

Hopewell Academy

(Forerunner of Brown University)

And The Lives of Outstanding Graduates

By

Dean Henderson Ashton



Hopewell Academy - by Dean H. Ashton

Notes on This Edition

This edition of *Hopewell Academy* is digitized from an unpublished manuscript by Dean H. Ashton, circa 1960 (the time of his death), provided courtesy of his family.

Dean Ashton was a resident of Hopewell and Hamilton, N. J., who published wonderful histories of the experiences of Hopewell people in the armed forces during World War II.

For three years during the war, Ashton published 50 issues of the *Hopewell News*, a newsletter of hometown news that eventually reached a distribution of over 500 copies per issue. Bound copies of a complete set of issues are available at the Hopewell Public Library and the Hopewell Museum.

This work then lead to his book, *Be It Ever So Humble, The Story of Hopewell, New Jersey, and its Servicemen During World War II*, published in 1947, combining extracts from the *Hopewell News* with personal interviews with service members after they returned from war.

Then in *Hopewell Academy*, Ashton covers the genesis of the Hopewell Academy in the Hopewell Baptist Church in 1747, the work of Isaac Eaton in forming the school, the legacy and graduates of the school, and James Manning's development of Brown University. Unfortunately, Ashton's research notes for this work have not survived, but this document does include his handwritten index and an added table of contents.

Cover image from *1909 Hopewell New Jersey*, captioned "Oldest house in Hopewell. Here the first Baptist School in America for higher education was opened in 1757. Now Brown University of Providence, R. I."

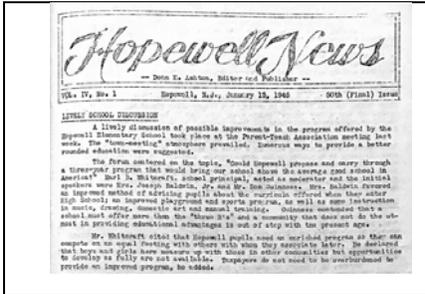
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Dean Ashton and His Publications



**Dean Henderson Ashton
(1900 - 1960)**

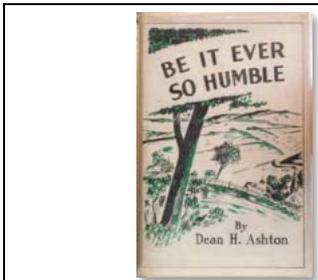
Graduate of Columbia Univ. School of Journalism
Courthouse reporter for Trenton Times for 12 years
Retired from the State Department of Labor
Buried in Highland Cemetery



Hopewell News (Hopewell This-'N'-That)

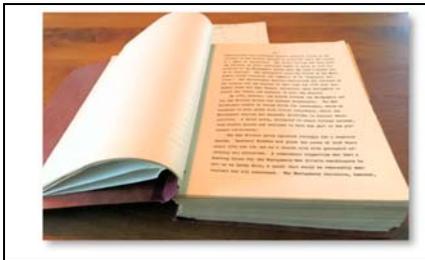
Dean H. Ashton, Editor and Publisher
World War II news-sheet,

to inform service members of home-town doings
Published 50 issues, from January 1943 to January 1946
Originally sent to Calvary Baptist Church members
Eventual distribution of 500 copies,
to more than 200 Hopewell people in the armed forces



**Be It Ever So Humble
The Story of Hopewell, New Jersey,
and its Servicemen During World War II**

by Dean H. Ashton
1947, 370 pp, Printed by Kirkham & Guthrie, Trenton
Extracts from *Hopewell News*, with personal interviews
after service members returned from the war



**Hopewell Academy
(Forerunner of Brown University)
And The Lives of Outstanding Graduates**

by Dean Henderson Ashton
Unpublished manuscript
c. 1960, 539 pp

Newspaper Clippings

Book Advertisement

The Hopewell Herald, December 25, 1946

Now is the Time to Order
"BE IT EVER SO HUMBLE"
BY DEAN H. ASHTON

This book contains the story of Hopewell during the war years, together with the experiences of its servicemen. It is being printed on high-quality paper, with standard binding, and contains more than 300 pages. You will value the book throughout your lifetime. "Be It Ever So Humble," is scheduled for publication in March, 1947. **LIMITED EDITION—Place orders NOW.**

Price, \$3.75 per copy. Mail orders and payments to
DEAN H. ASHTON, 97 West Broad Street, Hopewell, N. J.
12-15-46

Obituary - Hopewell Valley News
Thursday, Aug 17, 1960, Page 6

Obituary - Trenton Evening Times
Aug 18, 1960, Trenton, NJ, Page 6

Dean Ashton Dead At 60

Dean H. Ashton, 60, of 43 Acres Drive, Hamilton Square, died yesterday afternoon in Helene Fuld Hospital following a heart attack at his home.

A retired employe of the State Department of Labor, he was born in Collingswood and lived 34 years in this area. A graduate of Columbia University School of Journalism, he had been Court House reporter for the Trenton Times for 12 years. He was a member of the Hamilton Square Baptist Church.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Florence Ames Ashton; two sons, Paul A. of Princeton and Clyde H. of White Horse; a sister, Miss Ina L. Ashton of Oaklyn; a brother, Leon W. of Wilmington, Del., and five grandsons.

Private services will be held Saturday at the Saul Colonial Home, Hamilton Square, with the Rev. Joseph Thomasberger officiating. Interment will be in Highland Cemetery, Hopewell. Friends may call tomorrow evening.

Page Six

Hopewell Valley News

Serving Hopewell, Pennington and Hopewell Township and the Harbortown and Titusville areas

MEMBER OF NEW JERSEY PRESS ASSOCIATION

HARRY A. RICHARD, Publisher

FLORENCE BOSNE, Editor

Office: 5 Railroad Place, Hopewell, N. J.

Telephone HOPEWELL 6-1190

Subscription Rates: By mail \$3.00 yearly

Second-class mail privileges authorized at Hopewell, New Jersey

Dean H. Ashton (Aug. 17, 1960 - Age 60)

The death of Dean H. Ashton recently marked the end of a career unique in the number of people it touched deeply and personally without them having known the man who made it his job to reach them with notes and news they would have had in no other way.

This remarkable man, who resided in Hopewell for some years prior to moving his home in Hamilton Square, performed a service during World War II which endeared him to thousands.

Every member of the armed forces who received a copy or copies of the "Hopewell News" during their service can appreciate what that mimeographed paper meant to so many men and women. For those who were not on the mailing list of that famous "sheet" and who never saw a copy of it perhaps a short resume of what it was and what it did will be of interest.

Early in 1943, a handful of men from Hopewell in the armed forces received an odd but newsy little paper. It was in the form of a letter from home but it contained numerous short items of people and doings in Hopewell. It grew from one page to four sheets with enough news to fill the front page of a standard, eight-column newspaper. It was a one-man spare-time project which from a few copies sent to members of the Calvary Baptist Church who were away from home, to 500 copies each time it was published. The fifty editions covered the period from January 1943 to January 1946. With no exact date of publication, it usually made the mail every three weeks.

Ashton, Dean H.

"Hopewell News" was read in foxholes, on bombing missions over enemy territory, by candlelight and by flashlight. One reader told of his buddies from other sections of the U.S. reading it and saying, "It sounds just like my home town". It was quite unlike the average newspaper in that it contained information such as would be heard by an individual moving leisurely around town. Actually, it was rather like a comprehensive town history for the years it was published.

At the end of the war, Dean Ashton found it impossible to continue with the "News", as was requested by so many of its readers. He did better than that, he brought out a 370 page book, "Be It Ever So Humble", which covers the period in a most complete manner. What were the contents of the book? Let the author tell you in his own words—

"The stories that appear — are true in every sense of the word, barring human failings as to accuracy of minor details. They run the gamut of human emotions — love, faith, hope, loyalty, sacrifice, misfortune, gaiety, good luck and disappointment — all these and many more. This is Hopewell — this is America."

Whatever else he accomplished in his busy, full life, Dean Ashton has a monument in the copies of his book which may be found in so many homes and libraries. It is good reading and will bring a chuckle or a tear to most anyone who reads it. He was a good newspaperman, a fine gentleman, a beloved father and husband. Quiet-spoken and mild-mannered, he observed much and had that god-given quality of being able to write it so his readers lived the experiences through his words.

Some 70 million registered motor vehicles now ply our highways, and traffic congestion has become a major problem. However, as the old saying goes, we ain't seen nothing yet. A Bureau of the Department of Commerce estimates that the figure will reach 114 million by 1976. This would mean one vehicle for every two men, women and children, or three vehicles for every four persons of legal driving age.

