theological departments.[73]

As far as the charter would allow the Trustees tried to secure the management of the college by the Baptist denomination. Provision was made that contributors, qualified to vote for trustees be

> . . . representatives of associated bodies, contributing to the funds of the said College; that is to say, any Society, Church, Association, or other religious body

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Enoch Reynolds, and S. H. Cone opened subscriptions for a lot in the city of Washington. When the Convention met the following year it found the lot purchased and the construction of a building already begun. This lot was offered as the site for the institution, and was readily accepted by the Convention.

[72]Ripley, op. cit., pp. 336, 337, indicated that a petition was first made for the incorporation of a theological seminary. Congress was unwilling to charter such a religious institution. Application was then made, and received favorably, for the incorporation of a college.

[73]Annual Report, 1821, in The Latter Day Luminary, III (May, 1821), 381.

> of the baptist denomination that shall contribute annually, not less than fifty dollars to any of the purposes of education of said College; or not less than fifty dollars . . . to any objects of the said General Convention, designating at least five [underscore in original] dollars . . . to the College . . . may constitute one "Contributor" . . .[74]

Trustees were to be elected triennially from a list of nominations made by the Convention.

The theological department commenced on the first Wednesday in September, 1821. Eight students were admitted. The classical department began on January 9, 1822, at which time the President, three professors, and one tutor were formally inducted into office. The total number of students was thirty. The Board "highly approved" the measures adopted by the Trustees and wished the college "to continue to enjoy the patronage of the public, and to increase in reputation and usefulness."[75]

The Trustees of the college made their first report to the Convention proper in 1823. At that time the faculty consisted of ten persons.[76] The library contained some two

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[74] Ibid., p. 382.

[75] Annual Report, 1822, in The Latter Day Luminary, III (June, 1822), 169, 170.

[76] The faculty included: William Staughton, Professor of General History, Belles Lettres, Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Divinity, and Pulpit Eloquence; Irah Chase, Professor of Learned Languages, and of Biblical Literature; Alva Woods, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Ecclesiastical History, and Christian Discipline; Thomas Sewall,

thousand volumes. The total number of students was fifty-nine. Expenditures, however, had been more rapid than the influx of funds. The debt was nearly $30,000. The Convention found great satisfaction in the action of the board of Trustees, confidently expecting that the debt could be easily liquidated.[77]

In 1824 and 1825 the number of students continued to increase.[78] But the indebtedness of the institution rose also. The debt stood at $45,000 in 1824. A "bill of relief" was introduced in Congress, but it managed to gain support of the Senate only.[79] In the face of mounting debt but a growing student body the Trustees began construction of a new building in 1825. The Board of the Convention accepted the statement of the Trustees that Columbian was in a "prosperous condition," incorporating that statement into their Annual Report of 1825.[80]

Professor of Anatomy and Physiology; James M. Staughton, Professor of Chemistry and Geology; Elijah R. Craven, Professor of Botany; Rufus Babcock, William Ruggles, Samuel Wait, and Alexis Caswell, Tutors.

[77] Proceedings, 1823, in The Latter Day Luminary, IV (June, 1823), 168-71; 188, 189.

[78] Ninety-three in 1824; "nearly 150" in 1825, according to a report in The American Baptist Magazine, V (May, 1825), 157.

[79] Notice of a "Memorial" to the Senate is given in The Columbian Star, III (February 14, 1824), 27.

[80] Annual Report, 1825, in The Latter Day Luminary, VI (May, 1825), 151, 152.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF REACTION

The delegates convened at Philadelphia in May, 1814, sought to organize a plan "for eliciting, combining, and directing the Energies of the whole [underscore not in original] Denomination in one sacred effort . . ."[1] But it was soon discovered that their intended unity of effort had created division within the denomination. Those "benevolent Institutions"[2] which made possible the formation of the Triennial Convention were not shared by a sizeable minority of those who called themselves Baptists. Rather, it would be more accurate to say that the means employed to achieve these intentions were seriously questioned.

Some leaders in this reaction are considered in the first section of this chapter. A particular pattern of reaction is then observed. Finally, consideration is given to the causes of reaction, ultimately leading to schism within the denomination.

I. EARLY LEADERS IN REACTION

Luther Rice made his first tour of the churches in

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[1] *Proceedings*, 1814, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid*.

the West in the winter of 1815-1816. From his report to the Board it is apparent that he was well received. Collections for the mission totaled over $1400 in Kentucky alone.[3] Of the thirty-seven associations in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, twenty-eight acted favorably towards the Board in 1815.[4]

The first hint of reaction came in the "Address" of the Board to the Convention in 1817. This paragraph is included in that address:

> The Board cannot, they wish not to conceal from you, that in the discharge of their internal duties they have experienced much embarrassment and obstruction. Convinced of the integrity of their aims, and of the propriety and importance of the measures they have pursued and accomplished, they respectfully ask of the Convention an attentive investigation of their conduct, and an avowal of the sentiments of your body whether it deserve censure or support.[5]

The Convention made its investigation of the conduct of the Board and was of the unanimous opinion "that the Board deserves the explicit approbation and thanks of this Convention for their zealous and unremitting labours."[6]

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[3] Annual Report, 1816, p. 71.

[4] Ibid., pp. 87-89. Rice reported no unfavorable action by the associations which he had attended.

[5] Proceedings, 1817, p. 130.

[6] Ibid., p. 133. These internal difficulties to which the Board referred dealt with strife between certain members of the Board. Henry Holcombe, First Vice-President of the Board, and William Staughton, Corresponding Secretary, were

After 1819 the activities of the Baptist Board met with increasing opposition among the associations, especially those on the frontier. In order to see this reaction in its proper setting it is necessary to look at the work of three leaders in reaction--John Taylor, Daniel Parker, and Alexander Campbell.[7]

John Taylor. John Taylor (1752-1835) was born in Fauquier County, Virginia. He joined a Baptist church in 1772. After a period of itinerant preaching, he moved on to Kentucky in 1783, settling first at Gilbert's Creek. He was member or pastor of eight different churches in Kentucky,

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the chief actors. The action could only be construed as anti-missionary with regard to Holcombe's criticism of Rice and his objection to the appointment of Mrs. Charlotte White to accompany the Houghs to Burma.

This whole affair is difficult to disentangle from the personal conflict between Holcombe and Staughton, and the conduct of First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, leading to its dismissal from the Philadelphia Association in 1818. For accounts of the controversy, cf. Henry Holcombe (comp.), The Whole Truth Relative to the Controversy Betwixt the American Baptists (Philadelphia: Published by the Compiler, 1820), pp. iii ff.; Lewis Baldwin, A Candid Development of Facts, Tending to Exhibit the Real Grounds of Difference Existing Between the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Association; Also, Between the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions and Their Late Vice-Presidents: in Letters to Henry Holcombe, D.D., William Rogers, D.D. of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Daniel Dodge, Formerly of Wilmington, Delaware (Philadelphia: Printed for the Author by Anderson and Meehan, 1819), pp. iii-92.

[7]Taylor, Parker, and Campbell are considered here because of their immediate personal influence in the reaction in the western associations.

was present at the organization of Elkhorn Association in 1785, and made it his custom to attend from six to eight associational meetings yearly.[8]

Taylor first came into personal contact with Luther Rice at the meeting of the Elkhorn Association in 1815. But, according to his Thoughts on Missions, published in 1820, this was not the first knowledge he had gained of Rice and Judson. In the winter of 1812-1813 Samuel J. Mills and J. F. Schermerhorn had made a tour of the "Southwest" under the patronage of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Missionary Societies. During the course of their journey they spent a day and night as guests in Taylor's home. In regard to these two Taylor wrote:

> They gave me a full history of the ordination and mission of Messrs. Judson and Rice, and the mighty effect it had upon the people of New England; and particularly this good effect, that many poor ministers could scarcely get their bread before, but by stirring up the people in the mission cause, and getting them in the habit of giving their money, it was now cheerfully communicated by thousands, so that ministers who staid at home, were now richly supplied.[9]

Because of the interest Mills and Schermerhorn took in the "amount of supplies" he had received from the Baptists,

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[8]Autobiographical material on Taylor is found in his History of Ten Churches of Which the Author Has Been Alternately a Member, printed in 1823.

[9]John Taylor, Thoughts on Missions ([n.p.]: [n.n.], 1820), p. 5.

Taylor stated: "I did begin strongly to smell the New England Rat [underscore in original]."[10] Judson and Rice had been fellow students with Mills and Schermerhorn at Andover. Taylor concluded: "Their being baptized at Calcutta is no evidence of their religious or political principles being changed, only in the use of much water."[11] When Rice was invited to take William Warder's place as preacher during the meeting of Elkhorn Association in 1815 his sermon served to strengthen the opinion Taylor had previously formed about him. Taylor wrote: "He spoke some handsome things about the kingdom of Christ; but every stroke he gave seemed to mean MONEY."[12]

In addition to the love of money, Taylor saw in the new missionary scheme a desire for self-aggrandizement and power. He was especially critical of Peck and Welch for the kind of reports they had made to the Baptist Board. He asserted: "To read, or hear the Reports of Peck and Welch, it would seem as if the whole country was almost a blank as to religion."[13] These new missionaries completely overlooked the work already done in Illinois and Missouri, or so it

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[10] Ibid., p. 6.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., p. 9.

[13] Ibid., p. 12.

would appear from their reports. In expressing his fear of the trend the movement was taking Taylor noted: "I consider these great men are verging close on an aristocracy, with an object to sap the foundations of Baptist republican government."[14]

As for theological seminaries, he spoke contemptuously of those who begged for money to educate young men in "Dr. Stanton's [sic] Theological School, to make more missionaries."[15] He thought it an insult to beg money from Baptists in order to send them a "new race of preachers; such as they have not been used to."[16] Baptist growth in Kentucky had not been accelerated by any theological school. James Welch was cited as an example of the corrupting tendency education had on an otherwise good man.[17]

Taylor is reported to have later regretted that he published Thoughts on Missions. At any rate, the word of one so highly respected had already found lodging in the minds of many of his brethren. What had been done could not

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[14]Ibid., p. 10.

[15]Ibid., p. 16.

[16]Ibid., p. 23.

[17]It must be remembered that James E. Welch had grown up in David's Fork Church, Fayette County, Kentucky, and was probably known to Taylor through mutual interest in Elkhorn Association.

be as readily undone. The influence exerted by Taylor was to have serious consequences for the cause of Baptist unity in the missionary movement.[18]

Daniel Parker. Daniel Parker (1781-1844) was born in Culpeper County, Virginia. He moved to Georgia early in life, and there became a member of Nails Creek Church in Franklin County. This was in 1802. He was ordained in 1806 and served as pastor of churches in Tennessee until 1817. In the latter year Parker moved to southeastern Illinois, where he was soon associated with Lamotte Church, Crawford County, Illinois.[19]

In 1820 Parker published A Public Address to the Baptist Society, in which he detailed his opposition to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. In introducing his attack he made the following observations: (1) errors flowing from misled zeal and under the guise of religion are

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[18]A statement of Taylor's change of attitude towards the missionary methods comes from James E. Welch, who wrote a biographical sketch of Taylor for Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit. Welch claimed that he saw Taylor at the meeting of Long Run Association in 1830. Expressing a wish to converse with him about his Thoughts on Missions, Welch was told: "Oh, Brother James, I hope you do not doubt that I believed [underscore in original] I was telling the truth, when I wrote that thing." When pressed further Taylor said: "Oh . . . let it sleep in silence."

[19]Parker moved from Illinois to Texas in 1833, but little is known of his activity after leaving Illinois.

almost innumerable; (2) those wise and learned are the source of most errors; (3) the wisdom of the world rather than biblical authority is generally used to support such errors; and (4) when Scriptures are used they are used to suit "man's invention" and not to give the true meaning of God's word.[20]

Launching into his attack, Parker carefully outlined his procedure as follows:

> In order to be well understood, I shall undertake the subject in the following manner:
> 1. To remove the prejudices that has arose [sic] against us who oppose the mission system.
> 2. To show what we stand opposed to, and what we are willing to do.
> 3. To understand what the Baptist Board intends to do, from the face of their constitution, and prove it by their doctrine and practice.
> 4. Examine the principle [sic] evidences they introduce for its support.
> 5. Try the principle and practice of the Board in sending out preachers, by the principle and practice of Christ and his apostles.
> 6. Point out some of the particular evils that I view in the mission plan.
> 7. And lastly, take a small view of the whole.[21]

Parker insisted that two accusations made against the opponents of the mission system were false. First, they were not opposed to the spread of the gospel among the

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[20]B. H. Carroll, Jr., The Genesis of American Anti-Missionism (Louisville: Published for the Baptist Book Concern, 1902), p. 109. Since the writer had no access to Parker's work, quotations from Parker are taken from the work of Carroll.

[21]Ibid., pp. 109, 110.

heathen. "But we wish it under his [Immanuel's] direction and government, and crown him with the glory, which we believe is not the case in the mission plan."[22] In the second place, they were opposed neither to the translation of the Scriptures nor to the education of the heathen. But these ought to be done in the proper manner. A third charge leveled against the opponents of the mission system was that they held a tyrannical attitude, inasmuch as they were not reconciled to their brethren who wished to support the system. Here Parker argued that Christians were accountable to the church for how they spent their money. If it be spent on evil that is "repugnant to his gospel government," it is proper to deal with the spenders as "violators of the government of Christ."[23]

In connection with the second point in his outline Parker said:

> We stand opposed to the mission plan in every point and part where it interferes with or is connected with the ministry, either in depending on the church to give them a call, or seminaries of learning to qualify them to preach, or an established fund for the preacher to look back upon as a support, and when the Board assumes authority to appoint their fields of labor, we believe they sin in attempting a work that alone belongs to the Divine Being. . . . The object of the missionary societies in respect to the ministry we are opposed to in every point.[24]

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[22]Ibid., p. 110.

[23]Ibid., p. 111.

[24]Ibid., pp. 111, 112.

If the Bible needs to be translated and the Indians civilized these things ought to be done under the direction of the civil government, not under the cause of religion.[25]

From the constitution, doctrine, and practice of the Board it was concluded that democracy in church government was in danger. The Scripture passages which the Board used to justify its procedures could not, in Parker's opinion, be applied to societies or seminaries of learning.[26] The principle of the Board in attempting to evangelize the heathen was in direct contradiction to the Bible. Parker compared it to Sarah's zeal to give Abraham an heir, to Uzza's reaching forth the arm of flesh to steady the ark of the Lord, and to the strange fire offered by Nadab and Abihu. Missionary zeal must await a Word from the Lord.[27]

In discussing particular evils of the missionary scheme Parker raised four objections: (1) neither precept nor example for such a plan is found in the Bible; (2) the Board has "rebelled against the King of Zion, violated the government of the gospel church and forfeited their right to the union and brought distress on the church of Christ";

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[25]Ibid., pp. 112, 113.

[26]Some of these passages involved: the case of Jonah, the promise to Abraham, the great commission, and the separation of Barnabas and Saul for missionary duty.

[27]Carroll, op. cit., pp. 116-19.

(3) the money basis of representation; and (4) it appeared as the abomination spoken of by Daniel.[28] The concluding part of the pamphlet was but a recapitulation of previous arguments.

Parker fortified his opposition to the missionary scheme in 1826 when he promulgated his doctrine of the Two Seeds. A modification of ancient Manichaean dualism, it caused further distress in churches in Illinois and Indiana especially. In 1829 he began publication of The Church Advocate, a monthly paper devoted to opposition to missions.[29]

Alexander Campbell. Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) was born in Ireland and educated at the University of Glasgow. He came to America in 1809, settling at Washington, Pennsylvania. Campbell was affiliated with the Seceder Presbyterians until 1812, when he was immersed and became a member of Brush Run Church. In the following year this church joined the Redstone Baptist Association.[30]

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[28] Ibid., pp. 120, 121.

[29] Parker's major influence on anti-missionism came during his stay in Wabash District Association. The Church Advocate only survived through a couple of volumes.

[30] In 1823 Campbell organized a church at Wellsburg, West Virginia. The church united with Mahoning Association (Ohio) in 1824. Mahoning ceased to be a Baptist association in 1830. From this date begins the separate existence of the Disciples.

Campbell's chief interest was in reform; or rather, in the "restoration of the ancient order of things."[31] He had no use for creeds of any sort. With his appeal to the letter of Scripture alone as the pattern of church organization and his personal ability as a debater, he became the champion of many Baptists, especially in Kentucky.

In 1823 Campbell began publication of The Christian Baptist. Its sole object, according to the editor, was the exposure of error in doctrine and practice.[32] In 1830 The Christian Baptist was succeeded by The Millennial Harbinger, which Campbell continued to publish until his death. The errors of the missionary scheme received due consideration in the pages of these publications.

Like Taylor and Parker, Campbell did not attack missions per se. It was the means being employed in the attempt to convert the heathen which he wished to submit to careful scrutiny.[33] His attack on methods included attacks on various forms of organization which had no sanction in the New Testament.[34] One of his methods of attack was to

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[31]"Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things" is the caption under which Campbell published a series of articles on primitive Christianity, beginning with the issue of The Christian Baptist for February, 1825.

[32]In the "Prospectus" of The Christian Baptist, I (July, 1823), IV.

[33]"Preface" to The Christian Baptist, I (July, 1823), ix, x.