Ashton, Dean H

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Chapter I

A spirit of discontent hovered over the Baptist church at Hopewell, New Jersey, during the early months of 1747. It was less a feeling of dejection than a deep concern for the future. Disturbing as it was to the peace of mind of the members of the church, this atmosphere had developed so gradually during recent years that no one could say definitely when it began or what were the precise factors creating this peculiar state of mind.

Being without a settled minister since 1745 and having seen the advantages derived earlier through that arrangement, it was logical to attribute some of the feeling of disheartedness to the lack of leadership. Likewise, the absence of a meeting house was a definite handicap. There also were some differences of opinion between members as in any group or organization. Fortunately, the basic discontent was far different in character; in fact, it had certain healthy aspects.

The Hopewell Baptists were discontented chiefly because of an eagerness to have their church achieve a fuller measure of development. They wanted to assure its permanency by

erecting an adequate edifice and providing regularity of services. Most of this would become a reality through obtaining a licensed preacher who would be willing to come and live as neighbor, friend and pastor.

The situation had been particularly unhappy since 1742. In that year, Reverend Joseph Eaton, of Montgomery and New Britain, Pennsylvania, was compelled to cease his occasional preaching visits, due to his advancing years. His successor, Thomas Davis, had come to Hopewell from Great Valley, Long Island. He took up residence at the home of Colonel Joseph Stout and remained as pastor until 1745. During his Hopewell ministry a sizeable segment of the church membership asked for letters of dismissal because plans were being completed for the organization of a new church nearer their homes. The group involved had acquired land and built houses in Bethlehem Township, about fifteen miles north of Hopewell. Reverend Thomas Curtis was influential with this group, he being a licensee living in the village of Baptistown in the upper end of that township, and visiting the lower section every three weeks. Five of the group arranged with Reverend Joseph Eaton to be baptized at Hopewell during that formative period. When the little band had grown to twenty-two, a formal application for release as members of the Hopewell church was presented, and approved on July 31, 1742. Davis, as pastor of the Hopewell church, assisted in the formalities when the Bethlehem group was constituted as a church body. In later years when

two new townships were formed, one bearing the name of Kingwood, the church became known as the Kingwood Baptist Church. Reverend Thomas Curtis was ordained at Kingwood on October 28, 1745, and died four years later on April 28th, 1749, in his 64th year.

Despite the loss of a sizeable group of members, there was little likelihood that the Hopewell church would collapse completely. The atsounding family of Stouts, famed in early colonial history, alone could see to that. They not only exercised an influential voice in church affairs but really were the Hopewell church. The Stouts had founded and perpetuated the Hopewell church, providing nine of the fifteen charter members. Without them, there probably would not have been a Hopewell Baptist church until many years later. The church's history for decade after decade thereafter revolved around the Stout family and its branches. If ever there was an instance of a church being dominated indisputably by one family, this was it. But it was a benevolent arrangement, born out of natural developments.

At the present day, it seems incredible that the only spot named in their honor is Stoutsburg, which even now is only a cluster of half a dozen houses at a crossroads point little more than a mile east of Hopewell. The Stout family name, however, extends back into the earliest pages of New Jersey history, being a part of the exciting story of Penelope Vanprincis and her Indian captors.

Richard Stout was the first of the Stouts in America. Despite the popular belief that the Stout line is Dutch, Richard lived in Nottinghamshire, England. He probably was born in 1602. His father, John, is said to have differed with Richard about the latter's love affair, causing the son to enter Naval service. He spent seven years aboard a man-of-war, then discharged at New Amsterdam (New York). The date of his arrival is controversial but records show that he was ^{at} Gravesend, Long Island, at its settlement in 1642. In the following year, he was one of the defenders of the same point when Indians attacked.

Little did Stout suspect that his future was to be linked with an attractive young Dutch woman, newly widowed. She was Penelope Vanprincis. Born in Amsterdam, she and her husband were aboard a Dutch vessel when it was shipwrecked on Sandy Hook. With other passengers, Penelope and her husband reached shore. Because of injuries or illness, her husband was unable to set out with the others for New Amsterdam, fifty miles distant by land although less than half that distance by water. Penelope remained with him, while the others hurried away, fearing an Indian attack. The Indians, attracted by the vessel's misfortune, appeared and killed Penelope and her husband. So they thought, but a breath of life remained in Penelope's body, despite a fractured skull, a damaged shoulder and several abdominal lacerations. A few days later, after

she had remained hidden in a hollow log and relied upon sap and twigs for nourishment, according to legend, she was observed by two Indians.

They were puzzled not only to find her alive but over the question as to what should be done with her. The older man of the two prevailed in an argument as to whether she should be slain or her life spared. He carried her some distance to his camp, treated her injuries and gradually restored her to health. According to one account, he then took her to New Amsterdam and surrendered her for a sum of money. Another account has it that her fellow passengers became alarmed because she and her husband failed to arrive after them at New Amsterdam, and learning that a white woman was being sheltered by an Indian, sent a searching party. The Indian, befriender of Penelope to the end, left it for Penelope to decide whether she preferred to go or remain. She accompanied the Dutch searching party on their return trip. The kindly-disposed Indian subsequently visited Penelope after learning that she and her second husband, Richard Stout, were living near Middletown, New Jersey, not far from the scene of the shipwreck. He also is credited with having come to Penelope on one occasion with a warning of an impending Indian attack. Stout was incredulous but Penelope said that the Indian had always been truthful, so she and her children left the danger zone in a canoe that the Indian had provided so she could cross to New Amsterdam. At Middletown, a guard

was maintained and the Indians were frightened away.

When Penelope first became acquainted with Stout, she probably was about twenty-two years old, while he is believed to have been about forty. In 1686, he was described as "very old," and if born in 1602, would have been eighty-four. Richard and Penelope apparently moved from Gravesend, Long Island, to the Monmouth Tract (New Jersey) about 1648. Two sons accompanied them, as well as six other families, all desiring land that might provide an adequate living. In all, seven sons and three daughters were born to Richard and Penelope Stout. Included were ^{Jonathan} Jonathan, the ^{third} third son whose course will be followed since he was the first settler of Hopewell; and David, ^{seventh} seventh son, who also was attracted to the Hopewell area and settled there about twenty years later than Jonathan.

Jonathan Stout married well, his bride being Anna Bullen, daughter of James Bullen, who was Secretary of the Province of New Jersey. They were wed on August 27, 1685. Land title records for the following year indicate that Jonathan Stout held 142 acres at Middletown. When he was "about to found a settlement in the wilderness" (Hopewell) within about fifteen miles of the "Falls of the Delaware" (Trenton), he disposed of his Middletown land. The sale covered 250 acres, evidently including additional acquisitions subsequent to 1686. For this parcel, he received 328 pounds.

If "wilderness" life--"wilderness" in the flowery language of colonial historians probably signifying little more than an uninhabited region or uncleared land--could be endured,

there was a profit to be made in selling land in a more settled area and buying in virgin territory. Jonathan Stout found this to be true. In 1703, he purchased 300 acres "lying above the Falls of the Delaware" for 65 pounds from John Chapman, of Chesterfield, Burlington county. In 1705 (July 20th), another deed was signed whereby Stout acquired one-sixteenth of a one-hundredth part of the Province of West Jersey from William Crouch, of London, and William Biles, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. This fell within the 30,000-acre tract held earlier by Colonel Daniel Coxe, and it may be that this deed was taken to extinguish any proprietary interest that might have remained in the land that Stout previously acquired from Chapman.

Jonathan Stout died either late in 1722 or early in 1723. His will is dated November 24th, 1722, and was probated March 25th, 1723. Jonathan and Anna had nine children: Joseph, born October 25th, 1686; Benjamin, born in 1696; Zebulon, born in 1699; Jonathan, born 1701; David, born in 1706; Samuel, born in 1709, and Sarah, Hannah and Ann.

As previously stated, David Stout, ^{sixth son} seventh son of Richard Stout (the first by that name) also was one of the Stout family that came from Middletown to settle in the Hopewell area. Actually, it was David's son, James, who first decided that he would follow his uncle, Jonathan, to the Hopewell-Amwell "wilderness." James, who had married Catherine Simson in 1712, left Upper Freehold to "pioneer" in the Sourland mountain

area with his wife and first three children. He acquired about 700 acres situated near the present-day village of Wertsville and provided a home for his family and a barn for his livestock and crops. But at the age of thirty-six, he died of pleurisy, leaving his wife and seven children, six sons and one daughter. Somewhat earlier, James' father, David, who had married Rebecca Ashton in 1688, decided that he, too, would like to live near Hopewell and he disposed of his holdings at Middletown. Following the usual pattern, he bought extensively. He lived to an advanced age, and had five sons and three daughters. Particular interest is attached to his son, David, born in 1695, for it was the latter's son, Joseph, who married Anne Merrill, by whom there were two sons and a daughter, Behemiah, Nathaniel and Rebecca. The last-named, Rebecca, became the wife of Reverend Isaac Eaton.

The Stouts had continued to be members of the Middletown Baptist Church. Other Baptist families had arrived in the Hopewell locale, coming chiefly from Pennepek (Lower Dublin, Pa.) in the vicinity of Philadelphia. They also had left their church ties unbroken, even though distance made church attendance there impossible. In the absence of any Baptist church nearby, they came to the conclusion in the Spring of 1715 that they should organize a church at Hopewell. They applied to their respective churches for letters of dismissal, pointing out that "being remote from those churches, it was thought more for their benefit to be settled in a church-state

by themselves," according to the records of the Philadelphia Baptist Association.

The ministers of the Middletown and Pennepek churches were willing to lend assistance in establishing the Hopewell church. They were Reverend Abel Morgan, pastor of the Pennepek church, who was aided by William Kinnersley, Griffith Miles and Joseph Todd, members of that church; and Reverend John Burrows, minister at Middletown, and Samuel Ogborn, one of its members.

Jonathan Stout invited those interested to meet at his home. This was April 22nd, 1715. The day was spent in fasting and prayer. On the following day, the group organized as a church body with fifteen constituent members, ^{of whom 9 were} adopted a constitution and received recognition from the visitors as a ^{members of the Stout family} "sister church." The Stout home thereafter continued in effect as the meeting house for the next thirty years, services being held with some regularity and almost invariably there, but if not, then at the home of another branch of the Stout family. F
Contd

The original Stout homestead on the slope northeast of the present town has passed long since into oblivion. Two other residences have stood on virtually the same site since that time. Joseph Stout, son of Jonathan, erected a home for himself near that of his father about 1750. Joseph had married Ruth Greenland, who with her husband was a constituent F
Continued

member of the Hopewell Baptist church, but the latter had passed away. The dimensions of their new home was somewhat lavish for that age, but Joseph let a matter of personal pique enter into the specifications, as will be described later. The house probably was laid up with field stone and clay, with timbers hewn out of trees cut down in the woods nearby. In turn, it gave way to another residence built in 1852-53, which is presently standing, although renovated in the late 1940's.

The creation of a church in 1715, which largely solved the travel problem for most of its members, presented a new issue--the calling of a minister to expound the gospel. Abel Morgan, from Pennepek, and John Burrows, from Middletown, willingly came to preach but at infrequent intervals. Another who assisted was Joseph Wood, who had been ordained at Pennepek. In 1721, the church obtained its first settled minister. Thomas Simmons (Symmons) came from Middletown and remained for three years, then went to Charleston, South Carolina. Services continued to be held in private homes, but somewhat irregularly.

George Eaglesfield, who was not an ordained minister, came from Philadelphia in 1725, having preached there for two years. He conducted services at Hopewell once a month but when church ordinances were to be administered, an ordained minister was invited to perform the ceremonies. Subsequently, Mr. Eaglesfield went to Middletown.

In 1727, the Hopewell church made inquiry of the Baptist church at Montgomery, Pennsylvania, as to ministerial assistance. Benjamin Griffith, the pastor there, agreed to visit Hopewell every other month. The alternate months, under this arrangement, were to be taken by Joseph Eaton, his assistant, who was ordained to the ministry on October 24th in the same year at the Montgomery church. This was the introduction of the Eaton family to the Hopewell church, to which Joseph and his son, Isaac, contributed impressively during the next forty-five years.

Gradually, Reverend Joseph Eaton assumed a larger share of the work and became the regular supply pastor for Hopewell. Although his monthly visits were hampered by severe weather during the Winter and complicated by his duties in connection with the expanding Baptist work in New Britain, Pennsylvania, this relationship continued until 1742.

An appraisal of Joseph Eaton's ministry by his son, Isaac, is contained in the records of the Hopewell church. It was written late in 1749 as part of a general summary covering the first three decades of the church's existence. Isaac Eaton wrote that there were "divers difficulties attending the church, sometimes unhappy differences and wasting discords seemed to prevail and draw as it were a sable cloud of confusion over this church to the no small hindrance of the success of the Gospel comfort of its professors and wounding the credit of religion, hardening sinners and so forth."

The pastorate of Thomas Davis, mentioned heretofore, followed that of Reverend Joseph Eaton. In regard to Davis' service, Issac Eaton wrote:

"Alas! Satan the grand accuser of the brethren who unweariedly goes about as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour and not being steadfastly enough resisted, united to make an inroad upon us and cause awful divisions."

Growth in membership ceased, and "on the contrary 'tis to be feared the eating canker of prejudice and party zeal destroyed and eat out the heart of religion," Eaton added.

When Davis resigned in 1745 to assume a like position at Oyster Bay, Long Island, his departure caused the Hopewell church to lapse into its earlier feeling of insecurity. Arrangements were entered upon which brought Reverend Malachiah Bonham down from the church at Bethlehem with some frequency, while the ordinances of the church were administered when occasion required by Benjamin Miller, of Middletown, and James Carman, of Cranberry (later ~~re-named as~~ ^{moved to} Hightstown).

But the Hopewell worshippers yearned for strengthening of the foundations in this Baptist outpost. It may be that the cheerful reports that Reverend Mr. Bonham gave concerning the trend of church matters at Bethlehem added to their uneasiness. Early in 1747, the congregation there had made plans to erect a meeting house to replace the temporary structure. Further, some of the more observant members of the Hopewell church were aware that if a greater degree of unity

could be developed, the time was ripe for real expansion on their own account. So a meeting was called for June 19th, 1747, by the visiting ministers, who may have played a leading party in engendering the feeling within the congregation that a definite course should be charted for the future.

This meeting for a frank appraisal of the situation was held at the home of Henry Oxley. The church appears to have relied at the time upon Isaac Herin, an ordained Elder, and John Manners, an ordained Deacon who had been received by letter from the Philadelphia church, for leadership. The meeting opened with "raising the Psalm." Officers were named to take charge. Isaac Eaton, in his summary written at a later date, reports that "differences were discussed and arbitrated, a marked revival of enthusiasm and spirituality developed."

Several changes of major importance date from that meeting. According to Eaton, the fervent, vigorous preaching of Malachiah Bonham and others brought religion again to a place of eminence in the community. During 1747, a revival occurred and the church added fifty-five members through baptism in that year alone. By 1749, the total membership was 112, according to Eaton's later account. He also recorded that "there was in great measure a happy stop put to frolicking and gaming in that neighborhood."

Another decision reached on that all-important day pertained to the erection of a meeting house. The location of

the church was not readily settled, however. Joseph Stout, seeking to dominate the situation, urged that it be placed adjacent to his own home since the church had originated there. Others maintained that it would be too far removed from the center of the little community. John Hart, an influential landholder, although not a member of the Baptist church, offered to give a suitable site from his extensive tract of land. He set aside three-quarters of an acre, on the north side of the roadway extending toward Trenton, and a hundred yards or less from the homes of Nathan Hixon and Obadiah Seely. The Hepburn property, in which a beer and cake shop was conducted by Nathaniel Stout and Joseph Hough, was close by on the south side.

Disgruntled because his opinion had not been accepted, Col. ³⁻⁵¹ Joseph Stout set out to erect a structure as his own home on the site where he had hoped to see the church placed. He saw to it that the house was five feet longer and five feet wider than the new church, thus making the foundation thirty-five by forty-five feet. His dwelling was two stories in height and contained nine rooms, five being on the second floor. It had an attractive central entrance doorway and six fireplaces; also a cellar kitchen and adjacent cellar storage space.

This property later gained fame briefly during the Revolutionary War days when it served as General Washington's headquarters on June 23-24, 1778. It was the scene of a meeting attended by several famed generals for a Great Council of War,

from which orders were issued for the Battle of Monmouth on June 28, 1778. This battle has been regarded as a turning point in the war. The dwelling had become known as Hunt's House, inasmuch as John Price Hunt, a brother of Elizabeth Hunt who had married the younger Jonathan Stout, a brother of Joseph Stout, was the occupant. The latter willed the property to his son, Joseph, who in 1782 advertised it for sale. Seven years later, it was deeded to Wilson Stout, a cousin of Joseph. In 1799, Wilson Stout transferred title to John Weart, Sr., whose son, John, Jr. (married Susan Stout) held title thereafter. Title remained in the Weart family for more than a century and a quarter. In 1852-53, Spencer Stout Weart erected a new home of white rough-cast stone on the same site. This home was graced by a wider front porch, with arborvitae screening the kitchen door from visitors who might be upon the porch. A servants' wing was on the east end. The adjacent barn and wagon houses burned down in 1860 but the home stands at the present time, after undergoing alterations and a degree of modernization. The last of the Weart family to occupy it was Elmer A. Weart, son of George E. Weart, who lived there until about 1925.