[34]A sampling of his attack on conventions, associations,

contrast expenses incurred with results accomplished.[35] Missionaries were accused of corruption and dishonesty. He especially decried the growing power of the clergy.[36]

Campbell contended that Christian sects must first be converted to New Testament Christianity before they could hope to convert the heathen. Sectarian missions had left the heathen in a worse condition than they were found. He insisted that it was folly to send a few individual missionaries to the heathen when the New Testament made the church, a social institution, the one agent of reform in the world.[37] If a missionary wanted to prove that he was individually

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societies, etc., may be gained from the following articles: "Missionary Societies," The Christian Baptist, I (March, 1824), 150-53; "A Circular Letter," The Christian Baptist, I (July, 1824), 229-31; "Priestly Ambition," The Christian Baptist, III (October, 1825), 233-38; "Ecclesiastical Tyranny," The Christian Baptist, IV (October, 1826), 55-63; "Associations," The Christian Baptist, V (November, 1827), 93, 94; "Baptist Associations," The Christian Baptist, VI (December, 1828), 114-16.

[35]Cf. "Missionary Report," The Christian Baptist, I (November, 1823), 77-79; "Missionary Expenditure," The Christian Baptist, V (May, 1828), 240.

[36]Cf. "The Origin of 'Christian Clergy,' Splendid Meeting Houses, and Fixed Salaries, Exhibited from Ecclesiastical History," The Christian Baptist, I (July, 1823), 20-23; "Two Hundred and Seventy-Nine Young Clergymen on the Wheel!" The Christian Baptist, I (December, 1823), 98. Campbell began a series of articles under the caption: "The Christian Religion: the Clergy," in the October, 1823, number of The Christian Baptist.

[37]"How Then Is the Gospel to Be Spread Through the World?" The Christian Baptist, I (September, 1823), 41-43.

called and sent, let him demonstrate the power of working miracles. This was the apostolic test.[38]

II. THE PATTERN OF REACTION TO 1826

Schism in Baptist ranks due to controversy over "the benevolent objects of the day" did not reach full strength before the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. However, a definite pattern of reaction, clearly aimed at objects sponsored by the Triennial Convention, had been established prior to 1826. This pattern of reaction involved the withdrawal of correspondence with the Baptist Board, which correspondence was looked upon by the Board as a chief means of communicating information to and enlisting support of the churches with regard to the missionary enterprise.

The earliest reaction came from the West.[39] Some indication of the scope of reaction may be gained by taking a state by state survey of associational action severing ties with the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.

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[38]"The Capital Mistake of Modern Missionary Schemes," The Christian Baptist, I (September, 1823), 39-41.

[39]Reaction to the missionary society arose, it is true, in the East. Individuals, and among them so staunch a Baptist as John Leland, were raising objections to the society before Taylor, Parker, or Campbell. Yet, it remains true that the first action to be taken by church or association and directed specifically at the Triennial Convention, occurred in the West, on the Frontier.

Missouri. By 1826 Baptist churches in the state of Missouri were gathered into eight district associations. In one of these, the Bethel, a definite anti-mission sentiment had gained the day. Through the efforts of John Mason Peck, Bethel Association opened correspondence with the Baptist Board in 1818. Correspondence was dropped the following year, but renewed in 1820. In 1821, however, the Association again dropped correspondence with the Board, never to renew it again.[40]

Illinois. John Mason Peck was well received when he appeared at the Illinois Association in 1818. The Minutes for that year record:

> Brother Peck presented a plan of a society to employ Missionaries, and promote common schools amongst the Whites and Indians, which we desire to see carried into effect and which we recommend to the churches.[41]

A collection was received for the Indian fund and the United Society for the Spread of the Gospel soon organized.

In 1819 Wood River Church presented two queries to the Association. The first asked if it were right to

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[40] R. S. Duncan, A History of the Baptists in Missouri (St. Louis: Scammell & Company, Publishers, 1882), pp. 57 ff.

[41] Quoted from "Minutes of the Illinois Association of Baptists, 1807-1820," in William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, the Baptists, 1783-1830: A Collection of Source Material (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), p. 550.

correspond with the Board in Philadelphia. The second asked if the United Society had any useful purpose. The Association answered both queries in the affirmative, adding, in regard to the second, that the usefulness of the United Society was in supplying destitute places with the preaching of the gospel.[42]

The following year the Illinois Association received a similar query in relation to the Baptist Board, this time from Canteen Creek Church. Item sixteen of the Minutes for that year read:

> The Query from the Canteen Creek Church is [sic] the principle[s] and practice[s] of the Baptist Board of foreign Missions in its present Operations justifiable [and] agreeable to Gospel order--answered as folls [sic]: Whereas our information respecting the mangement [sic] of the Board of foreign Missions has as yet been but small we therefore feel willing to drop the Query respecting them, and also to drop any further Correspondance [sic] with them.[43]

Indiana. Isaac McCoy became pastor of Maria Creek Church, near Vincennes, Indiana, soon after its organization in 1809. In July, 1809, delegates from Maria Creek, Bethel, Salem, Wabash, and Patoka churches met to form the Wabash District Association.[44] McCoy was named secretary to

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[42]Ibid., p. 555.

[43]Ibid., p. 561.

[44]Ben F. Keith, History of Maria Creek Church (Vincennes, Ind.: A. V. Crotts & Co., Book and Job Printers, 1889), p. 13.

correspond with the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in 1815. In 1818 the following query was brought to Wabash District Association from Little Village Church, of which Daniel Parker had recently become pastor: "Are the principles and practices of the B[aptist] B[oard] of F[oreign] M[issions] in its present operations justifiable and agreable [sic] to Gospel order?"[45] A decision on the query was postponed until the following year. At that time the Association answered: "We say that they are not agreeable to Gospel order."[46] Correspondence with the Board was dropped.

In 1820 Maria Creek Church asked the Association to point out the wickedness of the Baptist Board, so that the churches might avoid everything contrary to the mind of Christ.[47] The Association answered evasively. At the same session Patoka Church was urged to cherish "brotherly love" with regard to any members who adhered to the principles and practices of the Board.[48]

On November 18, 1820, Maria Creek Church appointed a committee to wait upon Lamotte Church, of which Parker was

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[45]Quoted in ibid., p. 32.

[46]Ibid., p. 33.

[47]Letter from Maria Creek to the Wabash District Association, in ibid., p. 34.

[48]Ibid.

now a member, to present charges against him in connection with certain statements in his recent publication: A Public Address to the Baptist Society.[49] Parker responded by bringing charges against two members of Maria Creek Church. Attempts at reconciliation proved futile. At a special meeting of Wabash District Association in June, 1822, Lamotte Church brought two charges against Maria Creek:

> 1st. She refused to receive and act on charges legally exhibited by a member of our body against two members of her body. 2d. For holding to and justifying her members in the support of the principles and practices of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, which principles, so far as connected with the ministry, we believe to be hetrodox [sic]; and we also believe the practice heterodox in every respect, while practiced under the name of the Baptist[s], and at the same time is in no legal way under the government of the Baptist Union. And we also believe that both the principles and practice are contrary to the principles of our union.[50]

The Association dismissed the charges.

At the regular meeting of the Association in October, 1822, Lamotte Church presented the same charges which had

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[49]These charges were: (1) publicly accusing his brethren of fraud, falsehood, and intrigue, without taking Gospel measures with those whom he accuses; (2) falsely claiming that the advice of Wabash District Association had been neither asked nor known in regard to the mission plan; (3) claiming, contrary to fact, that the Baptist Board believed education essential to the Gospel ministry; and (4) declaring that brethren in the missionary plans had gone astray, sinned against the King of Zion, and forfeited their right to the Baptist Union. Cf. ibid., pp. 34, 35.

[50]Ibid., p. 61.

previously been dismissed. According to the constitution of the Association the churches were to deliberate on the charges individually and report their opinions to the next session of the Association.[51] At the meeting in 1823 two churches decided that the action of Maria Creek constituted no bar to fellowship; two justified Maria Creek in her action; one church was neutral; and five voted to sustain the charges presented by Lamotte Church. Upon hearing the report of the voting Parker contended that the charges had been sustained and Maria Creek excluded from the fellowship. Delegates from Maria Creek, however, contended that the charges had not been sustained since a majority of the churches had not voted against her.[52]

A committee was appointed to consider the propriety of dividing the Association. A decision was reported in favor of division. Those churches sustaining the charges made against Maria Creek were to remain in the Wabash District Association; those supporting the missionary scheme were to

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[51]A change in the constitution of Wabash District Association took effect in 1822, whereby a query from any church was to be referred to the churches for decision, and the decision reported at the following annual meeting of the Association. Such procedure gave the defendant no chance of defense such as would be possible in an associational meeting. A vote of a majority of the churches was to settle the issue.

[52]Keith, op. cit., p. 62. Wabash District Association was composed of twelve churches in October, 1822. Maria Creek and Lamotte did not cast a vote in the contest.

form a new union. Division was consummated in September, 1824, with the formation of Union Association. This is the first instance of associational division over the mission question.

At its meeting in 1824 Wabash District Association refused correspondence with Union Association because the latter body had admitted Maria Creek Church into its fellowship. The following year correspondence was refused with Salem Association because that body corresponded with Union Association. Whereupon, White River, Blue River, and Highland Associations all dropped correspondence with Wabash District.[53]

Ohio. In Ohio the earliest reaction to the missionary program came from the southwestern section of the state. It was in this area, and particularly in Miami Association, that Elder Wilson Thompson enjoyed great prominence among the Baptists from 1816 until 1836.[54]

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[53] Ibid., pp. 64, 65. Blue River, however, dropped correspondence with the Baptist Board in 1824. Little Pigeon Association, in southwestern Indiana, submitted the question of correspondence to its churches in 1823, receiving a response unfavorable to correspondence. Tom Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln's father, was an elder in one of the churches in this connection.

[54] Wilson Thompson (1788-1866) was a native of Hillsborough, Kentucky. In 1801 he joined the church at Mouth of Licking. He moved to Missouri in 1811, uniting with Bethel Church. Here he was ordained. Requested by Isaac McCoy to

Miami Association, the oldest association north of the Ohio River, appointed John Mason to correspond with the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in 1815. A domestic missionary society was proposed by the association and soon formed within its bounds. In 1819 the following item appeared in the Minutes in answer to a request from Sugar Creek Church: "This Association advise the churches to become a board auxiliary to the Baptist Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions at Philadelphia."[55] The first intimation of any opposition occurred in 1821, when a recommendation that the churches form societies to co-operate with the Baptist General Convention was negatived. The following year the Association refused to answer a letter from Isaac McCoy, although it did request that the secretary send a letter to the Board in Philadelphia.[56]

Scioto Association began correspondence with the Baptist Board in 1814, at which time it also recommended that

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join him in his work with the Indians, Thompson was inclined at first to do so. He became satisfied, however, that the modern missionary plan was contrary to God's plan. It was while Thompson resided at Lebanon, Ohio, that he published two pamphlets opposing "Fullerism." These pamphlets, entitled Simple Truth and Triumph of Truth, were his leading literary contributions to the Old School cause.

[55]Quoted in A. H. Dunlevy, History of the Miami Baptist Association; from Its Organization in 1797 to a Division in That Body on Missions, etc., in the Year 1836 (Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard & Co., 1869), p. 62.

[56]Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

the churches contribute to the missionary funds.[57] Correspondence was continued in 1815 and 1816; collections taken for mission work in 1817 and 1819. But in 1820 this statement appeared in the Minutes, without any further explanation: "The correspondence with the board of Foreign Missions in Philadelphia to cease."[58] At the same session correspondence with Isaac McCoy was refused until the Association could receive further information about his work.

Kentucky. In 1825 Baptist churches in Kentucky were united in thirty-one associations, more than any other state in the United States.[59] Prior to 1820 at least sixteen of these associations had opened correspondence with the Baptist Board.[60] Only two associations, South Kentucky and Cumberland River, had specifically refused when first given the opportunity to correspond.

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[57] Minutes of the Scioto Baptist Association ([n.p.]: [n.n.], 1814), pp. 2,3.

[58] Minutes of the Scioto Baptist Association (Chillicothe, Ohio: Printed at the Office of the Scioto Gazette, by Bailhache and Scott, 1820), p. 5.

[59] According to J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists from 1769-1885 (revised edition; [n.p.]: Printed for the Author, 1886), II, 7 ff.

[60] According to Spencer's figures there would have been only twenty-five associations in the state in 1820. Luther Rice listed twenty-one in 1816, including the "Emancipation Association," which Spencer omitted. Rice omitted Red River, which he numbered with the associations in Tennessee. Cf. Annual Report, 1816, pp. 87, 88.

After 1820, the year John Taylor's Thoughts on Missions was published, several associations dropped all correspondence with the Board. This action had been anticipated by North District Association in 1817, and by Franklin, Taylor's home association, and Long Run Associations in 1819.

Taylor presented copies of his pamphlet to the associations he attended in 1820.[61] Licking Association was the most cordial in its reception of Taylor's work, recommending it to the careful perusal of the brethren. At the same time the Association ordered a letter from William Staughton, the Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist Board, to be laid on the table.[62] In this same year Gasper River Association also withdrew correspondence with the Board. In 1821 Red River, Little River, and Elkhorn Associations took similar action.[63]

Tennessee. Concord Association appointed a secretary to correspond with the Baptist Board in 1815. The same year

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[61]Taylor is known to have presented his pamphlet to Long Run, Elkhorn, North Bend, Licking, and Franklin Associations in Kentucky; to Silver Creek Association in Indiana.

[62]Spencer, op. cit., I, 242.

[63]Burning Springs Association dropped correspondence with the Baptist Board soon after it was commenced in 1815. A few associations appear to have taken no action at all, partly from lack of information. Boone's Creek Association was already falling under the influence of the movement of Alexander Campbell, as was Bracken Association. Salem, North Bend, and Bethel Associations appear to have had least dissension over the question of missions at this early date.

some members of the Association formed a missionary society. In 1816 it was resolved: "That the Missionary business, as laid before this Association last year, be withdrawn, and the Corresponding Secretary discontinued."[64] Luther Rice was present at the associational meeting the following year, preached a sermon, and received a collection for foreign missions. Although the Association did not maintain yearly correspondence with the Board, Elder R. C. Foster was asked on two occasions to forward copies of the associational minutes in answer to a request from the Baptist Board (1817, 1823).[65]

Georgia. Luther Rice preached at Milledgeville, Georgia, in 1816, receiving "the handsomest collection . . . since commencing the missionary career."[66] But it was in this same year that Hephzibah Association rejected a circular

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[64]John Bond, History of the Baptist Concord Association of Middle Tennessee and North Alabama (Nashville, Tenn.: Graves, Marks & Company, Printers, 1860), p. 26. Bond attributed this action to a threat from Daniel Parker to "burst" the Association if it did not cease missionary operations and drop correspondence with the Baptist Board.

[65]Ibid., pp. 26 ff. Anti-mission activity was more widespread in Tennessee than in just this one association. Few associational records for this early date have been preserved. Western District Association (1823) did not mention the Baptist Board in its earliest records. The two leading associations in eastern Tennessee, Holston and Tennessee Associations, strongly supported missions.

[66]Proceedings, 1817, p. 143.

letter because of the letter's strong missionary sentiments. Two years later the same association agreed "not to correspond with the (Baptist) Foreign Mission Society."[67] In 1825 Hephzibah Association took the position that it had no right to correspond with any society or board, and that any delegate proposing such correspondence would be considered out of order.[68]

Ebenezer Association, which Rice had visited in 1816, withdrew correspondence with the Baptist Board in 1817. This correspondence was renewed, however, in 1819. Piedmont Association voted to "take no part in the missionary plan" in 1819.[69]

A pattern of reaction had been established in the West which was to culminate in the declarations of "non-fellowship," so prominent in the 1830's, and ultimate schism, such as Wabash District Association had already anticipated. But the final breach was held off until such time that the Triennial Convention had ceased to be the primary target of the anti-missionists.

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[67] History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia: with Biographical Compendium and Portrait Gallery of Baptist Ministers and Other Georgia Ministers (Atlanta, Georgia: Jas. P. Harrison & Co., Printers and Publishers, 1881), p. 164.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., p. 166.

III. FACTORS IN REACTION

Various attempts have been made to explain the rise and progress of anti-missionism in the United States. One book has been devoted to a study of the origins of the movement.[70] Consideration must now be given to the factors involved in the anti-missions or anti-effort cause, remembering all the while that the primary concern of this chapter is anti-missionism as a direct reaction to the work of the Triennial Convention.[71]

A peculiar frontier Baptist phenomenon. This was the thesis advanced by William Warren Sweet in his study of the

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[70]This is the work of B. H. Carroll, Jr., entitled: The Genesis of American Anti-Missionism, published in 1902. So far as the author is aware this is the only book devoted solely to the study of anti-missionism. (This is true of Carroll's work in title only. His main purpose is to show the great benefits of the missionary movement.) Account is not taken here of work done by Old School historians. They, of course, would speak of the "rise of the missionary Baptists."

[71]While the development of anti-missionism had a bearing upon the Triennial Convention throughout its history, there is justification for limiting the study here. With the elimination of education and domestic missions from its sphere of operations the Triennial Convention ceased to be the primary target of the anti-missionists. The breach in churches and associations, occurring largely in the decade of the 1830's, was neither immediately nor directly occasioned by the work of the Convention. The "benevolent objects of the day," with whose proponents the anti-missionists declared non-fellowship, may have had the approbation of the Convention. They were not operations of the Convention.