*Willed to Joseph by grandfather, Col Jos. Stout, in 1766
244-Here Homestead*

John Hart, later to hold high State offices and serve as one of the framers and signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a member of the Presbyterian church at Maidenhead (now Lawrenceville). The actual deeding of the ground to the Hopewell Baptists by Hart was not completed prior to the start

of construction work on the church edifice. In fact, it appears that the absence of legal title to the site was revealed more than twenty years later when the church decided to incorporate, for the deed given by Hart bears the date of January 7, 1771.

The petition for a charter of incorporation for the church was presented to Governor William Franklin in 1769 during the pastorate of Isaac Eaton. The following excerpt from the records of the Provincial Council of New Jersey describes the procedure followed:

"At a Council held at Burlington Tuesday the 17th Oct. 1769 . . . His Excellency also laid before the Board . . . a Petition from Sundry Inhabitants of the Township of Hopewell in the County of Hunterdon, of the Baptist Persuasion praying for a Charter of Incorporation by the Name of The Baptist Congregation in Hopewell, to which the Council assented and advised His Excellency to grant the same."

Another minute reads:

"At a Council held at Burlington Friday Novemb. 24 1769, His Excellency laid before the Board the Draught of a Charter to incorporate the Trustees of the Baptist Congregation in Hopewell which being read and considered, the Council advised His Excellency to approve the Same."

The church completed its incorporation at a meeting held December 5th, 1769. Some doubt arose later as to whether the charter had any validity because of the Revolution and the

breaking of ties with the mother country. The House of Assembly passed a measure November 7th, 1785, that confirmed the original charter.

Unhappily, the charter issued by Governor Franklin in the name of King George III no longer exists, as the library of the Baptist Historical Society in Philadelphia, to which it had been entrusted, was destroyed by fire in 1898.

The original church building, erected in 1747, was thirty feet wide and forty feet long. It had much the same appearance as the red-brick church located on the same parcel of ground today, although the present structure, erected in 1822, is somewhat larger than its predecessor. The first church, two stories in height, was built on a stone foundation. The interior walls were said to have been whitewashed. The windows were trimmed in white and boasted several small panes of glass.

To "manage" the building of the original church, four men were named, two being Stouts, David and Benjamin. Their associates were Benjamin Drake and Henry Oxley. Ground was broken in August, 1747. The work advanced sufficiently to permit church services to be held in the new structure during the course of the Winter that followed. *the winter of 1747* ✓

With cooperation prevailing, a new church structure and impressive gains in membership, it was paramount that an able minister be obtained, to give direction and stimulus and to provide the spiritual leadership that the congregation desired

and needed. Thus it was that Isaac Eaton came under serious consideration as the next settled minister for the Hopewell church.

Isaac Eaton was a member of the Southampton (Pennsylvania) Baptist church and had been licensed to preach. However, he had not been ordained to the ministry when he first was invited to preach at Hopewell. That was in April, 1748. On that visit, he made a favorable impression and was asked to return for several additional Sundays. By July, sentiment had crystallized to such an extent that the Hopewell church appointed messengers to convey their request to the church at Southampton.

The committee representing the Hopewell church made a trip to Southampton in July, 1748. Those who went were John Stout and John Gano. Later, Gano was to make an illustrious record as a Baptist preacher after Isaac Eaton had persuaded him that it should be his life work. Gano, writing in his memoirs years later, described Eaton as "a worthy young minister" and "a great acquisition" for the Hopewell church as well as "to the churches all around." Gano also felt that he personally had been "blessed with a judicious and useful minister and friend."

The visiting committee delivered a letter to the congregation of the Southampton church asking that Isaac Eaton be granted "leave to serve us more constantly for a season." It might well have been that the Southampton church had Isaac

in view as a likely successor to his enfeebled father. For the time being, however, they were not in a position to retain Isaac. The call for his services at Hopewell required an immediate decision. Isaac expressed a desire that the committee consult his father before he personally gave an answer. The Hopewell committee accordingly proceeded to Montgomery. Reverend Joseph Eaton, knowing the Hopewell situation so intimately and realizing that his son would have an opportunity to carry on and develop the work there, had reason to feel proud that his son was being sought. He gave his approval. Isaac accepted the call and the Southampton church issued its letter of dismissal.

In view of these circumstances, Isaac Eaton's ministry is generally regarded as having begun in April, 1748. However, he became attached to the Hopewell church as a member on October 30th, 1748. Arrangements for his ordination were quickly completed and this impressive service was held on November 23rd, 1748. Those participating in the ordination service were James Carman, Thomas Curtis, Benjamin Miller and Joshua Potts. As a further formality, now that a permanent pastor had been obtained, the church voted to hold a communion service every two months. At a stated meeting in January, 1749, Reverend Isaac Eaton was formally designated to serve as its moderator when business affairs were to be discussed.

Little more than a year after Isaac Eaton had been installed at Hopewell, the church requested him to compile a

"Registrum Baptismale or Church Book," as he termed it, wherein was to be written a summary of the church's history and baptismal register. Eaton explained the purpose of the book in this fashion:

"Wherein is contained an Account of The first Settling & Constituting of the Baptist Church in Hopewell in Western Jerseys, as also An Account of the Ministerial helps with which they have been Supply'd; Likewise a Relation Given of the Number of Persons Added And Further Many Things Inserted Relating to Church order & Discipline Transcribed out of old Records and Papers and Collected together Herein."

Eaton's introductory statement in the book states:

"It being usual when persons attempt to act in any particular affairs that there be some sufficient call thereunto, whereby they may be released from the heavy charge of meddling with that which do not belong unto them but I suppose the necessity of such a performance will readily appear to all those that are in any measure acquainted with the custom of any body politic, corporation or society. We find it hath been a general practice in old time to keep records in both civil and ecclesiastical government as we may see Ezra 6:2 and Esther 6:1, &c.

"The Church of Christ at Hopewell (long labouring under many disadvantages in relation to any thing particular of this kind) came at last to this conclusion a book should be prepared and what can be collected from old records and papers

should be inserted in some order therein.

"Glad should I be if some abler hand would undertake for viewing from the time of the church's first constitution downwards especially the first fifteen years I find but very little account more than the names of those baptized. I cannot give so particular an account of many things since then as I would, or as there ought to be, seeing the congregation was for great part of the time without any Stated Meeting; and ministers coming sometimes one and sometimes another, the date when many were baptized being never set down or the records thereof lost. Sometimes unhappy discords arising broke the peace of the church which rendered them incapable to maintain that sweet harmony in many duties by which means at some time those seemed but few could give any proper and distinct account of the church's carryings on.

"The changing of clerks I suppose may be the occasion of the loss of some writings. It can't therefore be expected that a large account can be given; however, I have laboured to give a relation herein of the principal things that came within my view. Hoping that those that see this work will pass by the weakness and imperfections of the composer in every respect. Isaac Eaton."

Chapter II

From every aspect, Hopewell was a challenging opportunity for Isaac Eaton, yet one for which he was well qualified. Endowed with a zest for learning and being of a serious turn of mind, he had been studying along theological lines under the guidance of his father. Isaac's scholarship was recognized as outstanding for one who had no opportunity to attend college. Through his association with Reverend Benjamin Griffiths, of the Montgomery (Pennsylvania) church, he also had acquired a knowledge of medicine that would prove valuable. He also had special aptitude as a teacher in a Latin Grammar school conducted at the newly-founded Southampton church, organized in 1746 as a split-off of a portion of the Pennepek church's congregation.

In leaving home surroundings in Montgomery township, Isaac Eaton was separating himself from a closely knit Welsh colony of settlers in Pennsylvania. Welshmen like to be among Welshmen, yet the ambitions of youth and the desire to become established in a new locality offering a sphere of wider usefulness may have figured in Isaac Eaton's decision to respond when the Hopewell congregation invited him to become its pastor.

The Welsh had been pouring into the Pennsylvania colony for two decades. The first group arrived in 1684, moving down from Rhode Island and selecting locations between Trenton and Bristol adjacent to the Delaware river. Other emigrants, arriving from Nautmel and Llanddewi, Wales, included the Eatons. The Welsh arrived in greater numbers than the English between 1682 and 1700, but the English Quakers enjoyed an over-all predominance. It has been estimated that the Welsh in Pennsylvania totaled six thousand by 1720. The Welsh arrived with the firm intent of remaining as a cohesive group. This colony founded by William Penn was to be the spot where all their dreams would become realities. They were determined to enjoy religious liberty but they would not stop there. To assure continuance of freedom of worship, they set up a district of their own where Welsh beliefs, practices and the Welsh language would be paramount. William Penn was not hostile to the scheme, encouraging it by agreeing to sell forty thousand acres to the group as early as 1681. This tract became known as the Welsh Barony, or Welsh Tract, and embraced what is now a part of Montgomery, Delaware and Chester counties.