Baptists in America. He found the origins of anti-missionism in objection to centralization of authority; opposition to an educated and paid ministry; jealousy; and opposition to man-made institutions, for which there was no warrant in Scripture. A doctrine was then evolved, according to Sweet, to uphold a position already accepted.[72]

Religious reaction to "hard times." While no one has sought to explain anti-missionism in these terms, some have observed that the periods of greatest growth among members of the Old School occurred in times of economic depression, or in the years immediately following national warfare.[73]

Ira D. Hudgins asked: "Is it merely a coincidence that the first faint hostility to the missionary effort rose in the early twenties when an economic depression prevailed following the panic of 1819?"[74] He then added:

> Nor is it without significance that the greatest increase in Old School numbers came around 1837 which ushered in one of America's severest depressions, which gave rise to the Millerite doctrine of the end of the world.[75]

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[72]Sweet, op. cit., pp. 67-76.

[73]Cf. Ira D. Hudgins, "The Anti-Missionary Controversy among Baptists," The Chronicle, XIV (October, 1951), 147-63; Harry L. Poe, "History of the Anti-Missionary Baptists," The Chronicle, II (April, 1939), 51-64.

[74]Hudgins, op. cit., p. 159.

[75]Ibid.

Harry L. Poe observed:

> One thing of interest in connection with the Anti-Missionary Baptists is that they appeared shortly after the War of 1812 . . . They more than doubled their membership during the three years following the Civil War. They also had an increase following the Spanish American War, and again following the World War.[76]

An expression of American freedom. Byron Cecil Lambert, in a Ph.D. dissertation written under the guidance of Sidney Mead of the University of Chicago, has recently placed anti-missionism in a larger socio-political context than other students of the movement have admitted. Lambert wrote in the Preface to his study:

> Usually thought of as a Baptist phenomenon, the movement was interdenominational; thought of as a frontier development, it can be shown to have originated in the urban East; considered simple and the work of yokels, it can be proved that it was complex, with ramifications running into the socio-political web of the times.[77]

In summing up his thesis Lambert contended that the history of anti-missionism is a combination of prophetic individualism, primitivism, and pessimism. To some extent these three emphases fall into a chronological pattern.[78]

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[76]Poe, op. cit., p. 64.

[77]Byron Cecil Lambert, "The Rise of the Anti-Mission Baptists: Sources and Leaders, 1800-1840" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1957), p. iv. Lambert's work is the best available on the subject of anti-missionism.

[78]Ibid., pp. 400-413.

Reaction aimed at the Triennial Convention was largely confined to the frontier. Taylor, Parker, and Campbell were personally involved in this reaction.[79] Domestic missions and education were the primary targets at which opponents aimed their fire. It was the "Western Board" and the "Union Society" with which the Illinois Association was concerned most.[80] It was an alleged "self-aggrandizement and power" as exhibited especially by Peck and Welch which disturbed John Taylor.[81] It was Isaac McCoy who stirred up the wrath of associations in Indiana and Ohio.

Neither Parker, Taylor, nor Campbell had any use for theological seminaries in which to train a person to be a preacher. The very idea was blasphemous to them, and no amount of insistence that they misunderstood the intentions of the Board could avail to change their opinions that men

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[79]Campbell's immediate influence is not as easily perceptible as that of Taylor and Parker. In stressing primitivism Campbell was involved in a much larger issue than Taylor or Parker. While he may have heaped ridicule upon what he considered wrong with the modern missionary schemes, it was on such matters as creeds, baptism, the celebration of the Lord's Supper that he caused division among Baptists. Theologically he was at odds with Taylor, and certainly with Parker. Yet, he must be considered among the three great leaders in western reaction due to his personal ability and popularity and to the influence of The Christian Baptist.

[80]Supra, pp. 78, 79.

[81]Supra, pp. 67 ff.

were attempting to usurp the prerogatives of God.

The wounded consciences of the weaker brethren could be salved for a time by withdrawing correspondence with the offender. Time was to come, however, when the weaker became the stronger. Division was the only answer. But before the time arrived the Triennial Convention had found a way of escape from the front lines of the battlefield.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT REVERSAL, 1826

The first twelve years of the existence of the Triennial Convention have been styled "formative years." During this period the Convention enlarged its scope of operations to include not only foreign missions, but also Indian missions, missions to the white settlers in the new West, and education. It appeared as if the Baptists in the United States were on the threshold of unity in one great national organization, embracing all the benevolent objects for which the denomination was showing increasing concern.

I. ADVOCATES OF CHANGE IN THE CONVENTION STRUCTURE

Robert Andrew Baker has suggested that in the formation of the Triennial Convention "two divergent types of thought concerning the proper method [underscore in original] of organization met in direct conflict."[1] The result of

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[1]Robert Andrew Baker, Relations Between Northern and Southern Baptists ([n.p.]: [n.n.], 1948), p. 15. Baker indicated that the title of the organization and its constituency showed influence of the associational "type," while its single objective and its monetary basis of membership suggested the societal method. For further elaboration of the associational principle, cf. Winthrop S. Hudson, "The Associational Principle among Baptists," Foundations, I, (January, 1958), 10-23.

this encounter was a compromise.

Whatever kind of compromise between the societal and associational methods of organization and co-operation may be seen in the draft of the original constitution of the Triennial Convention, the organization was clearly moving in the direction of the associational principle during the early years of its existence. Extension of interest to include domestic missions did not alter its essential character as a missionary society. But when education came within the scope of Convention operations this marked a very clear departure from the original single interest, which is the genius of the society. It remained only to complete the structure of the Convention by making its constituency truly representative of the whole denomination.[2]

Formation of state conventions. In the third decade of the nineteenth century American Baptists began organizing state conventions, or associations, based on the premise that just as the churches were knit together in district or local associations, so the associations in a particular state ought to be knit together in a state association or

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[2]An original constitutional guarantee of vote by proxy (Article XIII) was designed to secure representation for contributing societies which did not have the means to send delegates to the triennial meetings of the Convention. The question of proxy rights was contested, however, at the Convention in 1823, at which time the article was stricken from the Constitution.

convention.[3] Moreover, the Massachusetts convention made the following provision in its constitution:

> Whenever a General Convention, formed from state conventions throughout the United States [underscore not in original], shall be formed, or designed, it shall be in the power of this Convention to send Delegates to meet in such Convention, and to instruct them to enter into any arrangements to promote the interests of religion, not inconsistent with this Constitution, nor with the general declaration on which it is founded.[4]

The letters of BACKUS. In 1823-1824 The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, the organ of the Baptist Missionary Society of Massachusetts, carried a series of letters on the subject of Baptist Associations, written under the pseudonym BACKUS.[5] Having spoken in the

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[3]State conventions were organized in New York (1821), South Carolina (1821), Georgia (1822), Connecticut (1823), Virginia (1823), Alabama (1823), Massachusetts (1824), Maine (1824), Vermont (1824), Mississippi (1824), New Hampshire (1825), and Rhode Island (1825). With the exception of the organizations in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, these conventions made provision for representation from district or local associations. Four of the organizations--those of Massachusetts, South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia--limited representation to delegates appointed by the associations.

[4]"Address to the Baptist Churches on a State Convention," The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, IV (July, 1824), 374. Similar provision was made in the constitution of the New Hampshire Convention.

[5]BACKUS was Francis Wayland (1796-1865), who, at the time he wrote these letters, was pastor of First Baptist Church in Boston and an associate editor of The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer. This identification was made in Francis Wayland, H. L. Wayland, A Memoir of the Life and Labours of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D. (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1868), I, 158.

earlier letters of the various purposes of associations, their advantages and some defects, the writer spoke in the fifth letter of what he called the most serious defect of all. He wrote:

> We have the basis [underscore in original] of a system of perfect representation throughout the whole United States, and here the thing has remained for half a century at a stand. To me it resembles the foundation of a house which had been accurately planned, and judiciously located, for which the materials had been all procured, and brought to the place of building, and then the whole business suspended.[6]

BACKUS then proceeded to offer suggestions for a more perfect organization. Associations ought to send delegates to a state convention. State conventions, in turn, should form a general convention. Speaking of the existing Triennial Convention, which, in part, answered the need for a general organization, he added:

> But it is evident that the system of representation is very imperfect, and is far from being so constituted, as to combine the general sentiment [underscore not in original] of our whole church. The Convention at present is composed of delegates from missionary societies, and of course must, in its very nature, be mostly composed of persons elected from the vicinity of its place of meeting. And besides, were its meeting ever so universally attended, its foundation is radically defective [underscore not in original]. A missionary society is not a representative body, nor can any number of them speak the language of a whole denomination.[7]

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[6]"Letters on Associations," The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, IV (May, 1824), 324.

[7]Ibid., p. 327.

Suggestions by CANDIDUS. In April, 1826, the month the Convention was to meet, a communication concerning "Business Before the Baptist General Convention" appeared in The American Baptist Magazine. The communication was signed, "with esteem, I am, etc., CANDIDUS."[8]

CANDIDUS discussed some of the shortcomings of the present missionary operations of the Convention. Missions ought to be prosecuted more vigorously than had been the case, with one or two persons devoting their time exclusively to this matter.[9] The Board of Managers ought to appoint some committee with accurately defined powers and responsibilities to carry on its work between annual sessions.[10] All of the missionary concerns would be better served under the direction of one board, rather than having a committee in Boston caring for the foreign mission concerns, while the domestic operations were cared for at Washington.[11]

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[8]Winthrop S. Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," Foundations, I (April, 1958), 47, 48, has identified CANDIDUS as Luther Rice. Rice is known to have advocated such a missionary organization early in his missionary career. Cf. James B. Taylor, Memoir of Rev. Luther Rice, One of the First American Missionaries to the East (Baltimore: Armstrong and Berry, 1840), p. 142, for a statement of an early view advocated by Rice as the best method of missionary operations.

[9]"Business Before the Baptist General Convention in the United States," The American Baptist Magazine, VI (April, 1826), 115.

[10]Ibid., p. 116.

[11]Ibid.

The prospects of Columbian College looked good to CANDIDUS. He was gratified that the pecuniary concerns of the College were in so favorable a condition. New sources of income would surely offset the increasing expense of instruction. Endowment funds should be bringing in surplus money to meet debts already incurred. "With these prospects," he wrote, "under the fostering hand of the Convention we should hope that the Columbian College will soon rise to eminence among our literary institutions."[12]

The business before the Convention which concerned CANDIDUS most was the expectation that the Constitution of the organization would be altered in regard to the method of representation. He noted:

> This Corporation is formed, as is well known, by delegates from Missionary and Education Societies, who contribute to its funds. It has been doubted by some of our most judicious men, whether this was the best method of fixing the representation. . . . The funds of almost any individual society are small, and to send a delegate from a remote State would frequently exhaust its whole contributions for the year. . . .
>
> These difficulties have suggested to many of our wisest brethren, the idea of having the second article of the Constitution so altered, that all members of the General Convention shall be appointed by State Conventions. . . . To have delegates sent in this manner would be attended with many and manifest advantages. The State Convention could always bear, with trifling exertion, the expenses of its delegation, and thus a more general attendance might be expected. Those who attend would each, <u>in fact</u> [underscore in original], represent

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[12] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 118.

> the feelings of that portion of our churches by whom they were delegated. The General Convention would thus become a strong bond of connexion between all the different portions of our denomination scattered over this widely extended country, and would bind them together in, it may be hoped, indissoluble union.[13]

Winthrop Hudson, observing the preparation made for the fifth triennial meeting of the Convention in 1826, has said:

> From the published evidence, everyone seems to have expected equally expeditious action to complete the structure with a General Convention composed of representatives from the State Conventions. Actually, the proposal never came before the Convention of 1826, for the delegates who were present proceeded to dismantle the existing Convention instead.[14]

II. THE CONDUCT OF LUTHER RICE

Those who engaged in "dismantling" the Convention had three primary objectives: (1) to sever Columbian College from the Convention, (2) to retain control of missionary

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," p. 48. In addition to The American Baptist Magazine, other leading Baptist periodicals were advocating change in the structure of the Convention. Cf. "Observations on Baptist State Conventions," Christian Watchman, III (August 31, 1822), 151; "Baptist General Convention," Christian Watchman, IV (May 3, 1823), 83; "Baptist Denomination in the United States," Christian Watchman, VII (April 21, 1826), 78; "Baptist State Conventions," Columbian Star, II (September 20, 1823), 151; II (September 27, 1823), 154; "Baptist General Convention," Columbian Star, V (April 15, 1826), 58. According to Hudson The New York Baptist Register was also an early and powerful advocate of a national convention composed of delegates from the various state conventions.

operations in Boston, and (3) to offset any proposal which would seek to change the constituency of the Convention. The location of the meeting favored their cause.[15] But since the offensive had been taken by those advocating change in the Convention structure, and since this offensive appeared to be quite strong, the only way to meet it was with a counter-offensive. The strategy chosen involved a two-pronged attack. The first "prong" was to discredit Luther Rice.[16]

While it may be difficult to suppose that Christian brethren would seek deliberately to besmirch the character of one of their own, it is equally difficult to read the Proceedings of the Convention in 1826 without arriving at this conclusion with regard to the attack upon Rice. The interest in foreign missions was lagging. Funds were low. At the same time, Columbian College was plunging deeper and deeper into debt. Rice was Agent of the Convention. Yet, his services had been increasingly given to the concerns of the College only. Perhaps he had been too zealous in his efforts to see Columbian College succeed. As an Agent and a

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[15]The fifth triennial meeting of the Convention was held at Oliver Street Church in the city of New York. Seventy-two delegates were present. Of these seventy-two, twenty-two were from New York; twenty-two from New England. It was this combination of New York and New England delegates which led in "dismantling" the Convention.

[16]Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," p. 56.

missionary spokesman Rice was, indeed, popular; as an accountant, he was not impeccable.

Committee on conduct of Mr. Rice. The Constitution of the Triennial Convention, as amended in 1823, called for the election of an Agent by the Convention.[17] On the first day of the meeting in 1826, Elon Galusha, a delegate from New York, moved that the election of an Agent be postponed indefinitely.[18] Rice apparently sensed the intentions of some of the delegates. Rising to his feet, he made the following motion:

> Resolved [underscore in original], That a Committee be appointed to investigate the conduct of Luther Rice in what may be considered as belonging thereto on his own individual and personal responsibility, in what may be considered as belonging to his official relation to this body, and in what may be considered as belonging to his official relation to the Columbian College; and report to this body.[19]

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[17]The Charter of the Convention, granted by the state of Pennsylvania in 1821, listed the Agent as one of the officers to be elected triennially. The Committee on the Constitution (1823) made its alterations fit the Charter, which had already been adopted by the Convention.

[18][Baron Stow], "Baptist General Convention," Columbian Star, V (May 6, 1826), 71. The Proceedings of the Convention, which made no mention of Galusha's motion, are here supplemented by the account which Baron Stow, editor of the Columbian Star and an eye witness of the events, sent to Washington for publication in his paper.

[19]Proceedings, 1826, p. 14. In recording this action Baron Stow wrote: "Mr. Rice presented a resolution inviting an investigation of his conduct, public and official, and requesting a committee to examine the subject thoroughly. He

After some deliberation a committee of eleven persons was named to investigate the conduct of Rice.

Trustees of Columbian College. Luther Rice had been a Trustee of Columbian College since the incorporation of that institution. He had served as Treasurer and Agent of the Board of Trustees. When a committee named to nominate at least fifty persons for Trustees of the College made its report to the Convention on Thursday, April 27, Rice's name was absent from the list. Rice then moved that his name be added to the list of nominations.[20]

> An animated discussion ensued as to the expediency of the measure, in which Messrs. Brown, Wayland, Kerr, Ruggles, Peck, and Cone took part. Mr. Cone explained in an able and luminous manner the arguments which induced the Committee to omit the name of Mr. Rice from the list proposed to be nominated.[21]

After a considerable period of discussion, a committee was appointed to devise, if possible, some means whereby Rice's name might be included in the list of nominees. When

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made some remarks upon the reasons which induced him now, and to this body to make his appeal. He stated that imputations had been made upon his private and public character, and he therefore submitted himself to the closest scrutiny."

[20] Ibid.

[21] Stow, loc. cit. What these arguments were which "induced the Committee to omit the name of Mr. Rice" can only be conjectured. It is likely that they involved dissatisfaction with Rice's activity as Treasurer of the Board.

this committee returned with its report, the following statement had been signed by Luther Rice:

> Mr. Rice having declared his determination to devote his time to the collection of funds for the College, and never again to perform any part of the service of disubursing [sic] monies on account of the College, unless specially directed so to do by a resolution of the Board of Trustees; and having also expressed his determination to retire from a seat in the Board of Trustees, provided he shall be found in the opinion of the Convention on the investigation which he has invited, unworthy of that office, it is the opinion of the Committee that his name ought to be placed on the list for Trustees.[22]

The report was accepted and Rice's name placed on the list of nominations.

Committee on Agent's accounts. A committee of six persons, each of whom was from New York or New England, was appointed to examine the accounts of the Agent. They complained that they were unable to make a full investigation with the documents presented to them.[23] Rice was directed to prepare and furnish a manuscript account for the benefit of the committee. When the committee reported its findings, the following document was received by the Convention:

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[22]Proceedings, 1826, p. 15. In giving his account of this action Baron Stow wrote: "The Resolution of Mr. Rice was again taken up; and on motion of Mr. Maclay, a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Semple, Mercer, and Going, was appointed to consider the subject, and inquire whether some plan might not be devised, by which the resolution could pass, and yet the College sustained [underscore not in original]." Rice was being held responsible for the fortunes of Columbian College.

[23]Ibid., p. 16.

> The Committee on the Agent's accounts, report that they have obtained every means, within their power, of attesting the correctness of the accounts of the Rev. Mr. Rice, since the last Convention [underscore in original].
>
> They have discovered nothing erroneous in any part of these accounts, except the difference of a few cents in footing up one of the items. He appears to have received and paid over the sum of twenty thousand, two hundred and thirty four dollars and forty six cents.[24]

Committee on the affairs of the Luminary and Star. Nothing caused Rice more difficulty than his activities in connection with the publication of The Latter Day Luminary and the Columbian Star.[25] In 1818 Rice had purchased in Philadelphia, at his own expense, a printing office and

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[24]Ibid., p. 27. The Committee had, of course, been instructed to investigate the accounts "since the last Convention" only. The emphasis on this phrase in the report of the Committee raised the question of Rice's accuracy prior to 1823.

[25]The Latter Day Luminary, "by a Committee of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions," was issued quarterly at Philadelphia from February, 1818, until May, 1822. From the latter date through December, 1825, it was issued monthly from Washington, D. C. Rice was responsible for editing the work.

The Columbian Star, a weekly newspaper, was first issued on February 2, 1822, in Washington, D. C. Rice was in charge of the paper until January, 1826, when he leased his interests to Baron Stow.

Both the Columbian Star and The Latter Day Luminary enjoyed the patronage of the Board of the Convention. Both claimed their proceeds as "sacred to the cause of missions." A dispute arose between Rice and the Board as to whether the Board was proprietor of these periodicals, or whether Rice, as an individual, was proprietor of them. Rice contended that the Board merely "sanctioned" work for which he was personally responsible.

types. With the sanction of the Baptist Board, he moved the printing equipment to Washington, D. C., in 1822. There he purchased two houses and built a printing office. This property, purchased in Rice's name, was deeded to the Convention in 1824. The deed stated, however, that all the proceeds of the property were to be applied to Rice's benefit until the debt upon it should be paid.

The Committee appointed by the Convention on the affairs of the Luminary and Star was directed to inquire into the state of the property which Rice had deeded to the Convention. Francis Wayland, who was chairman of this Committee, wrote the report. It was a puzzling document, to say the least.

The report assessed the value of the property at the time of transfer at $11,150. The debt remaining was some $4,900. This would mean that Rice gave to the Convention, in the transfer, a total of $6,250. The report then continued to confuse the debts due in unpaid subscriptions with the value of the property deeded to the Convention. Having made this confusion, the report added:

> . . . your Committee were anxious of arriving at a knowledge of the state of the concern at any time whatever. For this knowledge they have sought, but sought in vain. Indeed your Committee are of opinion that no information can be at this time be [sic] expected. No ledger or day book has ever been kept in the office. The whole pecuniary accounts were noted in a subscription book. . . . An accountant has been and is now employed in transcribing and arranging these minutes.

> It will be four or five weeks before the work can be completed, and until this be done it is utterly impossible to form the least idea of the claims upon the office, or the means by which these claims are to be met.[26]

It was recommended that the whole matter be turned over to the Board of Managers to make the best disposition of the office and other property.

Censure of Rice. The Committee on conduct of Luther Rice brought a report to the Convention on Friday, May 5. It charged Rice with "many imprudences." He was held personally "highly reprehensible" for transactions which had the sanction of the Board of Trustees of Columbian College.[27] Yet, no intended corruption or selfish design was attributed to him.[28] The final sentence of the report involved a curious piece of reasoning. It read:

> In the detailed statements of Mr. Rice's conduct in his monied transactions, the committee have found it difficult to fix upon particular facts, upon which to place a censure, yet by a general view of his whole course, they must say he has been too loose in all his dealings, and that in many of his transactions, in which it was proper he should be governed by the Board and the Committee on education, he seems to have too much followed his own plans, counting upon an easy acquirement of their sanction, and thus abusing their high confidence

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[26] Proceedings, 1826, p. 24. Wayland's committee apparently paid no attention to the reports on both the Luminary and Star which had been submitted to the Board and the Convention annually since 1820.

[27] Ibid., p. 29.

[28] Ibid.

in him [underscores not in original].[29]

The report of the Committee was adopted by the Convention. In addition to the acceptance of this report, the following resolutions were passed concerning Rice:

> Resolved [underscore in original], That no charge against Luther Rice as to immoral conduct has been sustained.
>
> Resolved [underscore in original], That many imprudences are properly attributable to him, for which, however, the urgent embarrassments of the College furnish at least a partial apology.
>
> Resolved [underscore in original], That from the various developments it appears that Mr. Rice is a very loose accountant, and that he has very imperfect talents for the disbursement of money.[30]

Rice was discredited. But to discredit Rice was not the final goal of the New York and New England delegations. This was only a means toward realizing a much more important goal. It was an effective means, however, for the name and influence of Luther Rice were closely associated with what a writer for the Christian Watchman called "inferior objects" which had "too often been permitted to obstruct the obedience of his [Christ's] disciples."[31]

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 18.

[31] "Baptist General Convention," Christian Watchman, VII (May 26, 1826), 98. The "obedience" to which the writer refers is obedience to the Great Commission.

III. ONE UNDIVIDED OBJECT

With Rice discredited the delegates to the fifth triennial meeting of the Convention proceeded to change the structure of the Convention. The kind of changes adopted demonstrated the second point of strategy employed by those opposed to the kind of General Convention such as Rice had advocated. This point of strategy involved a counter-proposal--one undivided object.[32]

Domestic missions. John Mason Peck, a former missionary of the Baptist Board, was chairman of the Committee on Domestic Missions appointed by the Convention. The report of this committee drew attention to the "very partial and limited supply of evangelical means"[33] in large sections of the country. Itinerant preaching, extensive circulation of the Scriptures, religious tracts, Sunday Schools, and facilities for the education of the ministry were suggested

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[32]Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," pp. 48 ff., pointed out that the shape of things to come at the Triennial Convention in 1826 had been foreshadowed in New York. There, the "Baptist Convention of the State of New York and Its Vicinity" had united with the "Hamilton Baptist Missionary Society" in 1825, forming the "Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York." The basis of this union was the old constitution of the Hamilton Society, only slightly altered, with its strictly societal structure. Cf. Charles Wesley Brooks, A Century of Missions in the Empire State (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1900), pp. 92 ff.

[33]Proceedings, 1826, p. 28.

as necessary to an "enlarged system" of domestic operations.[34] It was admitted that the plan which could be put in operation soonest, with the smallest number of missionaries and the least expense, would be the best plan.[35]

When the report was read to the Convention on May 5, consideration of it was postponed. On the following day the report was called for again. The following resolution was passed:

> . . . That this Convention will heartily rejoice in the adoption of such general measures in relation to Domestic Missions as shall be calculated to unite the energies of the whole denomination in systematic missionary labours within our country, either by the co-operative efforts of State Conventions, and Associations, or other eligible means [underscore not in original].[36]

Removal of the Board. In October, 1824, the Standing Committee in and about the city of Boston was given general superintendence of the Burman mission. According to the reports of the Board this arrangement had succeeded in procuring needed subscriptions and donations to the cause of

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 18. In 1823 a Committee on Domestic Missions had recommended that these operations be left to state conventions or local missionary societies. No domestic missionary was appointed after 1822. Indian Missions, which once were included under Domestic Missions, were now considered part of the program of missions to the heathen.

foreign missions. Plans for the formation of new auxiliary societies had proved beneficial in Massachusetts and Maine.[37]

Luther Rice, however, had urged that all operations of the Convention ought to be directed by one Board. If any committee was assigned specific responsibilities, it ought to have clearly defined obligations to the whole Board. The duties of the Standing Committee at Boston were not at all clearly defined.

One of the committees appointed by the Convention in 1826 was charged with the task of selecting a permanent site for the Board of Managers. This committee reported unanimously that they believed the city of Boston to be the most eligible place for the Board.[38]

Committee on concerns of Columbian College. The Columbian College had proved to be a thorn in the flesh to many zealous advocates of foreign missions. Rice saw the College as an integral part of the total missionary scheme of the Baptist denomination. Others saw it as an obstacle to the more immediate task of converting the heathen. The Board of Foreign Missions, and especially its Agent, had been too engrossed in the affairs of the College to give

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[37]Cf. Annual Report, 1825, in The American Baptist Magazine, V (July, 1825), 216; Proceedings, 1826, p. 8.

[38]Proceedings, 1826, p. 18.

proper attention to the foreign mission cause. It was suspected by some that the missionary funds entrusted to the Treasurer of the Baptist Board were being used to defray expenses incurred by the enthusiastic supporters of the Columbian College.[39]

The Board had been strictly charged not to incur expenses beyond funds obtainable. Yet, the debt of the institution continued to increase. In 1826 the debt was some $59,256.28, to which could be added obligations to the United States government amounting to $31,827.83.[40] In addition to the financial woes of the College the Attorney-General of the United States had ruled that the election of Trustees of the College had to be held in the city of Washington.[41]

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[39]The amendment of 1817, providing for a classical and theological seminary, made it clear that the Board could not resort at all to mission funds in its promotion of educational interests. Yet, in 1821 the Board approved a loan of ten thousand dollars to the Trustees of the College. An editor of The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, III (July, 1821), 159, wrote: "We understand that the acting members of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, in Philadelphia, have voted to loan TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS FROM THE MISSION FUNDS, to assist in the erection of the Columbian College, at Washington."

[40]This is the financial report given in the Columbian Star, V (August 12, 1826), 127, some three months after the meeting of the Convention in New York.

[41]According to the Charter of Columbian College, the Trustees were to be elected triennially, on the first Monday in May. The Convention was scheduled to meet on the last

When the Committee on concerns of the College made its report, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted, after animated discussion:

> Whereas [underscore in original] it appears by experience, that the connexion between the Missionary and education concerns of this Convention is of no benefit to either--and
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> Whereas [underscore in original] it is evident that this Convention can exercise no control over the affairs of the Columbian College which will either be beneficial to that Institution, or maintain the confidence of the public, . . . therefore,
>
> Resolved [underscore in original], That the Board of Trustees be requested to alter the ordinances of the College, as to place the power of nomination in some other body than this Convention, taking due care to preserve to the Baptist Denomination the effective control of the Institution.
>
> Resolved [underscore in original], That as a sentiment has in some degree, though erroneously, publicly prevailed that this body was responsible for the debts of the Columbian College, and as this Convention feels a deep interest in its prosperity, should the Trustees pursue the course recommended to them in the list of nominations recently furnished by the Convention, and their measures be such as to inspire public confidence, we will use our influence and exert our powers in obtaining monies by subscriptions and donations to relieve them from their present embarrassments.[42]

Wednesday in April. This meant that nomination of Trustees had to be one of the first acts of any Convention session. When the Convention was held outside the city of Washington it would be impossible for those qualified as electors, and present at the Convention, to be present also for election of Trustees of the College. This virtually precluded any real control of the College by the Convention.

[42] Proceedings, 1826, p. 19. Friends of the College met in New York on May 9, 1826, and passed certain resolutions aimed at relieving the College of its embarrassments. Included among their suggestions were the attempt to raise

Constitutional amendments. The Committee appointed to propose any needed alterations in the Constitution of the Convention reported only one desired change. This was to abolish the office of Agent.[43] But no sooner had this report been accepted than a new committee was appointed to suggest any further alterations. When the report of this second committee was received, it was made perfectly clear that all provisions for education were to be stricken from the Constitution.[44] It was not merely Columbian College which must no longer obstruct the missionary program. The question of education was not to arise in the future.

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fifty thousand dollars in new subscriptions, reformation in some of the pecuniary practices of the College, and the employment of Luther Rice and other agents to prosecute the collection of outstanding subscriptions.

Through the efforts of men like Luther Rice, Elon Galusha, R. B. Semple, and Jesse Mercer, payment on the debt was gradually made and the debt finally liquidated in 1842. At the request of the Trustees the Convention continued to submit a list of nominations at each triennial session. In 1873 Congress changed the name of the institution to Columbian University. In 1904 it was changed to George Washington University. The school has long since ceased to be under the control of the Baptist denomination, as the Convention of 1826 wished. Cf. James D. Knowles, "History of the Columbian College, District of Columbia," The Christian Review, II (March, 1837), 115-36; Henry J. Ripley, "Missions in Their Relation to Educational Institutions," The Missionary Jubilee, J. N. Murdock, editor (New York: Sheldon and Green, 1869), pp. 339, 340; Kendall Brooks, "In General Education," The Baptists and the National Centenary. A Record of Christian Work. 1776-1876, Lemuel Moss, editor (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1876), pp. 94, 95.

[43] Proceedings, 1826, p. 20.

[44] Ibid.

The Great Reversal was now a reality. The editor of the Proceedings for 1826 thought it necessary to preface his work with an "Introduction," stating the fact that a change had occurred. It was unnecessary to give the reasons for that change. In speaking of this "most important act of the late Convention" he wrote: "It is now a simple body, with one undivided object, and that object, is the promulgation of the gospel amongst the heathen."[45]

IV. AN EXPLANATION FOR REVERSAL

In view of the prevailing opinion, at least in the Baptist press, for a general organization truly representative of the whole denomination, it is difficult to explain the reversal to a missionary society. The matter becomes more difficult when it is realized that some of the most outspoken advocates of such a general organization were leaders in the Great Reversal.[46]

Francis Wayland attempted such an explanation for the

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[45] Ibid., p. 7.

[46] Francis Wayland comes to mind immediately. Wayland had seen in the association the "basis of a system of perfect representation throughout the whole United States." He had spoken of the foundation of the Triennial Convention as "radically defective." No collection of missionary societies could, in his opinion, speak for the denomination. Yet it was the same Wayland who, two years after making these statements, led in the Great Reversal. Cf. supra, p. 97. Francis and H. L. Wayland, op. cit., p. 180.

benefit of the readers of The American Baptist Magazine. His primary concern was to show the wisdom in separating Columbian College from the Convention. But his arguments justifying this separation were the very ones later developed to support the individual society plan as the best method of operations for all denominational activities.

No necessary connection. First of all, Wayland contended that there was no necessary connection between the various benevolent objects with which the Baptists were concerned. Each was necessary; each was important. But this did not justify their being managed by the same group of people or the same organization.[47]

Education had come under the auspices of the General Convention on the premise that there was a vital connection between the missionary and educational interests of the denomination. The Convention had declared in 1817, in its "Address" to the religious public: "The spirit of foreign and domestic missions is one. It is as incapable of being divided as is the spirit of personal and social devotion."[48] Yet, the circumstances of the years now led Wayland to

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[47][Francis Wayland], "Baptist General Convention," The American Baptist Magazine, VI (July, 1826), 208; Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," p. 59.

[48]Proceedings, 1817, p. 125.

declare that no necessary connection existed between any of these objects.

Disadvantages in union. Wayland also argued that there were disadvantages in having several objects managed by the same men. Some people were more devoted to one benevolence; others, to another. No man could be found who would devote his attention to several different benevolences, giving each the full attention it deserved. The history of the connection between education and missions had abundantly shown the evil results for each. Missions, which once flourished, were now in decline. Columbian College, which once flourished, was steadily losing the confidence of the general public.[49]

Now, despite Wayland's contention, the various benevolent objects were, as a matter of fact, being directed by largely the same people. Wayland himself belonged to benevolent societies operating home missions, educational institutions, foreign missions, and publishing religious tracts. As editor of The American Baptist Magazine he promoted all these objects with impartiality.

That the history of the connection between foreign missions and education, as seen in the fortunes of the

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[49]Wayland, op. cit., pp. 208 ff.; Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," pp. 59 ff.

Triennial Convention, had proved injurious to both might not be disputed. But Wayland did not always look closely enough to see the real grounds of injury. He could not see beyond the "injudicious conduct" of Luther Rice, the inability of William Staughton to do a proper job as Corresponding Secretary of the Board, and the incongruity of having the Board of Foreign Missions located in Washington, D. C.[50]

Society system much more efficient. Here is the real crux of Wayland's explanation. What is the most efficient and effective plan for raising money? This question is primary. Any person would give more liberally to his favorite benevolence if it stood alone, totally disconnected from all others. When the Convention was merely a missionary society its funds increased. Since the time of connection with education its funds had continually decreased. Therefore, the injury lay in this unhappy connection of unrelated objects.[51]

Wayland's contention that the society was the most

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[50]Francis Wayland and H. L. Wayland, op. cit., pp. 178, 179, reported that Wayland was chairman of a committee appointed in Boston to ascertain reasons for the decline in missionary interest and to suggest means of reviving the missionary spirit. These were three major causes of decline.

[51]Francis Wayland, loc. cit.; Hudson, loc. cit. Wayland was apparently oblivious to the financial problems of the United States, and especially the West, following the Panic of 1819. Like Rice, he was optimistic about the prospects of obtaining money.

efficient and effective means of obtaining money was a very plausible one. The society method was working effectively and efficiently in New York and New England. The Baptist Missionary Society of Massachusetts was employing missionaries in eight states and in parts of Canada.[52] Massachusetts Baptist Education Society took steps towards founding a theological institution in 1825.[53] In New York the State Convention was actually a missionary society. A theological institution was operated at Hamilton by the Baptist Education Society of New York.