The Welsh Tract was broken up into small parcels as new settlers arrived seeking fertile ground where a man's industry might enable him to establish himself soundly within a reasonable time. The Welsh were a hard-working, plain-living group. They were provident and lived frugally in the belief that careful husbandry would pay dividends.

As time went on, the Welsh mingled more freely with the English. This cost the Welsh their independence as a distinct racial group. The swelling English population drove the Welsh, as well as other minority groups, into a place of reduced importance. A further breakdown in Welsh solidarity occurred when the Provincial rulers did away with the Quaker town meetings and set up government by townships. But Welsh traits, virility and a certain amount of independence, can be recognized even to the present day in individuals in that locality.

The Baptists in the Welsh Barony, as well as at Gwynedd, or New Wales, in Montgomery County, were greatly outnumbered as far as religious sects were concerned. Yet in their religious views, the English Quakers, dissenters from the Church of England and followers of George Fox and his Society of Friends, had considerable in common with the Welsh Baptists. Another group of some size was made up of German settlers, mistakenly labeled as the "Pennsylvania Dutch." While numerous in Pennsylvania, they preferred the counties further to the West rather than the Quaker stronghold of Philadelphia and vicinity. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians constituted another sect and they possessed considerable strength, not only in Montgomery County during Isaac Eaton's boyhood there, but generally throughout the Province. These Presbyterians were bitter against the Church of England because of the persecution many had endured in Ireland after emigrating from Scotland

in the hope of living in peace upon the land stripped away from the Irish rebellionists.

Isaac Eaton's father, Joseph Eaton, had arrived as a boy of seven in the colony of William Penn in 1686. Joseph's father, John, had lived in the parish of Nautmel, Radnorshire, Wales. Upon arrival in America, he established himself with other Welsh emigrants at Lower Dublin, also known as Pennepek (later spelled Pennypack).

As Baptists, the Pennepek group welcomed the opportunity provided them in 1688 when Reverend Elias Keach decided to settle among them and formed a church at Pennepek. Thereafter, Keach reached out and baptized others who lived not only in the Eastern section of Pennsylvania including Chester and Philadelphia, but others in New Jersey at points as far distant as Cohansey, Middletown, Trenton and Burlington. These converts, as well as Baptists arriving from abroad, were affiliated with the Pennepek church, since no other Baptist church existed in that area.

Joseph Eaton purchased a tract of farmland comprising 353 acres in 1721. It was situated along what is now a State highway between Montgomery and New Britain. In the same year he joined the Montgomery Church by transfer from the Welsh Tract church, this being in June of that year.

Two years later, Joseph's first wife, Gwen Morgan, died. They had five sons, John, Joseph, George, Edward and David, as well as three daughters, Mary, Joanna (Goodwin) and Sarah (Jones). On March 17, 1724, Joseph Eaton, Sr. re-married,

his wife being Uriah Humphreys, to whom Isaac was born. There was another son, Jacob, and one daughter, Hannah, also born of this marriage. Uriah was baptized in the Montgomery Church April 26, 1724, having come from Pennepek. She died, according to church records, in 1759.

The Welsh Baptists, in choosing a minister, were accustomed to looking within their own group for promising timber. If it appeared that a man was led by divine guidance to preach, or if the congregation believed that the "exercising of his gifts" might reveal hidden capabilities, he was given an opportunity to be heard. Thus it was that the church formed at Montgomery on June 20th, 1719, with ten members, decided three years later to have four of its members "exercise their gifts." Joseph Eaton was one of those designated, along with Benjamin Griffiths, John James and David Evans. After some delay, Benjamin Griffiths was chosen in 1725 to be the first permanent pastor of the church. Two years later (October 24, 1727), Joseph Eaton was ordained. He became assistant to Griffiths and continued in that service for about sixteen years.

Joseph Eaton extended his activities to nearby groups of worshippers. He assisted with some regularity at Southampton. Later, he took a leading part in forming a church at New Britain. Undoubtedly he was able to do this because as an aide to Griffiths he could be available Sundays while the latter was preaching in the home church.

As time went by, differences over theology arose.

Complications also developed because families living in the vicinity of New Britain desired to establish their own church as a matter of convenience. The latter faction had been holding services in their individual homes as early as 1730 but appeared at the Montgomery church when the Lord's Supper was to be observed. The theological question raised in the Montgomery church concerned the elements of an "essential doctrine." The Philadelphia Baptist Association was informed of the dispute and the minutes of that body for 1736 show that Jenkin Jones and Owen Thomas, ministers, were designated to select two others and endeavor to heal the discord.

By 1740, however, the breach between the Montgomery and the New Britain groups had widened dangerously. The New Britainers looked to Joseph Eaton for leadership, which he appeared to have given with little reluctance, while the Montgomery faction had Benjamin Griffiths to espouse their position. A third group, estimated at about fifteen persons, took middle ground and declined to have any part in the prolonged controversy.

The New Britain group agitated strongly for a separate church. Lawrence Growden had given two acres of land there about 1740 and its use as a church site with graveyard adjoining was advocated. A compromise suggestion was that a meeting house for the Montgomery-New Britain worshippers be set up on Leahy Hill, a point that would be reasonably convenient for all concerned. The Montgomery residents, however,

felt that the church should remain where originally built and they declined to go along with such a plan.

A new doctrinal controversy developed, in which Joseph Eaton became so seriously enmeshed that he finally was called before the Philadelphia Association. There he recanted. The New Britain group, which had proceeded to build a church in 1744 upon the ground donated by Growden, also was presented before the Association as "disorderly" and was subjected to harsh criticism. This has been attributed in part to the fact that Benjamin Griffiths, representing the Montgomery church, had a more influential voice in the Association than did Joseph Eaton.

The doctrinal dispute is described by Morgan Edwards as follows: "There was also a difference respecting the Sonship of Christ, some grounding the character of the Son on an eternal generation, others on mediation only, but both allowing His personality and equality with the Father. A controversy therefore arose, too inconsiderable to produce the effect it did had not a separation been a determined point. Accordingly the matter was fomented by a paper that was often called 'Butler's Creed.'" This was a document prepared by Simon Butler who had also played an important role in defending the views expressed by the New Britain faction. He had held a royal appointment as a Justice of the Peace and operated a mill along with Simon Mathews.

Joseph Eaton's difficulties arose because of his avowed skepticism concerning the Sonship of Christ. This was counter

to the article contained in the Confession of Faith, to which the denomination adhered at that time, concerning the eternal generation and Sonship of Christ. Eaton's offense, while vigorously condemned by action of the Association, nevertheless was forgiven. His "weak and aged years" are mentioned in the official minutes which describe the scene at the September, 1743, meeting of the Philadelphia Baptist Association as follows:

"Tuesday, the house met according to appointment, at 8 o'clock, A.M., to consider further the affair begun yesterday, touching the differences at Montgomery. After some time spent in debate thereon, brother Joseph Eaton stood up, and freely, to our apprehension, recant, renounced, and condemned all expressions, which he heretofore had used, whereby his brethren at Montgomery, or any persons elsewhere, were made to believe that he departed from the literal sense and meaning of that fundamental article in our Confession of faith, concerning the eternal generation and Sonship of Jesus Christ our Lord; he acknowledged with grief his misconduct therein, whether by word or deed. We desire that all our churches would take notice thereof, and have a tender regard for him in his weak and aged years, and in particular, of that great truth upon which the Christian religion depends; without which it must not only totter, but fall to the ground, which he confesses he was sometimes doubtful of."

Simon Butler was subjected to the same ordeal, and confessed that he had been in error in preparing "Butler's Creed."

In view of these developments, the Association made special note of the affair. It urged the Baptists generally to accept "the revealed will of God, concerning the unutterable, as well as inconceivable, mysteries of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three in one, and one in three, the co-essentiality, the co-eternity, and co-equality of the three glorious Persons in one eternal God." Furthermore, the message said that "A number in one of our churches having suffered themselves to inquire therein, according to aforesaid rules of human reason and worldly reason, have become so entangled and confused, that they were carried so far as to question the Sonship of the second person, as he is God, without having reference to his manhood and mediatory offices; which conception and supposition we not only disallow, but abhor and condemn, and are glad that God hath blessed means to convict the said parties of their sin and error; and herein we were, nemine contradicente, fully united to repel, and put a stop to, as far as we may . . . the Arian, Socinian and Antritrinitarian systems."