In their zeal for foreign missions--which zeal, they suspected, was not sufficiently strong in many of their brethren--Wayland and his supporters returned to the old societal structure. In it they saw certain success for the missionary program. A general convention, such as Wayland had proposed two years previously, would have to wait.[54]

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[52]"Report of the Trustees of the Baptist Missionary Society of Massachusetts," The American Baptist Magazine, V (July, 1825), 205-14.

[53]"Eleventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Baptist Education Society," The American Baptist Magazine, V (November, 1825), 345, 346. Newton Theological Institution was opened in the autumn of 1825.

[54]"General" was retained in the Convention title after 1826, although the Convention was actually only a missionary society. In 1829 the Hudson River Association sent the following resolution to the Convention: "We . . . respectfully request the Baptist General Convention for Missionary purposes, to take into consideration . . . the propriety of

Progress in the conversion of the heathen could not wait.

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forming an American Baptist Convention for General Purposes [underscore in original], to assemble triennially, in some central part of the United States."

A Committee of the Convention reported: "Your Committee beg leave to report, that in their opinion this Convention does in the most perfect manner, embrace within the bounds of its purview, all that appears to be contemplated in the recommendation of the Hudson River Baptist Association, . . ." Cf. Proceedings, 1829, pp. 3, 24, 27.

CHAPTER V

FOREIGN EXPANSION AND DOMESTIC CONFLICT, 1826-1844

At the fifth triennial meeting of the Convention in 1826 the condition of the Burman and African missions was not too promising. Wade and Hough had been forced to remove from Rangoon to Calcutta. No word had been heard recently from Judson and Price at Ava.[1] Calvin Holton, the first white missionary employed by the Board for service in the African mission, had only recently joined Carey at Monrovia.[2] The total number of missionaries under appointment to the foreign fields was twelve.

By the time of the eleventh triennial meeting of the Convention in 1844 the number of foreign missions had increased from two to eleven. There was a total of seventy-nine missionaries, with an additional eighty-nine native preachers and assistants. The period had witnessed a truly marked increase in missionary interest at home, resulting in extended efforts for the conversion of the heathen in the

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[1]A letter from Judson in The American Baptist Magazine, VI (October, 1826), 314, related that he had been released from prison February 21, 1826, and had reached the city of Rangoon on March 21. Price had been released somewhat earlier than Judson.

[2]Calvin Holton arrived at Monrovia in March, 1826, and died July 23, 1826.

foreign lands.[3]

I. THE FIELD--THE WORLD

In 1823 Francis Wayland renewed the sagging missionary interests of New England Baptists with a sermon he called: "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise." Choosing as his text: "The field is the world," Wayland challenged his hearers to look upon the whole race of man as the object of missionary enterprise.[4] By 1844, while all the world had by no means heard the preaching of the gospel, a survey of the mission work of the Convention indicated that the challenge was being taken seriously.

Burma. This region, in which the American Baptists began their foreign missionary work, continued to be the most fruitful area of labor. The treaty of peace ending the Anglo-Burmese War, signed on February 24, 1826, ceded four

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[3]Annual Report, 1844, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXIV (July, 1844), 216. The Convention had approved the plan of using native assistants in 1829. At that time the expense of such assistants was calculated as "about seven eighths less than what is necessary for American or European teachers. . . ." Cf. Proceedings, 1829, p. 28.

[4]Francis Wayland, The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, [n.d.]), pp. 7 ff. This sermon became the classic call to missionary exertion for the Baptists. Less than a year after it was first preached the sermon had gone through a third edition.

more provinces to the British. It was in those areas governed by the British that the greatest gains were made by the missionaries.

The older missionary stations at Rangoon and Ava, in territory governed by the Burmese, were subject to much religious oppression. Price remained at Ava until his death in 1828. Eugenio Kincaid occupied the station from 1833-1837. The station was temporarily abandoned on June 17 of the latter year.[5] A succession of missionaries held temporary residence at Rangoon until 1838.[6]

In 1827 Judson chose the city of Maulmein as his permanent missionary site. By July, 1844, there were eight churches connected with the Maulmein station. These had a total membership of nearly seven hundred.[7] A missionary society, patterned after the societies in the United States, contributed some $2,000 to the support of native preachers

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[5]Annual Report, 1838, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII (June, 1838), 151. The number of Christians at Ava as late as 1839 was only nineteen. When Kincaid returned to Ava in 1856 the church there had dwindled to eight members. Cf. Robert G. Torbet, Venture of Faith (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1951), p. 230.

[6]E. L. Abbott left Rangoon in 1838. After this time various missionaries paid short visits to the vicinity, encouraging the Christians who remained there. Permanent work was not established again until after 1852. Cf. Torbet, op. cit., p. 229.

[7]Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 172.

in 1844.[8]

On August 9, 1828, George Dana Boardman began a new mission at Tavoy, some two hundred and twenty miles south of Maulmein. It was here that the Karens came in great numbers to hear the preaching of the gospel.[9] Here the first seminary for the training of native preachers was opened in April, 1836.[10] Fourteen churches were connected with the station in 1844. As in Maulmein, a local missionary society was engaged in the support of native preachers.

In 1835 Arracan, to the west of Rangoon, attracted the attention of the Baptists.[11] A mission was established at Kyouk Phyoo in March, 1835. Here again it was the Karens who were most receptive to the message of the missionaries. Over two thousand Karen converts were connected with the mission by the end of 1844.[12]

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[8] Ibid., p. 174.

[9] The Karens, whom Boardman first described as an atheistic people, were animists. Despised and oppressed by their Burmese rulers, it was among them that the greatest gains were made by the missionaries.

[10] Annual Report, 1837, p. 18.

[11] James Colman had been interested in working among the Arracanese during his brief tenure at Cox's Bazaar. The island of Ramree was discovered by the missionaries in 1831, largely by accident. Cf. Proceedings, 1832, p. 19.

[12] Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 179.

In addition to the preaching of the missionaries and native assistants, a great deal of attention was given to the publication of books and tracts and to the education of the young. Of the twenty-eight male missionaries appointed for service in Burma prior to 1844, six of them were originally designated for the work of printers. Each missionary station had several schools connected with it, these usually being directed by the women.

A solid foothold had been gained in Burma by 1844. Close to two thousand persons had been baptized, holding membership in some thirty churches.[13] Most of these converts were from the Karen tribes, but a small number of Burmese had also accepted the faith proclaimed by the missionaries.[14]

Liberia. With the death of Calvin Holton, only a few months after his arrival at Monrovia, the Baptist Board began to seek Negro youth who would volunteer for service in Africa. Their searchings and pleas were in vain.[15] In January, 1830, a second white man, Benjamin R. Skinner, was appointed by the Board. Skinner and his wife arrived at

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[13] Ibid., pp. 171 ff. This figure does not include an estimated 1,500 Karens who had been baptized but not gathered into congregations.

[14] Of the thirty churches in Burma only six were made up largely or wholly of Burmese.

[15] Cf. Annual Report, 1827, p. 7; Annual Report, 1828, p. 10.

their destination in December, 1830. Three months later both of them were dead, victims of the climatic conditions of the land.[16] At its annual meeting in 1831 the Board reported:

> The total failure of this second expedition, has induced a belief in the Managers of the Mission, that they must [underscore not in original] resort to other than white men, for the improvement of Africa.[17]

Meanwhile, Lott Carey had died in November, 1828. This left the Board without a missionary until the arrival of the Skinners.[18] In 1834 the prospects brightened for the mission with the arrival of William Mylne and William Crocker, with their wives. The major interest of these new appointees was in the introduction of the gospel to the Bassa tribes.[19]

The mission among the Bassas was strengthened in 1838 with the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Ivory Clarke. In response to an appeal to extend the missionary operations, two more

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[16]Mrs. Skinner died January 14, 1831; Mr. Skinner, on March 1.

[17]Annual Report, 1831, p. 16.

[18]Collin Teague relinquished his connection with the Board in 1822 or 1823, but remained in the colony. Colston Waring maintained a connection with the Board until his death in 1834. His actual status, however, appeared rather uncertain.

[19]Annual Report, 1836, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVI (June, 1836), 132, 133.

missionary couples were appointed in 1840. Again climatic conditions proved too severe for the white men. By the time of the triennial meeting in 1844 the mission in Liberia had only two preachers and their wives. Of seventeen persons appointed since 1819, ten had died in the service of the Board.[20]

Siam. The second Asian country to be entered by the Baptist missionaries was Siam, the present Thailand. John Taylor Jones, who had arrived at Maulmein in February, 1831, reached Bangkok on March 25, 1833.[21] The earliest converts were not among the Siamese, however, but among Chinese living in Bangkok. The interest of the Chinese induced the Board to appoint a separate missionary to work with them. William Dean, the new appointee, arrived in Bangkok in July, 1835.[22]

No convert from among the Siamese was reported before 1841. With the arrival of a printer and a press in 1836, the major attention was given to the distribution of tracts and books. As in Burma, schools were operated by the women of the mission. Jones spent most of his time in translating

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[20]"Missionaries and Assistant Missionaries of the General Convention, from May 25, 1814, to May 21, 1846," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXVI (July, 1846), 238.

[21]Annual Report, 1834, p. 19.

[22]Annual Report, 1836, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVI (June, 1836), 148.

the Bible into the Siamese language. Though a few Siamese belonged to the little church in Bangkok in 1844, this station continued to give most attention to work with the Chinese, with whom they had greater success.

France. In 1832 Howard Malcom, Secretary of the Convention, urged the importance of establishing a mission in France.[23] Authorized by the Convention to take necessary steps toward enlarging operations, the Board appointed Irah Chase, along with J. C. Rostan, to survey the possibilities of mission work in that country. Chase reported a number of congregations in northern France which embraced Baptist sentiments in whole or in part. He urged that the mission at Paris be strengthened and that suitable instruction be provided for ministers of the churches.[24]

In 1834 the mission at Paris was strengthened with the arrival of Isaac Willmarth, recently appointed by the Board.[25] One year later Erastus Willard and Newton Sheldon, with their wives, served to strengthen further the little

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[23] Proceedings, 1832, pp. 10, 58-60.

[24] "Prof. Chase's Letter, in Reply to Certain Inquiries Respecting the Religious State of France," The American Baptist Magazine, XIII (September, 1833), 325 ff. The first "modern" French congregation of Baptists had been organized at Nomain in 1820. Henri Pyt, their pastor, had been a convert of Robert Haldane. Cf. Torbet, op. cit., p. 84.

[25] Annual Report, 1835, p. 25.

company at Paris.[26] In 1837 the center of missionary work was shifted to Douai. After November, 1839, Willard was the only American Baptist missionary left in the country.

Despite the constitutional provision of religious liberty, the Baptists in France were subject to much persecution. Opposition came from local authorities, from the papal clergy, and from some Protestant evangelists and colporteurs.[27] Distribution of the Scriptures seemed to be least subject to governmental interference. In 1844 there were seven small churches in the vicinity of Douai, all of which were cared for by French pastors.[28]

Germany. On April 22, 1834, J. G. Oncken and six other individuals were baptized in the river Elbe by Barnas Sears. The following day they were constituted into a Baptist church.[29] In September, 1835, Oncken and C. F. Lange

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[26] Annual Report, 1836, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVI (June, 1836), 134.

[27] Annual Report, 1844, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXIV (July, 1844), 186, 187.

[28] Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 166, 167. American missionaries continued in France until 1853, after which time the only aid received by French Baptists from America was financial. Cf. Torbet, op. cit., p. 362.

[29] Proceedings, 1835, p. 27. Professor Sears, of the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, was directed by the Board in 1834 to give such assistance as he could to the French mission. Coming in contact with Oncken, he directed attention to the prospects of missionary work in Germany.

entered upon the missionary service of the Baptist Board. At that time the little church in Hamburg had grown to thirteen members.[30]

A church was constituted in Berlin in May, 1837. In September of the same year a third church was constituted at Oldenburg.[31] By the time of the report of the Board in 1840 there were six organized churches, one of which was in Copenhagen, Denmark.[32] With the organization of a Baptist church in the capital of Denmark the Lutheran Establishment became more alarmed than previously. From this time the little congregations were more oppressed. Oncken was imprisoned in the spring of 1840. Peter Munster, the pastor at Copenhagen, was cast in prison by the Danish authorities.[33]

Persecution was more severe in Denmark than in Germany. The situation grew so bad that the Baptist Board and the American and Foreign Bible Society, which aided in the support of the mission, sent official deputations to the Danish government.[34] Only temporary relief was obtained.

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[30]Annual Report, 1836, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVI (June, 1836), 135.

[31]Annual Report, 1838, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII (June, 1838), 146.

[32]Annual Report, 1840, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XX (June, 1840), 133.

[33]Proceedings, 1841, pp. 54, 55.

[34]Torbet, op. cit., p. 88.

Nevertheless, the Baptist witness continued to advance. In 1844 Oncken reported that

> . . . about 1200 precious souls are now united together in the bonds of apostolic church fellowship, to observe all the ordinances of our adorable Lord God Christ, and to bear testimony against the will-worship of men.[35]

South India. Missionary enthusiasm reached a new peak at the triennial meeting of the Convention in 1835. The following resolution was passed by the body:

> . . . That, this Convention, feeling deeply the duty of American Baptists to engage in far more enlarged and vigorous efforts for the conversion of the WHOLE WORLD, instruct the Board to establish new missions in every unoccupied place where there may be a reasonable prospect of success; and to employ, in some part of the great field, every properly qualified missionary, whose services the Board may be able to obtain.[36]

An immediate effect of this enthusiasm was the establishment of a mission among the Telugus of South India.

In March, 1836, Samuel S. Day arrived at Vizagapatam. The major portion of a year was spent in language study,

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[35] Annual Report, 1844, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXIV (July, 1844), 192.

[36] Proceedings, 1835, p. 10. As a result of the great enthusiasm of this Convention session, Howard Malcom was sent by American Baptists on the first foreign mission tour. Leaving the United States on September 22, 1835, Malcom visited all the Asian mission fields (except Assam), returning to the United States in May, 1838. Cf. Annual Report, 1836, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVI (June, 1836), 153; Annual Report, 1837, pp. 23, 24; Annual Report, 1838, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII (June, 1838), 161, 162.

with Mrs. Day operating a school. In March, 1837, at the suggestion of Howard Malcom, Day removed to Madras.[37] A church was constituted in August, 1838, largely from members of an old branch of the Maulmein English church.[38]

In 1840 the station was moved to Nellore, some one hundred ten miles north of Madras. The first Telugu convert was baptized September 27, 1840.[39] Much of the time of the mission workers was spent in preaching excursions and tract and Bible distribution. A mission church was organized in October, 1844, with eight members.[40]

Assam. A second new mission field was entered in 1836 with the arrival of Nathan Brown, Oliver Cutter, and their wives, in Assam. A school was opened in June, 1836, under the direction of Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Cutter. It was expected that the missionaries would devote their attention chiefly to the Shans, who lived in the hills to the east of the mission station at Sadiya.[41]

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[37] Annual Report, 1838, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII (June, 1838), 158.

[38] Annual Report, 1840, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XX (June, 1840), 145.

[39] Proceedings, 1841, p. 70.

[40] Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 185.

[41] Annual Report, 1837, pp. 22, 23. An English agent in Assam first suggested the idea of a mission to the Board. He explained, mistakenly, that there was very little

In 1839 the mission station was removed to Jaipur, a larger town southwest of Sadiya. In January, 1839, Miles Bronson visited the Nagas, who inhabited the hill country southeast of Jaipur. The chief of the tribe promised to send two of his sons to teach the missionaries the language of the Nagas, to provide houses and food, and to assist a mission among his people in every possible way.[42]

By 1844 the mission field of Assam had three separate stations. Nathan Brown, the earliest missionary, had been employed largely in the translation of the Bible into Assamese. Cutter, in addition to his work as printer, was employed in the establishment of schools. Miles Bronson and Cyrus Barker, each of whom was in charge of a separate station, were busily engaged in preaching and in educational work.[43]

China. The Baptist Board saw in the success among the Chinese at Bangkok a steppingstone to the Walled Empire

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difference between the dialects of the Khamtis in Assam and the Kochins in northwestern Burma. The missionaries identified the Khamtis with the people of northwestern Burma, whom they called Shans. Cf. Torbet, op. cit., pp. 54-56.

[42] Annual Report, 1840, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XX (June, 1840), 144, 145. The Nagas, like the Karens, were animists. Hence, they were more receptive to the gospel than the Hinduized Assamese.

[43] Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 184, 185.

to the north. J. Lewis Shuck, who had been appointed to the Siam mission, left Singapore, August 29, 1836, bound for the colony of Macao.[44] Shuck remained at Macao, preaching and teaching from house to house, until 1842. At that time he, along with I. J. Roberts, who had recently been appointed by the Board, moved the seat of the mission to Hongkong. A church was constituted under the pastoral care of Shuck on May 15, 1842.[45]

In November, 1843, D. J. MacGowan, a physician under appointment by the Board, opened the Ningpo Medical Hospital. This was the beginning of the East China Mission.[46] By the close of 1844 a few Chinese converts had been baptized by Shuck and his companions. The station at Ningpo was made a permanent station. Two schools were in operation at Hongkong. The Walled Empire, toward which the American Baptists had looked for a long while, was slowly beginning to yield before the advancing missionaries.[47]

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[44] Annual Report, 1837, p. 21.

[45] Annual Report, 1843, p. 39. Roberts was stationed at Chekchu, on the south side of the island. The mission was strengthened in 1842 with the removal of William Dean to Hongkong from Bangkok.

[46] "Extracts from Letters of Dr. MacGowan," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXIV (September, 1844), 275, 276.

[47] Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 183, 184.

Greece. As early as 1829 a committee appointed to suggest new fields of labor reported Greece an inviting field.[48] It was not until December 9, 1836, however, that the first missionaries arrived at Patras.[49] Permission was granted by the Greek authorities to distribute copies of the Scriptures and to open a school.

The progress of the mission was very slow. In 1844 the mission included two stations, with three missionary couples and two single ladies. Some work was being done among the English who resided near the stations. The number of students in the school at Corfu was sixty.[50]

American Indians. The Convention continued to concern itself with missions to the American Indians after 1826. In reality, however, concern for the Indians never received the quality of attention given to missions to foreign lands. By the close of 1844 there were six Indian missions, embracing fourteen stations. The total membership of the churches was slightly less than sixteen hundred. Ten schools enrolled

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[48] Proceedings, 1829, p. 29. Among other regions suggested at different times as possible missionary sites were Mexico, South America, Palestine, and Japan. A mission was actually commenced on the island of Haiti in 1835, but discontinued after two years. Cf. Torbet, op. cit., p. 89.

[49] Annual Report, 1837, p. 12.

[50] Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 169, 170.

some three hundred students.[51]

In 1826 the Convention had supported missionaries to the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Ottawas, the Oneidas, the Putawatomies, and the Tonawandas. All of these stations were located east of the Mississippi River.[52] But by 1844 only three stations remained east of the Mississippi.[53] The station at Carey was abandoned after 1833.[54] The Creek mission, which had always suffered from the hostility of the leaders of the people, was relinquished in 1829.[55] The

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[51] Ibid., p. 186.

[52] Carey Station (Putawatomies), commenced in 1822, was located on St. Joseph's River, in what is now Berrien County, Michigan. Thomas Station (Ottawas), 1826, was located some one hundred miles northeast of Carey, on the Grand River. Valley Towns and Tinsawattee were the two stations among the Cherokees. The former was located on the Hiwassee River just inside the North Carolina border; the latter, on the Etowah River in northwest Georgia. Withington, among the Creek Indians, was on the Chattahoochee River. The station among the Oneidas and Tonawandas was located near Niagara, New York, and was largely under the supervision of the state convention of New York Baptists.

[53] These were the stations at Tonawanda; at Richland, Michigan, successor to the Thomas Station after 1836; and at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. The latter was a mission to the Ojibwas, commenced in 1828.

[54] The missionaries followed the Putawatomies west of the Mississippi, but work ceased among the tribe after 1844. Cf. Annual Report, 1844, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXIV (July, 1844), 183.

[55] In the same year John Davis, a Creek Christian, began a mission among his people who had moved to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Cf. Annual Report, 1833, p. 26.

missions among the Cherokees remained largely undisturbed until 1838, when the government forced the removal of most of the group to the Indian Territory.[56]

II. DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

The Convention succeeded in expanding its missionary interests during the years between 1826 and 1844. But this was also a period of problems and conflict. The decade of the 1830's witnessed final schism in many Baptist associations with anti-missionists forming separate organizations. There was an unhappy controversy between the Baptists and the American Bible Society over the translation of the Scriptures.[57] The two problems, however, which had most effect on the life of the Convention were the financial

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[56]A small band of Cherokees, along with their missionary, had journeyed to Oklahoma in 1832. Cf. Annual Report, 1833, p. 27; Annual Report, 1839, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XIX (June, 1839), 127, 128, for reports of work with this group.

[57]In accordance with a resolution it had adopted in 1833, the Board of the Convention had to forego a $5,000 appropriation from the American Bible Society in 1836. In 1833 the Board had instructed its missionaries to "transfer no words which are capable of being literally translated." In 1836 the American Bible Society insisted that its funds be used to translate the Scriptures only where such translations could be used by all evangelical denominations. The problem, of course, was with the word baptizo. The immediate result was the formation of the American and Foreign Bible Society in 1837. Cf. Annual Report, 1836, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVI (June, 1836), 122, 123; Torbet, op. cit., pp. 106, 107.

difficulties after 1835 and the slavery issue.

Financial difficulties. A combination of economic depression, over-expansion in missionary endeavor, and withdrawal of support by northern and southern elements alike, kept the Triennial Convention in financial straits for the last ten years of its existence. By 1835 the enthusiasm for foreign missions had reached such a pitch that the delegates to the Convention, meeting in Richmond, Virginia, instructed the Board to establish new missions in every unoccupied place where there was prospect of success and to employ every qualified missionary available.[58] At this same session the Treasurer warned that receipts for the past year had not equalled expenditures. Undaunted by this report, the delegates voted to raise $100,000 within the next year for the support of missions.[59]

Between the triennial meetings in 1835 and 1838 the financial situation of the Convention grew steadily worse. By the latter year the excess of expenditures over receipts was over $43,000.[60] At this juncture the Convention chose a Financial Secretary to devise means of bolstering the

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[58] Supra, p. 131.

[59] Proceedings, 1835, p. 10.

[60] Annual Report, 1838, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII (June, 1838), 163.

economic conditions of that body. Howard Malcom, the newly appointed Financial Secretary, wrote, in a circular to the associations and churches:

> Our rate of annual expenditure is now so far beyond our regular income, that, without greater receipts, we are shut up to one of two courses. Either we must recall some missionaries, and stop some presses, or we must go annually deeper and deeper into debt.[61]

In spite of all measures adopted, the Board reported deficits in 1839 and 1840. Anticipating a continued deficit in receipts and seeking to avert, as far as possible, a burdensome debt, a system of limitation of expenditures was put into effect in April, 1840.[62] Circulars were sent to the churches. Several agents were employed in different parts of the country to stir up the missionary zeal of the churches. These agents agreed generally that there were three reasons for the deficiency in funds: (1) scarcity of money, (2) indifference to the cause of missions, and (3) want of co-operation on the part of the pastors.[63]

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[61] "Circular," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII (October, 1838), 261.

[62] Annual Report, 1840, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XX (June, 1840), 123, 124; Proceedings, 1841, pp. 71, 72. Criticism of the financial operations of the Board became so serious that extended statements were printed on such matters as the relation of the Board to missionaries, relation of the Board to the Convention, relations to other institutions, etc. Cf. Proceedings, 1841, pp. 24 ff.

[63] Annual Report, 1843, p. 18.

At the eleventh triennial meeting of the Convention in 1844 an appointed Committee on Finance directed its attention to these matters: (1) the financial condition of the Convention, (2) its need of funds, and (3) means to seek to obtain such funds. With regard to the first matter, the Committee reported a debt of $27,000. No less than $100,000 would be required to sustain present operations for the next year. Two suggestions were made as to the best means of procuring the necessary funds for the coming year. First, pains should be taken to invite wealthy persons to pay the expenses of a missionary or native assistant. Second, the pastors of the churches must be encouraged to become, in actuality, financial agents of the Convention.[64]

The slavery issue. The first serious agitation over the question of domestic slavery came not from Yankee abolitionists, but from a group of Baptist ministers in London, England. On December 31, 1833, the "Board of Baptist Ministers in and near London" addressed a letter to the "Pastors and Ministers of the Baptist Denomination Throughout the United States of America." The letter was directed to

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[64] Proceedings, 1844, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXIV (July, 1844), 168, 169. Provision for the support of a missionary or native assistant by particular individuals was provided for in the By-Laws of the Convention, Section 3, adopted in 1832.

Spencer H. Cone, President of the Convention; to the Board of Managers; and to the delegates of the Triennial Convention.[65]

The letter told of the change of attitude British Baptists had taken toward slavery in view of recent events in their Jamaican Mission. They had taken a decided part in the anti-slavery struggle carried on in England. Desiring to solicit the attention of American Baptists to their principles on the slavery question, they pleaded:

> We indulge the hope that you will seriously inquire whether, as the disciples of Jesus Christ, it is not your imperative duty, without delay, to raise your voice against the cruel and degrading bondage in which our African brethren and their descendants are held in various parts of your land.[66]

The Board delayed a reply. In September, 1834, resolutions were passed informing the Baptist pastors in London of their solicitude for freedom, but also of their inability, as a Board, to interfere with the subject of domestic slavery. A letter of explanation, written by Lucius Bolles, accompanied the resolutions of the Board.[67]

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[65]A copy of this letter is found in A. T. Foss and E. Mathews (eds.), Facts for Baptist Churches (Utica, New York: Published by the American Baptist Free Mission Society, Roberts & Sherman, Printers, 1850), pp. 17-20.

[66]Ibid., p. 19.

[67]Ibid., pp. 20-23. This correspondence did not find its way into the annual reports of the Board.

In the spring of 1835 F. A. Cox and J. Hoby, an English deputation appointed to visit the churches of the United States, were present at the triennial meeting of the Convention in Richmond, Virginia. Cox had taken an active part in the emancipation cause in England. At Richmond, however, no mention of slavery was made by the deputation. When Cox and Hoby returned to England the Baptist Union rejoiced to learn that the sentiments of the English had been made known privately, but they deeply regretted that

> . . . the state of society rendered it advisable in their judgment . . . to refrain from introducing it [the subject of emancipation] in public meetings, and to withhold from the Abolition society their encouragement and support.[68]

The Union adopted another resolution calling upon American Baptists to use their power to advance the cause of freedom for the slaves.

Correspondence continued after 1836 between the Union and certain Baptist pastors in New England. Among these pastors was Baron Stow, Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist Board. Stow sought to assure the British that the Baptists in America were no more guilty of perpetuating the institution of slavery than were other denominations. The number of abolitionists among the Baptists was not as small

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[68]Quoted in ibid., p. 303. This was in June, 1836.

as the British supposed.[69] These communications, published in New England papers, were circulated throughout the whole nation.[70] Some voices in the South began to warn the churches of the danger of abolitionist schemes.[71]

By the time the Convention met in 1841, delegates from Southern states were prepared to make a final decision on the slavery question. A meeting to determine strategy was called for April 26--two days before the Convention was to assemble in Baltimore.[72] The reason for this action was an address "To the Baptist Slaveholders of the Southern States," issued by the American Baptist Anti-Slavery

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[69]Extracts from some of this correspondence are found in ibid., pp. 30 ff.

[70]The official neutral attitude of the Board is seen in the fact that The American Baptist Magazine, official publication of the Board, was not allowed to print matters involving the slavery issue. Cf. a notice in The American Baptist Magazine, XIV (August, 1834), 336.

[71]Mary Burnham Putnam, The Baptists and Slavery, 1840-1845 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr, Publisher, 1913), p. 15; "Anti-Abolition," The Christian Index, III (November 24, 1835), pages unnumbered; "Associational Record," The Christian Index, III (December 29, 1835), pages unnumbered. (NOTE: Certain volumes of Baptist periodicals have no pagination. Where this occurs they will be inserted like any other periodicals, with the page number(s) omitted.)

[72]Such a meeting was first suggested by Basil Manly, Sr., in a letter to The Christian Index, dated October 29, 1840. The South Carolina Baptist State Convention joined in the call for such a meeting. Cf. "Communications," The Christian Index, VIII (November 12, 1840), 723; IX (January 8, 1841), 26.

Convention.[73] This communication called upon slaveholders to confess the sin and crime of the slavery system, to remonstrate against laws which bound the slaves to their servitude, and to flee from the land which paid no heed to such remonstrance.[74] Finally, it warned that if the South should remain deaf to this entreaty

> . . . we solemnly declare, as we fear the Lord, that we cannot and we dare not recognize you as consistent brethren in Christ; . . . we cannot, at the Lord's table, cordially take that as a brother's hand, which plies the scourge on woman's naked flesh,--which thrusts a gag into the mouth of man,--which rivets fetters on the innocent,--and which shuts up the Bible from human eyes.[75]

The address was signed by Elon Galusha.[76]

Caught between conflicting demands from North and South, the Board attempted to continue a neutral course.

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[73]The American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention met in New York, April 28-30, 1840. This organization also issued an address to the Northern churches and formed a Provisional Foreign Mission Committee, determined to support any of the Baptist missionaries who would withdraw from connection with the Board in Boston.

[74]A copy of this address is found in Foss and Mathews, op. cit., pp. 45-48.

[75]Ibid., p. 48.

[76]Elon Galusha, one of the most ardent abolitionists among the Baptists, was a Vice-President of the Baptist Board. Camden (S. C.) church asked that the expulsion of Galusha from his office be a condition of further Southern support of the Board. Cf. a news item in The Christian Index, VIII (November 5, 1840).

Its neutrality satisfied neither party.[77] Abolitionists insisted that there could be no neutral ground between slavery and freedom. Southerners insisted that there could be no neutral ground on the question of disfellowshipping Christians on the basis that they were slaveholders.[78] Northern moderates on the Board were hard pressed in their attempts to distinguish between their private opinions and their official action as members of the Board.

When the Southern delegates met in Baltimore, April 26, 1841, they determined to delay any action until after the election of the new Board of Managers. The reason for this delay was the so-called Baltimore Compromise, signed by seventy-four prominent Baptists, representing both North and

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[77]November 2, 1840, the Board adopted an "Address" defining its position as executor of the missionary business entrusted it by the Convention. With all other relations it had no opinion or responsibility. The Executive Committee of the State Convention in Georgia received a copy of this address in reply to a request for "an explicit avowal of the light in which we, as slaveholders are held by the Board." Such an answer was unsatisfactory to the Committee. The Alabama Convention resolved, in 1840, to withhold funds from the Board until satisfied about its abolitionist sentiment. Cf. "Address," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XX (December, 1840), 281-84; "Correspondence Between the Executive Committee of the Baptist State Convention and the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions," The Christian Index, IX (January 15, 1841), 40-43; "Conventions," The Christian Index, IX (January 29, 1841), 73.

[78]The Executive Committee of the Georgia Convention, for example, insisted that the Board could not be neutral between Southern brethren and abolitionists who denied them places at the table of the Lord.

South. The Compromise resolved

> . . . That the undersigned deem it their duty and privilege to record their full conviction that no new tests unauthorized by the Scriptures, and by the established usages of the great body of our churches, should be suffered to interfere with the harmonious operations of our benevolent associations, as originally constituted; and they embrace this fitting occasion to express their decided disapprobation of all such tests, believing them to have a direct tendency to part asunder those who have 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism,' and above all that they invade the prerogative of Jesus Christ, the one and only legislator of the churches of the saints, to whom be glory forever, amen.[79]

This proved satisfactory to the Southern brethren. The question of slavery found no place in the Proceedings of the Convention. The elections to the Board were pleasing to the Southerners. Delegates returned to their Southern constituencies rejoicing that the issue had been settled.[80]

In the period between the Baltimore meeting and the Convention session in Philadelphia in 1844 the abolitionists gained strength in the North. The Baltimore Compromise was severely criticized in New England papers. Members of the Acting Board found it necessary to defend their private

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[79]Quoted from Foss and Mathews, op. cit., p. 76. Spencer H. Cone claimed to have written the document.

[80]Elon Galusha was not re-elected to the Board. Wm. B. Johnson, a slaveholder, was elected President of the Convention. Cf. "Report of the Delegates," The Christian Index, IX (May 28, 1841), 345, 346; Wm. B. Johnson, "Adjustment at Baltimore--Mistakes Corrected," The Christian Index, IX (September 3, 1841), 561-63; (September 17, 1841), 593, 594.

characters against imputations of being favorable to the slavery system.[81] The American Baptist Free Mission Society was organized in Boston in 1843.[82] The Provisional Committee of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention issued a circular, early in 1844, relating the steps that had to be taken at Philadelphia in order to prevent a "solemn protest" from the abolitionists.[83] As the South had come prepared for battle in 1841, the abolitionists were coming prepared in 1844.

At Philadelphia discussion of the slavery question arose in connection with a resolution offered by Richard Fuller, of South Carolina. Fuller proposed a resolution designed to limit the action of the delegates to the matter of missions only.[84] His motion was finally withdrawn in favor of a much more explicit resolution offered by George Ide, of Philadelphia. The resolution, which was adopted by the Convention, read:

Whereas there exists, in various sections of the

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[81] Putnam, op. cit., pp. 30 ff.

[82] Foss and Mathews, op. cit., pp. 384 ff. Many of the abolitionists preferred to await action at Philadelphia before making a final break with the Convention.

[83] "The Triennial Convention," The Christian Index, XII (March 8, 1844).

[84] Fuller's resolution is found in The Christian Index, XII (May 10, 1844).