But the status of the New Britain secessionist group remained to be worked out. The Philadelphia Association was looked to in the hope that outside influence could bring about a peaceful settlement. A committee named by the Association to get to the roots of the quarrel submitted its report on November 7th, 1744. The difficult job had been handled by Owen Thomas, Benjamin Stelle and Thomas Jones. Who was to blame? Both sides, they declared. In respect to numbers, the New Britain forces held an advantage. On the other hand,

the Montgomery group was still in possession of the original meeting house, although there had been occasions when the New Britain faction, lacking a church building, had met there despite the existing quarrel. After all, they still regarded it as their church, equally so with the other group.

The erection of a church building on Leahy Hill had added fuel to the fire. It usually was referred to as the Society meeting house, because it stood upon ground that had been granted originally by royal patent to the Free Society of Traders, a body formed by London men of wealth in 1682 to acquire large tracts of land. The Society tract consisted of 8,300 acres, extending from the present site of Doylestown to the Bucks-Montgomery county line. Because of the land's history, the church faction at New Britain came to be known as the "Society party."

Lacking recognition as a church, New Britain attempted to reach an understanding with its parent church. It was decided that the Philadelphia Association might put an end to the feud if a hearing was granted. Accordingly, New Britain addressed a letter to the Association. However, at the conclusion of the hearing the Montgomery point of view held sway and the request was denied on the ground that the New Britain letter "came into the association disorderly"--that is, having no constitutional standing as a separate body. The request was renewed the next year. Again it was turned down. Ministers who might preach for the Society party were urged

to "exhort them to be reconciled." In other words, if the New Britain congregation wanted to gain recognition, the Association felt that its members should straighten out their status as former adherents of the Montgomery church. Such a move could be initiated only after time had had a chance to heal some of the open wounds. In the face of a claim by the New Britainers that they themselves were the main body of the church, and that Montgomery should be viewed merely as a branch of it, the dispute was in a status difficult to adjust.

Finally, the New Britain people completed their organizational steps, adopting a Confession of Faith and a constitution in October, 1754. On that occasion, the constitution was signed by twenty-two members. Montgomery concluded that the separation was complete and granted them a dismissal. Once this had been accomplished, the Association received New Britain as a member in 1755.

However, Joseph Eaton had passed away before settlement of the issue. He died April 1, 1749, at the age of 70 and was buried in the old graveyard at New Britain.

Strangely enough, George Eaton, brother of Joseph and uncle to Isaac Eaton, also figured in an imbroglio, in his case involving his relationship with the church at Pennepek. The trouble originated apparently because of George Eaton's chagrin and resentment when the church voted against ordaining him and designating him as its minister.

There were two candidates for the vacancy that developed at Pennepek when more than one hundred members withdrew to organize new churches in Philadelphia and Southampton. The choice seemed to rest between George Eaton and Peter Peterson Vanhorn, who had "exercised their gifts" at an earlier date. At a church meeting held on August 2nd, 1746, the question of ordination was put to a vote. Since Eaton was the older man, he was considered first. According to the church minutes, he was not approved "for some reasons." Vanhorn also failed of election on that date. The church then turned to Reverend Jenkin Jones as its pulpit supply for its monthly service.

Eaton was not content to let the matter rest. Upon his urging, the church on April 16th, 1747, reconsidered ordaining him. Eaton evidently wanted to compel his critics to appear in the open, for the vote was taken by rising instead of by ballot. Again, the blow fell. George Eaton was rejected. The church meeting continued, however, and Vanhorn was approved for ordination, which ceremony took place on June 18th. He became the pastor of the Pennepek church.

George Eaton nursed his grudge and set plans afoot that do no credit to his name. He stirred up a controversy involving the Montgomery church with the result that his own church "was constrained to suspend him from Communion and offices which seemed in measure to humble him." This was on October 31st but by December, he was readmitted to Communion and authorized to resume preaching "as a probationer."

The unrest in Eaton's mind continued to provoke him to seek some sort of retribution. He tried a new approach. As the sole survivor of a group of several trustees who had held title to the church property, he quietly transferred title to the property to other trustees whom he regarded as in his camp in the differences over his ordination. But the secret soon was out. Again, a dispute raged and George Eaton became the target for even greater criticism. He was excommunicated and the matter carried to the Philadelphia Baptist Association for its consideration in the following September. In 1751, Eaton was in a repentent mood and confessed his faults. By the following year, "having shown a better Christian spirit and more fitness for the work," he was licensed by the Pennepek church again to preach "once a month and at burials." But there was a wait of another ten years before he finally achieved the goal which he originally sought to reach in 1746. On March 11th, 1762, the Pennepek church, after Vanhorn had resigned to go to New Mills (now Pemberton), New Jersey, called George Eaton to be its supply pastor for all Sundays except the third Sunday of each month, this date being assigned to the Ridge (Roxborough) church, near Germantown. Two years later, on July 1, 1764, George Eaton died in his 78th year. He was buried at Pennepek.

Meanwhile, Isaac Estop, son of the other brother, Joseph Eaton, had departed for Hopewell to undertake his duties there, opening a chapter in the history of Baptist education in which the name of Isaac Eaton was to stand forever revered.

Chapter III

Attractive as farmland because of its fertile and well-drained soil, the Hopewell countryside was sparsely settled. Land purchasers had taken up sizeable parcels of one hundred acres or more, some preferring the Hopewell valley while others acquired tracts that extended across the gentle slopes of the hills, providing suitable fields for the raising of field crops and cattle. Even in the immediate vicinity of the Hopewell Baptist meeting house, homes were so few in number that collectively they comprised a small village at best.

Among the early purchasers of land in the area of Hopewell was Andrew Smith. To him is credited the first use of the name "Hopewell." He was a professional land surveyor and related to a family of Smiths prominent in the affairs of Burlington county and also in the Province of New Jersey. Historians agree that as a surveyor, his use of the name "would be reason sufficient for the adoption of a name suggested by him." A deed dated May 21st, 1688, confirming and settling title to two hundred acres upon Smith, states that it was "by him, the said Andrew Smith, called and to be called Hopewell." While applying the name undoubtedly to his own parcel, the name subsequently was linked with a far more extensive territory.

The grantor of Smith's tract was Cornelius Empson, who lived on Goole Grange, Brandywine Creek, in New Castle County, Pennsylvania. Empson had purchased the land from Benjamin Padley, of North Cave, County of Yorke, England, on August 21st, 1684. It is quite unlikely that Empson or Padley had ever lived on the land that Smith chose to call "Hopewell." They, like numerous others, had purchased shares of the Province for purposes of speculation. Smith's deed is recorded in Liber B, Part I, page 214, West Jersey Society Records.

Smith made further purchases at a later date, obtaining one hundred acres in April, 1697, on the north side of Stony Brook, about two miles from present-day Hopewell, and another two hundred acres for his son, whose name is given in the deed as Thomas. These properties adjoined those of Dr. Roger Parke, who had taken four hundred acres in his own name in April, 1697, at a spot he called "Wissamenson" along the Stony Brook, and one hundred acres additional adjoining for his daughter, Ann.

Andrew Smith died in December, 1702, or January, 1703. His son, also named Andrew, married Sarah Stout (she was born in 1689), daughter of Jonathan Stout, aforementioned as one of the early settlers in this vicinity. Their married life was saddened by the death of four of their first sons with sore throat. They later had five sons and one daughter, the names of the children being Jonathan, Andrew, George, Charles, Timothy and Anne, of whom Andrew (the third by that name) became a county judge in Hunterdon in 1739, serving for a number of years.

In tracing land titles dating back to the early days of East and West Jersey, confusion invariably is encountered. This is due not only to incomplete records of individual holdings but also because of extended disputes that pertained to titles as well as boundary lines. As far as the parcel that Smith first called "Hopewell" is concerned, the evidence suggests that Padley was one of a group of Yorkshire Friends, or Quakers, who acquired parcels either as creditors of Edward Byllinge or as purchasers from Byllinge's trustees, this being subsequent to the purchase of proprietary interests by John Fenwicke and Byllinge. The enlarged group of co-proprietors sent commissioners to view the land, extinguish Indian claims, ascertain the merits of claims made by those declaring they held title to certain parcels, and to lay out the area in one comprehensive plan.

It will be recalled that Charles II, King of England, issued a charter to his brother, James, Duke of York, on March 20th, 1664, for an extensive realm in America. This move was planned to dispossess the Dutch settlements in New York and New Jersey, at the same time merging all legal titles to the land in the Crown and centralizing control over the dubious governments set up in New England. In May, the English fleet set sail to oust the Dutch rulers in New Amsterdam as the answer of Charles II to the Dutch suggestion that the two governments arbitrate the boundary between them.

In the following month (June 23-24, 1664), the Duke of York gave deeds of lease and release for a portion of his newly

acquired territory to two associates who were members of the King's Privy Council, John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. It was to be named "Nova Cesarea, or New Jersey," the latter to honor Carteret, who had defended the Isle of Jersey, his birthplace, during the English civil wars against forces representing Parliament. The price paid for the land was nominal, being ten shillings, although the Duke of York was to have "twenty nobles of lawful money of England" as well as one pepper-corn annually if he demanded it. (A noble was valued at about six shillings, while the pepper-corn was to convey that the Duke's claim thereafter was as insignificant as the seed of a pepper plant).

When Philip Carteret, a relative, became governor in 1665, settlers were urged to join those already in the Province. The response was gratifying, both from the colonies already established in New England, but also by residents of England. A few years later, Lord Berkeley decided to sell his proprietorship and share of the territory, seeing little prospect of any real money-making from colonization efforts. John Fenwicke, acting in part for Edward Byllinge, a fellow-member of the Society of Friends, made an acceptable offer of 1,000 pounds for the southern portion of the territory. This was deeded to him on March 18th, 1673-74 and after July, 1676, was known as West New Jersey. Fenwicke and Byllinge differed as to the division of their holdings. Being Quakers, they asked a third party to act as arbiter. Their choice was William Penn.

He determined that Fenwicke, for having served as trustee, should be assigned ten parts of the tract with ninety parts to be retained by Byllinge. Fenwicke came to America in 1676 to start development. Both contemplated that the land would provide a refuge for the Friends, followers of George Fox, the founder of the group.

Hard-pressed by his creditors, Byllinge turned most of his holdings over to William Penn and Gawn Lawrie, of London, and Nicholas Lucas, of Hertford, for the benefit of those to whom money was payable. Byllinge did retain a 30,000-acre tract for himself and Thomas Sadler. Since Byllinge's creditors wanted payment, they were given a tenth part of West Jersey to settle their claims. Then the trustees marketed a number of shares in the remaining West New Jersey tract, the buyers becoming proprietors of the land, still undivided, with Penn, Lawrie and Lucas. The proprietors worked out an agreement with Lord Berkeley as to the boundary line between East and West Jersey. Commissioners also appeared on the scene to weigh the seriousness of the Indian claims and to develop over-all plans for dividing the territory.

They accomplished their purpose with some success. Those who purchased an interest from the trustees for Byllinge included two groups of Friends, who were given first opportunity to buy since they were creditors of Byllinge. One consisted of Yorkshire Friends while the others were living in London. The Yorkshire Friends, arriving in America, agreed to take

land extending roughly from the Province Line adjacent to the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton) and from the Assunpink Creek southward to Rancocas Creek, the tract being referred to thereafter as the First Tenth. The London Friends chose the area adjacent to Gloucester, further to the south, but for their mutual protection, all agreed to establish their first settlement at Burlington, midway between the other two points.

Upon Byllinge's death in 1687, the proprietors living in or near London persuaded Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was physician to the wife of Charles II, to "make a purchase of the government (of West Jersey) and the properties annexed thereto." Dr. Coxe already had acquired several parcels in 1685-86. He consented and among those he now obtained was the parcel that Byllinge had held.

Carrying out the wishes of the proprietors living in London, Dr. Coxe declared his authority as chief land-owner and his intention to rule as Governor in 1687 in a message to the remainder of the proprietors dwelling in or near the Province, who were organized as the Council of Proprietors of West New Jersey.

One of the first parcels that Dr. Coxe had acquired was the 30,000-acre tract which contained most of the original Township of Hopewell, in the parcel set aside for Byllinge and Sadler. It was well-situated, being immediately north of the point on the Delaware where the City of Trenton eventually was to develop and marking the crossing point on the river

for many travelers moving north or south in the colonies.

Dr. Coxe, upon its acquisition from Byllinge and Sadler, began to sub-divide. He sold numerous parcels to the West Jersey Society and that group placed numerous deeds bearing his name upon record in the years that followed. Many of these purchases were being made without a view to actual settlement, but purchasers generally, subsequent to 1700, were prospective settlers. The physician also recognized that the Indians had a claim to the land through prior possession. His agent, Adlord Bowde, conducted negotiations to dispose of their claims. This resulted in a document signed by eleven Indian chieftains on March 30th, 1688, agreeing to sell their interests. The descriptions of the boundaries suggest that the agreement was designed to cover the same 30,000-acre grant which Dr. Coxe held by deed from Byllinge and Sadler.

Coxe continued to hold office until March 4th, 1691. Then in due course his property was inherited by his son, Colonel Daniel Coxe, who had arrived in Burlington in 1701. Many landholders were harrassed some years later, due to conflicting claims in respect to about 5,000 acres of land that had been deeded between 1688 and 1696 by Thomas Revell, as agent for the West Jersey Society. Amid violent agitation over attempts to eject property holders, suits pertaining to these 5,000 acres were heard in later years in the courts. Titles to the land conferred by Dr. Coxe eventually were upheld, and about fifty settlers were required to purchase their lands a second time or vacate. A number moved elsewhere, losing the

land they had bought at fifty cents an acre, and their investments in improvements upon the land they had helped to make productive.

As to the origin of the name "Hopewell," curious suggestions have been advanced by those who are reluctant to give sole credit to Andrew Smith. Since some of the early settlers at Weymouth, Massachusetts, arrived aboard the "Hopewell," a vessel commanded by Captain William Bundocke (also spelled Bundick and Bunlock) and arriving in 1635, it is maintained that this name might well have been preferred by descendants who came into central New Jersey half a century later. A considerable number of persons living in the Massachusetts colonies had withdrawn between 1665 and 1675, going chiefly to Long Island. In another move a short time later, many of them settled in the area now known as Monmouth, Middlesex, Burlington and Hunterdon counties.

The traditional story has it that two of the Stout family, presumably Jonathan, the original Stout settler, and his brother, David, met one day at a crossroads and exchanged remarks, "I hope you are well," and "I am well," thus giving rise to the names of Hopewell and Amwell for the adjoining townships later established. According to James P. Snell, historian, Amwell probably was named after Amwell, England. Aside from the stilted language uncommon between brothers, the tale undoubtedly has no foundation in fact. Such an occurrence would have been a considerable time after Andrew

Smith first employed the name "Hopewell" for his tract of land, for it was not until about 1715 that James Stout, son of Jonathan's brother, David, moved into this vicinity. David Stout (senior), who followed James to the region now known as Amwell, arrived about 1725. Hence there was a lapse of fifteen to twenty-five years before such a mythical conversation between the Stout brothers might have taken place. In contrast, there is a legal document showing that his tract was "by him, the said Andrew Smith, called and to be called Hopewell."

The name "Hopewell" took on a wider meaning in the years following Andrew Smith's land purchase in 1688. Generally, it was used when referring to an area later given recognition as Hopewell Township. Eleven years after Smith acquired his land by deed, an application was made for the creation of Hopewell Township. It was dated February 20th, 1699. The tract extended almost to the heart of present-day Trenton and included land that eventually became parts of other townships. At that time, the whole territory was included in Burlington County, by an Act of the Provincial Assembly dated March 15th, 1713-14, set off the land lying north of the Assunpink Creek, which flows through Trenton, as Hunterdon County. Mercer County was not created until 1838, but in forming it, the Township of Hopewell which then included the town of Hopewell, was made a part thereof.

Again, the name "Hopewell" was employed when an Episcopal

Church was erected about 1704-05 upon land adjacent to the present-day New Jersey State Hospital on Sullivan Way, west of Trenton proper. It was referred to as the Hopewell Episcopal Church. In 1838, the church site, except for a portion used as a cemetery, was sold. If it had remained until now, what confusion would have arisen in the minds of persons over the existence of the "Hopewell Episcopal Church" at a point ten miles removed from the present Borough of Hopewell!

In like fashion, the Presbyterian church that came into existence at Queenstown (known as Pennington after 1747 but originally named in honor of Queen Anne) consisted of the congregation of "Maidenhead and Hopewell." (Maidenhead was the early name for Lawrenceville.) The Presbyterian church in Queenstown was erected in 1724 or 1725, but minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia refer as early as May 11th, 1709, to arrangements for a representative to confer with "the people of Maidenhead and Hopewell." This reference again undoubtedly was to Hopewell township in a general sense. The church usually was referred to as the "Hopewell Meeting House" of the Presbyterians. The name was retained until the formation of a new Presbyterian church in the village of Hopewell made it imperative that the church at Pennington be identified with particularity in respect to the latter town.