> country, an impression that our present organization involves the fellowship of the institution of domestic slavery, or of certain associations which are designed to oppose that institution,--
>
> Therefore Resolved [underscore in original], That, in co-operating together as members of this Convention in the work of Foreign Missions, we disclaim all sanction, either express or implied, whether of slavery or of anti-slavery; but, as individuals, we are perfectly free both to express and to promote, elsewhere, our own views on these subjects in a Christian manner and spirit.[85]

Abolitionists and slaveholders alike contended that the victory belonged to them.[86]

The Baptist State Convention of Alabama determined to test the reality of the victory which Southerners claimed. Accordingly, on November 25, 1844, a copy of a Preamble and Resolutions, adopted by the session of the State Convention in 1844, was forwarded to the Acting Board in Boston. The major section of the resolutions read:

> . . . That our duty at this present crisis requires us to demand from the proper authorities in all those bodies to whose funds we have contributed, or with whom we have in any way been connected, the distinct, explicit, avowal, that slaveholders are eligible, and entitled, equally with non-slaveholders, to all the privileges and immunities of their several unions; and especially to receive any agency, mission, or other appointment, which may run within the scope of their

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[85] Proceedings, 1844, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXIV (July, 1844), 157, 158.

[86] Cf. "The Triennial Convention and the Reflector," The Christian Index, XII (May 17, 1844); "Baptist Anniversaries," The Religious Herald, XI (May 2, 1844).

operations or duties [underscores not in original].[87] The secretary of the Alabama Convention was directed to transmit a copy of the resolutions to the presiding officers of each Baptist convention or general association in the slaveholding states. Funds were to be withheld while Alabama Baptists awaited, "in prayerful expectation," the reply of their non-slaveholding brethren.[88]

The Acting Board replied to the Alabama Convention under date of December 17, 1844. The Board complained of being compelled to answer hypothetical questions. The whole communication was unnecessary. Yet, explicit answers were demanded.

> If, therefore, in answering with entire frankness your inquiries and demands, we should express opinions which may be unsatisfactory or displeasing to you, our plea must be, that a necessity was laid upon us.[89]

In replying to the resolutions the Board claimed neither to have called in question the social equality of the Southern slaveholders, nor to have employed official influence in impeaching them. Slaveholders and non-slaveholders were equally entitled to the privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution of the Convention.

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[87]Copy of the correspondence between the Alabama Convention and the Baptist Board, in Foss and Mathews, op. cit., pp. 104-7.

[88]Ibid., p. 105.

[89]Ibid.

In regard to agencies, missions, and appointments, however, no one was entitled to such by virtue of his subscription to the cause of foreign missions. Power of appointment was left in the hands of the Acting Board. They held themselves accountable to the Convention for the "discreet and faithful discharge of this trust."[90]

Anticipating that these remarks would not be explicit enough, the Board continued to say that, as far as known, no slaveholder had ever applied for missionary service. Then came the key statement:

> If, however, anyone should offer himself as a Missionary, having slaves, and should insist on retaining them as his property, we could not appoint him. One thing is certain; we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery.[91]

The die was cast. The Board of the Virginia Foreign Mission Society met March 7, 1845.[92] The product of this meeting was a circular addressed: "To the Baptist Churches of Virginia." While forbearing to express an opinion on the expediency of the Alabama resolutions, the Virginia Board could not remain silent in view of the reply of the Acting Board in Boston. The decision of the Acting Board was

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[90] Ibid., p. 106.

[91] Ibid.

[92] The letter of the Acting Board was apparently not finally adopted until sometime in February, 1845.

declared to be unconstitutional, a manifest violation of the action of the Convention in 1844, inconsistent with the admissions made to the Alabama Baptists, unjust, and unwise.[93] A resolution was passed by the Virginia Board calling for the assembling of a convention to confer on the best means of promoting foreign mission interests and other objects of importance to the denomination. Augusta, Georgia, was held to be a suitable place; Thursday before the second Lord's day in May, a suitable time.[94]

The call for separation had gone out. Georgia and Alabama were quick to follow Virginia's lead.[95] Along what lines division would be made and who would be present at Augusta remained to be seen.

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[93]"To the Baptist Churches of Virginia," The Religious Herald, XII (March 13, 1845).

[94]The Board welcomed the delegates to Richmond if Augusta should not prove a suitable site for the convention.

[95]Georgia complied with the Virginia call March 20; Alabama, on April 2. Cf. "Southern Baptist Convention," The Christian Index, XIII (March 28, 1845); "Circular to the Baptists of Alabama," The Christian Index, XIII (April 18, 1845).

CHAPTER VI

DISSOLUTION, 1845

The Triennial Convention, which had promoted the foreign missionary interests of Baptists in America for thirty-one years, ceased to exist in 1845. Disfranchised, as they believed, by their Northern brethren, Southerners looked toward a new organization. The remnant of the Old Convention was transformed into the American Baptist Missionary Union. Baptists North and South, seeking common goals, began to travel separate paths. Those paths have not yet converged into one.

I. THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

It must not be supposed that the idea of conventions or mission societies designed to serve particular sections of the United States was the product of the Virginia circular of 1845. Calls to establish such organizations were heard much earlier.[1] The position taken by the Acting Board in

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[1]As early as 1835 some had suggested a separate missionary organization in the South. In 1833 a Convention of Western Baptists was organized at Cincinnati, Ohio. A home mission society, designed to serve the neglected Lower Mississippi Valley, was organized at Columbus, Mississippi, in 1839. A Northwestern Baptist Convention came into being in 1841. Cf. William Wright Barnes, The Southern Baptist Convention 1845-1953 (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1954), pp. 17 ff.

reply to the Alabama Resolutions, however, precipitated action which had earlier been delayed.

Reaction to the Board's reply. Baptist periodicals throughout the nation were quick to respond to the reply of the Acting Board.[2] New England publications, with the notable exception of the Christian Watchman, hailed the decision as a victory for the cause of abolition. Baptist publications in the Middle States deprecated any separation between North and South. The Christian Index, of Georgia, was most outspoken in its objection to the action of the Board, often chiding other Southern editors who cautioned against hasty action by the South. Among the Southern publications which cautioned against such action were The Baptist, of Nashville, Tennessee, edited by R. B. C. Howell; The Biblical Recorder, of Raleigh, North Carolina, edited by Thomas Meredith; and The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer, of Louisville, Kentucky, edited by Wm. C. Buck.[3]

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[2]Cf. "The Baptist Press and the Baptist Board," The Religious Herald, XII (April 3, 1845); "Tone of the Press," The Baptist, I (April 5, 1845), 513-16.

[3]The editors of these papers were agreed that the seat of the Board would have to be removed from Boston in order to operate effectively. If the South organized, such organization should be provisional, awaiting the decision of the next triennial meeting of the Convention. Cf. "Southern Convention," The Baptist, I (April 26, 1845), 563, 564; "The Proposed Convention," The Biblical Recorder, X (April 5, 1845); "A Southern Convention," The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer, XII (May 1, 1845).

The Providence meeting. Those who cautioned the South against hasty action contended that the annual meeting of the Board, to be held in Providence, Rhode Island, April 30, 1845, would rescind the decision of the Acting Board. It was urged that if enough Southern members of the Board pressed their grievances they, together with the Northern moderates, could win their case.[4]

When the Board met, it appointed a committee to consider the Alabama Resolutions and the reply of the Acting Board.[5] The report of this committee embraced three points: (1) the spirit of the Constitution, as well as the history of the Convention, rendered it apparent that all Baptists, North or South, were constitutionally eligible for all appointments emanating from the Convention or its Board; (2) while this was true, contingencies might arise in which the Northern brethren, in seeking to carry out this principle, would--either in fact or in the opinion of the Christian community--become responsible for institutions which

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[4]The Board included thirteen members from Southern states. Of these thirteen, only three were present at the Providence meeting--William Crane, of Maryland; James B. Taylor and J. B. Jeter, of Virginia.

[5]This committee consisted of Francis Wayland, of Rhode Island; G. S. Webb, of Pennsylvania; Adiel Sherwood, of Illinois (formerly of Georgia); J. B. Taylor, of Virginia; Elisha Tucker, of New York; Barnas Sears, of Massachusetts; and E. B. Smith, of New Hampshire.

they could not conscientiously sanction; and (3) were such to occur, the Board could not ask the Northern brethren to go against conscience by making such appointments, but would consider it incumbent upon them [the Northern brethren] to refer the matter to the Convention for final decision.[6] A resolution was then passed expressing sympathy and further co-operation with the Acting Board.[7]

Baptists at Augusta. The delegates assembled for the meeting in Augusta were called to order at 10:00 A.M., Thursday, May 8, 1845. Upon request, J. B. Jeter made a brief report on the Providence meeting of the Baptist Board, from which he had just returned. After due certification of the delegates,[8] the meeting proceeded to the election of officers. Wm. B. Johnson, of South Carolina, was chosen President; Wilson Lumpkin, of Georgia, and J. B. Taylor, of Virginia, Vice-Presidents; Jesse Hartwell, of Alabama, and

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[6]Annual Report, 1845, in The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (July, 1845), 146, 147.

[7]Ibid., p. 147.

[8]There were 293 delegates, representing churches, associations, state conventions, colleges, a minister's conference, and missionary societies. Isaac McCoy, who had not been appointed by any group, was accepted as a delegate to the convention. Delegates came from eight states and the District of Columbia. No delegates were present from Tennessee, Mississippi, Florida, or Arkansas. Cf. Barnes, op. cit., p. 310.

James C. Crane, of Virginia, Secretaries.[9]

A committee named to prepare a preamble and resolution submitted its report to the Convention on Thursday afternoon. The preamble, adopted the following day, stated that the present Convention was imperatively demanded, for the Boston Board had "exceeded their power and violated their trust."[10] It continued to give the particulars in which this was true. The Triennial Convention had been formed on the basis of perfect equality between members, whether from the North or South. By its original constitution missionaries had to be "such persons as are in full communion with some regular church of our denomination, and who furnish genuine piety and fervent zeal for the Redeemer's cause. . . ."[11] The decision of the Acting Board in regard to the Alabama Resolutions was an innovation, for slave-holding missionaries had been appointed previously. Their decision was an infraction of the resolution adopted at Philadelphia in 1844, which decision the Board had failed to reverse in the Providence meeting. The preamble concluded:

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[9]Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, Held in Augusta, Georgia, May 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1845 (Richmond, Virginia: Published by the Convention, 1845), pp. 7, 11. Future references: Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845.

[10]Ibid., p. 12.

[11]Ibid., quoting the Constitution of the Convention.

> Amidst such circumstances, your committee esteem it absolutely necessary, that the friends of the Constitution of the Triennial Convention, and the lovers of the Bible, shall at once take their stand, and assert the great catholic principles of that Constitution, and of the Word of God.[12]

With adoption of the preamble the delegates turned to the resolution proposed by the committee. It read:

> Resolved [underscore in original], That for peace and harmony, and in order to accomplish the greatest amount of good, and for the maintainance [sic] of those scriptural principles on which the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist denomination of the United States, was originally formed, it is proper that this Convention at once proceed to organize a Society for the propagation of the Gospel.[13]

The resolution provoked extended discussion. Delegates were not willing to act in haste. J. B. Jeter read a letter from Francis Wayland, President of the Triennial Convention. The letter contained the words: "We have shown you how Christians ought not to act, it remains for you to show us how they ought to act."[14] One delegate wished to know why the new organization should be called a society, and what relation would be sustained to the Triennial Convention. Richard Fuller, chairman of the committee which prepared the resolution, explained that he preferred the term "society," because

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[12] Ibid., p. 13.

[13] Ibid.

[14] "The Baptist Convention," The Christian Index, XIII (May 16, 1845).

"the Baptist Church could not, in this [underscore in original] way, be divided."[15] As to the relation to the Triennial Convention: "We should occupy," said Fuller, "the old ground; the North has departed from the original constitution, to which the South was willing to adhere."[16]

With the acceptance of both the preamble and the resolution, a committee was appointed to prepare the draft of a constitution. Before the close of the sessions of the Convention on Saturday, May 10, a constitution had been adopted without serious dissension over any matter.[17] The Convention proceeded to elect officers to form a provisional government until the time appointed for the first meeting of the new organization.[18] In accordance with provisions of the Constitution of the Convention, Boards of Managers were chosen for foreign missions and for domestic missions.[19]

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] The most serious discussion arose over the name of the new organization, some delegates wishing to include the adjective "Southwestern" in the title. "The Southern Baptist Convention" was finally agreed upon because of its brevity, and after due assurance that there was no design to exclude the Southwest. Cf. ibid.

[18] Considerable discussion arose as to whether this Convention had the authority to organize a government.

[19] Article V of the Constitution provided for the election of "as many Boards of Managers, as in its [the Convention's] judgment will be necessary for carrying out the benevolent objects it may determine to promote. . . ."

The Board of Foreign Missions was to be located at Richmond, Virginia; the Board for Domestic Missions, at Marion, Alabama. A collection was to be taken at the close of the Sunday morning worship service for the support of foreign missions. Likewise, a collection for the support of the domestic mission program was to be taken at the close of the Sunday evening service.[20]

After attending worship services on Sunday, delegates to the Convention completed their business on Monday, May 12. The session was spent in passing various resolutions of importance to the newly organized body. The Board of Domestic Missions was instructed to take measures for the religious instruction of Negroes. The city of New Orleans was suggested as a suitable place to which the Domestic Board might direct its labors. The Foreign Mission Board was instructed to communicate with the Acting Board of the Triennial Convention regarding any claims the one might have against the other.[21] The Foreign Mission Board was also directed to enter into any equitable arrangement for the

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[20] Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845, pp. 14, 15.

[21] At a called meeting of the Board of the Triennial Convention, September 24, 1845, a Committee on Claims reported that it was inexpedient for either Convention to make claims upon the other, whether with respect to property or debts. Cf. "Special Meeting of the Board," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (November, 1845), 293.

transfer of missions to the Southern Convention.[22] Finally, it was resolved that application be made to the state of Georgia for an Act of Incorporation.[23] The Convention adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia, June 10, 1846.

The new Convention and the old. It has been contended that the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention represented the introduction of a new kind of organization among Baptists in the United States. What Robert Andrew Baker termed the "convention method" of organization won a victory in the South; the "societal method" triumphed in the North.[24]

A comparison of the Constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention with that of the Triennial Convention did not indicate that the new organization was as new in kind as Baker contended. The Constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention, as adopted in 1845, was closely patterned after that of the older organization in which Baptists in the

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[22]The Triennial Convention did not surrender any mission stations to the Southern Convention. Individual missionaries were free to choose the Board they preferred to serve. The only missionaries transferring relations to the Southern Board were J. L. Shuck and I. J. Roberts.

[23]An Act of Incorporation was passed by the Georgia Legislature on December 27, 1845.

[24]Cf. Robert Andrew Baker, Relations Between Northern and Southern Baptists ([n.p.]: [n.n.], 1948), especially chapters I, II, V, and X; W. W. Barnes, op. cit., pp. 12 ff., 33 ff.

South had co-operated prior to 1845. The basic difference between the Constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention and that of the Triennial Convention was in Article V of the former. It stated:

> The Convention shall elect at each triennial meeting as many Boards of Managers, as in its judgment will be necessary for carrying out the benevolent objects it may determine to promote [underscore not in original]. . . .[25]

But, according to Baker, this is the very point at which this organization was new in kind. Here there is one general organization, embracing all the benevolent objects with which the denomination is, or may be, concerned. Some concessions are made, to be sure, to the old societal type of organization. These would include the financial basis of membership and the refusal to limit representation to the churches only.[26]

These very concessions to the societal type of organization, however, actually kept the Southern Baptist Convention from being new in kind. In order to have had a really new kind of organization, Baptists in Augusta could have taken one of two courses: (1) they could have patterned an organization after the old associational principle of co-operation, which looked upon the churches as associated for

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[25] Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845, p. 3.

[26] Baker, op. cit., pp. 89 ff., 156 ff.

particular purposes quite apart from the financial contributions of those churches; or, (2) they could have formed independent societies for each benevolent object, with individual contributors to these societies holding membership in them. Neither of these courses was taken.

Just as the Triennial Convention represented a compromise between the earlier associational and societal types of organization,[27] the Southern Baptist Convention represented the same kind of compromise. The convention method had been tested in the Triennial Convention and rejected in 1826.[28] Baptists at Augusta chose an organizational structure which reverted to the structure of the Triennial Convention prior to 1826.[29] It remained for the Baptists in the North to form a new kind of missionary organization.

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[27] Supra, p. 94 n.

[28] The limitation of the Triennial Convention to the promotion of foreign missions only did not represent a complete victory for the societal principle. The societal principle must be characterized both by its purpose and its constituency. If the purpose alone be considered, the Convention became a foreign mission society in 1826. Its constituency, however, remained representative in character.

[29] Cf. Winthrop S. Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," Foundations, I (April, 1958), 71. It might be argued that the Triennial Convention had possibilities of becoming a more centralized organization than the Southern Baptist Convention. Educational work, domestic missions, and foreign missions were all subject to the control of the same Board of Managers in the Triennial Convention structure prior to 1826.

II. THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION

The withdrawal of Baptists in the South from the Triennial Convention occasioned the transformation of that body into the American Baptist Missionary Union. From its origin the structure of the Convention had not met with the full approval of some Baptists in the North and East. These succeeded in partially transforming the Convention in 1826. The transformation was fully realized in 1845.

Special session of the Convention. As previously indicated, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention was directed to correspond with the Acting Board of the Triennial Convention regarding the possible transfer of mission stations.[30] Upon receiving a communication with regard to such transfer, the Acting Board, deeming it wise to submit the question to a meeting of the full Board, asked the Board to meet in Philadelphia, October 24, 1845.[31]

When the Board convened in Philadelphia the transfer of mission stations was not the only matter discussed. A committee was appointed to consider the expediency of calling

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[30]The Foreign Mission Board suggested that the missions in China and Africa might be transferred to the care and control of the Southern Baptist Convention.

[31]This call from the Acting Board was dated August 4, 1845. Cf. "Special Meeting of the Board," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (November, 1845), 292.

an extra session of the Convention. Twice the report of this committee was discussed, and twice a decision on the question was delayed.[32] The report, as finally adopted, read as follows:

> . . . That, in view of the recent missionary organization at the South, and the new relations thence arising; also in view of the imperfections in the provisions of our present Constitution; it is expedient for this Board to request the President of the Convention to call an extra session of that body, to be held in the Baptist Tabernacle in the city of New York, on the third Wednesday in November next, at 10:00 o'clock, A.M.[33]

A committee of nine was appointed to recommend such alterations in the Constitution and By-Laws as might be necessary to give increased efficiency to the missionary operations.[34]

A new constitution. The committee of nine, appointed to make such alterations in the Constitution and By-Laws as

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[32]J.[ohn] M.[ason] P.[eck], "American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions," The Religious Herald, XII (October 2, 1845), indicated that discussion on the question of an extra session of the Convention involved three opinions: (1) all admitted the necessity of modifying the Constitution so as to make it conform to the facts on the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention; (2) some suggested radical changes in the interest of simplified organization and efficiency of operations; and (3) others thought a meeting necessary to consider the matter of existing debts and means of increasing contributions to the treasury.

[33]"Special Meeting of the Board," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXV (November, 1845), 294.

[34]Ibid., pp. 294, 295. The members of this committee were Spencer H. Cone, Francis Wayland, R. Fletcher, Heman Lincoln, Baron Stow, John Mason Peck, Elisha Tucker, W. R. Williams, and William Colgate.

might be necessary, submitted its report on the opening day of the special session, November 19, 1845. What the committee actually submitted, however, was not necessary alterations, but a new constitution. Those whom Peck described as desiring "radical changes" had a majority on the committee. This constitution, with only slight verbal changes, was adopted unanimously by the Convention.

Sections one through seven dealt with the nature of the new organization.[35] It was styled: "The American Baptist Missionary Union."[36] Its sole object was to spread the knowledge of Jesus Christ by means of missions.[37] The Union was to be composed of Life Members. All persons present at the time of adoption of the Constitution were to be members by virtue of their presence. Others might become members by the payment, at any one time, of one hundred dollars.[38]

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[35]A copy of this document is found in "Special Meeting of the Convention," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, XXVI (January, 1846), 11-14. Future references will be listed: Constitution, section one, etc.

[36]Constitution, section one. Spencer H. Cone, chairman of the constitutional committee, explained the choice of "union" in the title. He stated that: (1) "association" was too widely used; (2) it was hoped that the organization would really express a union of the sentiments of the Baptist churches; and (3) "union" had been used by the Baptists in England. Cf. "Baptist General Convention," Christian Watchman, XXVI (November 26, 1845), 189-91, for a thorough account of the proceedings of the special session.

[37]Constitution, section two.

[38]Constitution, section three. Cone explained that the plan of life membership had been adopted to give more stability to the organization.

The Union was to meet annually, at which time it would elect its officers and one-third of a Board of Managers.[39] A meeting was to be held immediately upon the adoption of the Constitution of the Union for the purpose of electing a full Board of seventy-five members.[40] One-third of this number would retire from office each year. Special meetings of the Union might be called by the President or Vice-Presidents of the Union, upon application from the Board of Managers.[41]

Sections eight through twenty of the Constitution dealt with the duties of the Board, its officers, and its committees. The Board was to meet immediately after the annual meeting of the Union and elect its officers and committees for the coming year.[42] Meetings were to be held also at least two days prior to the annual meetings of the Union. At this time reports for the past year were to be prepared and submitted to the Union for approval.[43]

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[39]Constitution, section four.

[40]Ibid. Provision was made that at least one-third of the Board should be laymen. Cone explained that need was felt for a large number of lay members who were conversant with business and pecuniary matters.

[41]Constitution, section seven.

[42]Constitution, section nine. These included a Chairman, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, as many Corresponding Secretaries as necessary, an Executive Committee, and an Auditing Committee.

[43]Constitution, section ten.

The major share of the work of the Union fell to an Executive Committee of nine members, not more than five of whom could be ministers of the gospel.[44] The Committee had power to appoint its own officers; to fill any vacancies that might occur in its numbers; and to remove from his position, for sufficient cause, any Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Auditing Committee, or missionary.[45] It was the duty of this Committee to carry into effect all the orders of the Board of Managers, presenting a full account of its actions to the annual meetings of that Board.[46]

All officers of the Union, members of the Board, members of the Board's committees, and missionaries had to be members in good standing of regular Baptist churches.[47] Money or property could be designated by the donors,

> . . . provided such an application shall not be contrary to the provisions of this Constitution, or to the instructions of the Board of Managers, in which case

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[44]Constitution, section nine.

[45]Constitution, sections thirteen and sixteen.

[46]Constitution, sections fourteen and fifteen. The Constitution read as if "orders of the Board" meant simply "that which the Board would be expected to accomplish." The Committee had the power to establish and superintend all missions, to direct the Secretaries and Treasurer in their work, to make all appropriations from the treasury, and to appoint agents for the collection of funds. While it was argued that the new kind of organization was really a much more democratic one than the old Convention, care was taken to see that the real work of the mission program was left to a few individuals.

[47]Constitution, section twenty-one.

> they shall be returned to the donors or their lawful agents.[48]

Alterations in the Constitution could be made only upon the recommendation of the Board of Managers, and by a two-thirds vote of members present at an annual meeting of the Union.[49]

The Union and slavery. Opposition to the Constitution of the American Baptist Missionary Union revolved around two points. The first of these was the question of the Union's attitude toward slavery. Certain abolitionist delegates wished to exclude specifically all slaveholders from membership in the organization. The matter was first raised in connection with discussion of the title of the organization. It was contended that the word "American" was not suitable, for Baptists at the South had already formed a separate society for the slaveholding section of the nation. Nathaniel Colver and B. T. Welch, prominent in the cause of abolition, thought the description was too general, and might be looked upon as an invitation to slaveholders to join the Union.[50]

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[48]Constitution, section twenty-two.

[49]Constitution, section twenty-four. Cone pointed out that too much time had been spent in the sessions of the Convention with alterations to the Constitution. The committee deemed it wise that any recommendations for alterations in the Constitution of the Union should come from the Board of Managers only.

[50]Baron Stow explained that "American" was used to

The attitude the Union intended to take toward the question of slavery was indicated by Spencer H. Cone in one of his many speeches in explanation of the Constitution. The committee responsible for preparing the Constitution did not want an organization divided by Mason's and Dixon's line, or any other line. Under the proposed Constitution they hoped that no extraneous matters, whether of slavery or of anti-slavery, temperance, or any other question, would disrupt the progress of the one grand object for which the Union was being organized. Any individual might have his opinion on any of these matters. They were not subjects to be debated in the annual meetings of the Union.[51]

Amendments, aimed at the specific exclusion of all slaveholders, were offered to sections three and twenty-one of the Constitution. Each amendment was lost. Duncan Dunbar asked assurance from Francis Wayland that the South would not attempt to disrupt the work of the Union. Certain that this was intended as a personal attack, Wayland said, in a voice filled with emotion, that he had never been guilty of ambiguity or trickery to gain any point. It was true, however, that the work of the Triennial Convention had

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distinguish the organization geographically; i.e., American, not European!

[51]"Baptist General Convention," Christian Watchman, XXVI (November 26, 1845), 190.

been so marred by controverted subjects that missions was hardly able to gain a hearing. No such subject was to be introduced in the deliberations of the Union.[52]

Failing to gain a clause excluding slaveholders from membership, two other attempts were made to get an expression from the delegates on the slavery issue. First, a memorial was presented from the American and Foreign Mission Society. It was laid on the table by unanimous vote of the delegates.[53] Second, B. T. Welch, who had been responsible for the resolution of sympathy expressed by the Board at Providence, sought to have a resolution passed expressing confidence in and affection for the Acting Board. Welch withdrew his motion after much pleading from the delegates.[54]

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[52] Ibid. Wayland had been quite conciliatory in his attitude toward slaveholders. For an elaboration of his views on slavery, which would have appeared ambiguous to an ardent abolitionist, cf. Francis Wayland, The Elements of Moral Science (fourth edition; Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1854), pp. 206-16; The Limitations of Human Responsibility (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1838), pp. 167-96; Richard Fuller and Francis Wayland, Domestic Slavery Considered as a Scriptural Institution: in a Correspondence Between Richard Fuller, of Beaufort, S. C., and the Rev. Francis Wayland, of Providence, R. I. (revised edition; New York: Published by Lewis Colby, 1845), pp. 12-125.

[53] A copy of this memorial is found in A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, Facts for Baptist Churches (Utica, New York: Published by the American Baptist Free Mission Society, 1850), p. 179.

[54] "Baptist General Convention," Christian Watchman, XXVI (November 26, 1845), 191.

The primitive plan of missions. The second, and more serious, point at which opposition was voiced to the Constitution of the Union involved the principle of church representation. William Hague, pastor of Federal Street Church in Boston and a member of the Acting Board, vigorously contended that churches ought to be represented in the Union. He urged the delegates to recall the primitive plan of evangelizing the heathen, whereby the churches were agents in the missionary enterprise. He thought the primitive plan was in danger of being supplanted by the newer methods of co-operation. Hague offered an amendment to section fourteen of the Constitution, specifically directing the Executive Committee "to receive and transmit to their proper destination such sums as may be contributed by the respective churches, for the support of individual missionaries."[55]

Hague was assisted in his efforts by W. W. Everts, of New York. Everts affirmed that

> . . . there was a pile of machinery between them [the missionaries] and the churches, and they [Baptists of America] must bring the missionaries into more immediate contact with the throbbing of the people's benevolence if they would urge on, with accelerated impetus, the glorious work of missions.[56]

All attempts to get church representation admitted to the Constitution of the Union failed to pass.

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[55] Ibid., p. 190.

[56] Ibid., p. 191.

Unable to get constitutional recognition for church-directed missions, Hague asked the Union to pass a resolution urging the churches to do their duty in carrying out the commission of Christ. He moved adoption of the following:

> Resolved [underscore in original], That while this Convention solicits the co-operation of all the friends of Missions to the extent of their power as individuals, and commends this cause to the remembrance of those who have property to bequeath by will or testament, yet would now especially call on the churches to remember that the commission of our Lord and Saviour constitutes each one of them a missionary association to spread the gospel throughout the world, and entreats each one, regarding this work in its church capacity as its chief business, to come up to our help; and, more than it ever has done, to act in accordance with the primitive design of its constitution, like those apostolic churches which were "the glory of Christ," and "the light of the world."[57]

Hague cited Judson as favoring this plan. Pharcellus Church, of New York, seconded the motion.

Elimination of the representative principle. It was the principle of representation, however, that the framers of the Constitution of the Union wished to exclude. The Triennial Convention had been a representative assembly.[58] Though the Convention had been restricted in 1826 to the one object of missions to the heathen, its representative character remained. As Wayland later put the matter:

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[57] Ibid. Opponents to Hague's plan argued that such a proposition would mean the dissolution of the society.

[58] The Convention was not limited, of course, to church representation.

> It was, by the community at large, considered to be a grand meeting of the Baptist denomination in the United States, a sort of General Assembly, to which all our affairs were brought for decision. Hence, if for any cause it was deemed desirable to commit the whole Baptist membership to any course of action, this was considered the proper place in which to make the attempt.[59]

This was not to be the case in the American Baptist Missionary Union. Members of the Union were to represent no one but themselves and speak for no one but themselves. The only affairs with which they had to deal were the concerns of the missionary enterprise.

Hague insisted that the question was of such import that he wanted a unanimous opinion on the matter. After much entreaty, however, he agreed to withdraw the motion from consideration. Just as the Union was to have nothing to do with the question of slavery, it would have nothing to say to the churches with regard to their missionary operations and interests. The Triennial Convention was now fully transformed into a foreign mission society, having its

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[59] Francis Wayland, Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1857), p. 185. Chapters XXX and XXXI deal specifically with Wayland's views on church representation. It should be remembered that it was this same Francis Wayland who had led in partially "dismantling" the Convention in 1826. Wayland's influence on Baptist ecclesiology has not been sufficiently appreciated. For a brief study of Wayland's ecclesiology, cf. Norman H. Maring, "The Individualism of Francis Wayland," Baptist Concepts of the Church, Winthrop S. Hudson, editor (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1959), pp. 135-69.

membership limited to individuals interested enough in the missionary movement to contribute one hundred dollars for its support.[60]

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[60]The organization of the American Baptist Missionary Union was provisional, pending the legal transfer of the properties of the Convention to the proposed Union. An Act of Incorporation was granted by the Pennsylvania Legislature on March 13, 1846. An Act of Authorization was granted by the Legislature of Massachusetts on March 25, 1846. These measures were to take effect from and after May 21, 1846--the date of the annual meeting of the Union.

CONCLUSION

The Triennial Convention, 1814-1845, represented an era of grand co-operation among Baptists in the United States. The challenge of converting the heathen struck a responsive chord in North and South, East and West. By 1817 co-operation had extended to concern for the heathen at home as well as those in foreign lands. Plans were laid for the establishment of a theological institution, designed to train missionaries and to give neglected Baptist youth the opportunity of academic preparation for the gospel ministry. Baptists were becoming aware of being a denomination with denominational responsibilities; not merely so many isolated congregations, associations, or societies.

So compelling was the call to mission that the Baptist witness was being heard in four continents in 1845. In North America the Indians continued to hear the preaching of the gospel through the efforts of missionaries of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. On the Continent of Europe, France, Germany, Greece, and Denmark were fields of missionary labor. Among the countries of Asia, Burma, Siam, South India, Assam, and China had small congregations of Baptists --the fruits of the missionary labor of a Judson, a Kincaid, an Abbott, and many an unknown native missioner. In Africa, despite the forbidding climate of the land, the Negro

colonists from America were gathered into worshiping congregations. Missionaries were beginning to turn to the native tribes.

But the era of the Triennial Convention was also a time of conflict for Baptists. The thirty-three men who were responsible for organizing the Convention in 1814 were of one mind in their concern for the heathen. They were not unanimous, however, in their concepts of the best method of co-operation. Some preferred a convention patterned after the associations in which they had co-operated together. Others thought the societal plan more adaptable and more efficient. A compromise was reached, whereby elements of both types of co-operation were included in the new organization.

With the extension of interests to include domestic missions and theological education, the Convention met with opposition from two sources. First, anti-missionists, particularly in the West, objected to what they believed to be the overthrow of Baptist principles. Professing to be missionary, they yet objected to the "board plan" of conducting missions. Theological education, they contended, was unnecessary. Moreover, the West had enough preachers of its own stripe without needing educated men from the East.

In the face of this opposition and of financial reversal after 1819, leading men in the Convention urged a

change in the program which was being fostered by that body. Missions to the heathen ought to be separated entirely from all other benevolent objects. Separate societies might be organized for the support of each one. But the resources of no one benevolence should be drained because of alliance with the others. Despite the centralizing tendency of many in the Convention, this object was accomplished in 1826. Missions to the heathen became the one concern of those who co-operated in the Triennial Convention.

In spite of the great missionary strides made in the next nineteen years, conflict remained. Anti-missionists separated from missionary organizations. The slavery issue, which had not been a sectional matter at all in the early years of the nation's history, drove a wedge between North and South. Abolitionism threatened to destroy the union of effort which remained. Moderates from both sections of the nation tried in vain to rescue the cause of missions from the divisive action of the ardent champions of immediate abolition. Financial reversal, partly conditioned by the slavery issue, again plagued the Convention.

By 1845 Baptist leaders agreed that division was the best answer to the problems occasioned by the difference of opinion on slavery. Baptists in the South organized a Southern Baptist Convention patterned after the Triennial Convention, but assuming the pre-1826 structure of that

organization. In the North, Baptists adopted the societal plan of organization, forming the American Baptist Missionary Union.

The grand adventure in national co-operation had come to an end. The majority of Baptists separated in peace and with much concern for the welfare of all their brethren. Many Baptists separated with reluctance. For thirty-one years they had labored together in what they believed to be the most important business in all the world. Though dividing into separate organizations, they fondly hoped that division would mean renewed strength rather than weakness.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Raymond Hargus Taylor was born at Colmar, Kentucky, October 4, 1931. After attending the public schools of Bell County, Kentucky, and Wayne County, Michigan, he received degrees from Carson-Newman College (B.A., 1953) and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (B.D., 1956). Honors in college included membership in Pi Kappa Delta, national forensic society, and selection for Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities. Taylor graduated from Carson-Newman magna cum laude.

While attending Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Taylor served as graduate fellow in Church History (1956-1958, 1960), contributed articles to the Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, and has served as pastor of the Mt. Carmel Baptist Church, Polsgrove, Kentucky (1957-). He has held membership in the Southern Baptist Historical Society.

Taylor is married to the former Wilma Doris Titts-worth of Knoxville, Tennessee. They have one son, David Warren, born May 29, 1960.