Another instance of the application of the name "Hopewell" to the wider area embraced by the township was its use

when a second Baptist church was organized at Harbourton, about six miles west of Hopewell village. This was in 1803. The name given was "The Second Baptist Church of Hopewell." As late as the 1870s, the town of Hopewell consisted of less than a score of houses, therefore it had little right to claim exclusive use of the name "Hopewell" either through size or priority.

Actually, the present Borough of Hopewell was alluded to as Columbia for a considerable number of years. This developed through the creation of a new school district about 1790-95 which was given that name. This district covered the eastern portion of the township, including the section in which the Hopewell community was located. Histories written as late as 1861 refer to the settlement as Columbia. The use of that name grew less frequent, however, after July 4th, 1825, when the United States government established a Post Office in the town and designated it as Hopewell Post Office.

On the other hand, it can be argued with considerable merit that the Hopewell settlement was known by that name even as early as the first half of the 1700s, for the records of the Philadelphia Baptist Association refer to the Baptist church as the "Hopewell Baptist Meeting House." Despite the broader use of the name for many decades, gradually it narrowed itself to the community surrounding the Baptist Meeting House in the town itself, lying almost midway between Princetown (Princeton) and Coryell's Ferry (Lambertville).

The slow growth of Hopewell as a hamlet was attributable to a considerable extent, aside from its location in farming country, to the retarded development of roads. Being somewhat remote from the main current of travel between New York and Philadelphia, the village saw comparatively few strangers passing through. The chief errand prompting the farmers themselves to travel any distance was the grinding of their grain at Trent's Mills, on the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton). This mill had been erected by Mahlon Stacy in 1680 on Assunpink Creek near Kingsbury Street (Broad Street) and sold by him ten years later to Colonel William Trent, who improved it vastly. But such a journey to the mill, made on horseback, was along a simple footpath, winding and weaving according to the dictates of forests and streams.

In 1723, the first recorded attempts to lay out roads in the vicinity of Hopewell took place. In March, 1722, a survey had been made providing for a road between what is now known as Ringoes and Marshall's Corner, west of Hopewell. This was to be four rods, or sixty-six feet, in width. Its proponents were ambitious, as two-rod roads were usually considered adequate. In the following year, another four-rod road was laid out extending from the present day Province-line Road, about a mile east of Hopewell, to Stony Brook and then following the course of that brook to the "Kings Road," as the route from Trenton northward through Ringoes was known.

The nature of the road extending from Stony Brook, immediately west of Hopewell, to Trent's Mills (Trenton) is suggested in a complaint made by residents in December, 1745. This alludes to the "perilous condition" of that route. The petition asked for an altered route, more conveniently placed. For many years, the road that extended from Trenton to the Stony Brook, then followed that stream to the Province Line between East and West Jersey and beyond to New Brunswick, was referred to as "Roger's Road." It is believed that this name was derived from that of Dr. Roger Parke, one of the earliest settlers along Stony Brook. Early descriptions of the route (1723) referred to the road as "beginning at a white oak tree in Roger Parks, his lande," etc.

The average traveler, crossing New Jersey in the 1700s, usually chose one of four routes that led to the ferry points on the Delaware, chiefly Trent's Mills, or Burlington. By crossing at the latter point, the land journey on the Pennsylvania side to complete a trip to Philadelphia was shortened somewhat. Frequently, travelers chose to cross the river at Coryell's Ferry, seventeen miles above Trent's Mills, or Falls of the Delaware. At Coryell's Ferry, the river was less perilous and this attracted a certain amount of business, for many dreaded the river crossing at any point. Emanuel Coryell and his brother, George, had obtained authorization from King George II in 1733 to maintain a ferry. They provided an inn adjacent to the landing. A ferry at this point

on the river actually had been in existence since 1715, John Wells providing boats and keeping an inn on the Pennsylvania side at New Hope. At the outset, it was known as Wells Ferry, but in some manner, the Coryell name preempted first mention. However, travelers approaching on the Pennsylvania side usually spoke of it as Wells Ferry, meaning the ferry service itself, while Coryell's Ferry came into use as a place name on the New Jersey side. The approach road to the east was known as the Old York Road. As far as a route between Coryell's Ferry and the town of Hopewell was concerned, it was non-existent other than trails created through use by the Indians at an earlier date.

With public stage lines coming into existence early in the 1700s, travelers usually allowed four or five days to cross the State. Leaving New York, they ferried by packet to Perth Amboy. The stage then carried them through Brunswick to Burlington or Trent's Mills or Coryell's Ferry, an arduous trip regardless of the choice of destination. After crossing the Delaware, the traveler boarded another stage to complete the trip to Philadelphia. Hugh Huddy obtained a grant for a stage line on April 11, 1706, to operate between Perth Amboy and Burlington over what was termed "the lower road," since it split from the "upper road" about six miles after crossing the Raritan river. The stage ran on an average of every two weeks. By 1733, service had been improved and stages were more numerous and adhered to schedules to a greater degree.

By 1760, the crossing of the State usually was achieved in three days, with overnight stops made at taverns or inns in the towns along the route. Among the towns favored was Prince-town.

But the average landowner relied upon his own horses when travel became necessary. Such carts as were possessed were crude in construction and used almost exclusively to haul grain to the mill or to bring heavy logs from the woods. Carriages, privately owned, were very scarce until nearly 1800.

Unless urgent reasons developed for undertaking a journey, most settlers were content to remain in their own immediate neighborhood. To work their fields, improve their properties, raise families and provide an adequate living--these things demanded their energies.

Schooling of the children was a problem from the outset. Even parents with limited educations were anxious that their boys and girls have better advantages. In the vicinity of Hopewell as elsewhere, there developed an urge to provide a school, and this venture was an added factor in creating a nucleus for gradual development as a village. There is a lack of agreement among historians as to the exact date when the first school in Hopewell Township came into existence although James Snell states in his county history that a log school-house was erected in 1747 upon land leased from Benjamin Stout for ninety-nine years. Others state that the first school was built between 1735 and 1740. The latter was the "Golden

"Schoolhouse." Joseph N. Golden had settled in Hopewell upon land purchased from Thomas Houghton, conveyed by deed dated December 30th, 1734. The erection of the schoolhouse upon his tract of land is believed to have occurred the following Spring. His farm was known early in the present century as "Grand View Farm," situated on sloping ground west of the town.

As a school, it attracted pupils from an area that by present standards would be considered amazing for a country school. Families that possessed some worldly means were determined to provide formal training for their children. Through their action, the "Golden Schoolhouse" was constructed. There it was that children from the homes of the Stouts, Goldens, Hunts, Houghtons, Harts, Larisons and Sextons, as well as others, received their rudimentary training. It has been said that "about 1740 this was the only school from the Province Line (between East and West Jersey) to Harbourton," and from "the 'Great Road' leading from Trenton to Flemington and as far east as the Somerset line."

The schoolhouse stood about two hundred yards southeast of the Golden residence and was in a wooded area. Apparently the site was chosen chiefly because of its central location among the families that intended to see that it was maintained. Those who taught in the school cannot be determined with finality, although the Baptists are generally credited with arranging for their minister to function as school teacher. The inaccuracy of that claim is apparent, however, when it is recalled that Reverend Joseph Eaton, who supplied the church

for fifteen years up to 1742, came to Hopewell only once a month. His successor, Thomas Davis, may have been the schoolmaster from 1742 to 1745. During the interval thereafter before the arrival of Reverend Isaac Eaton in 1748, the church again had to rely upon visiting ministers to conduct its services, and therefore their connection with the day-by-day needs of the school is most unlikely.

Reverend Isaac Eaton, however, came to Hopewell with a background of teaching in his home church at Southampton, Pennsylvania. He undoubtedly taught in the "Golden Schoolhouse" from 1748 to 1756. In the latter year, he opened the Hopewell Academy in a structure adjoining the Baptist parsonage, and the "town boys" were included in his classes. Therefore, the "Golden Schoolhouse" may have fallen into disuse for a considerable time, although with the abandonment of the Academy in 1767 and Eaton's death in 1772, the "Golden Schoolhouse" again may have come into use. One of Eaton's successors in the Hopewell pastorate, Reverend Oliver Hart, who arrived in 1780 and was described as "a man of superior education," is known to have taught in the Golden schoolhouse. As a matter of fact, Hart had been a boyhood chum of Issac Eaton and they had studied together in the school maintained by the Southampton church.

With the Golden schoolhouse becoming overcrowded as the turn of the century approached, it was felt that an additional school should be provided. An eastern district under the name of Columbia was set up, with a stone schoolhouse erected

on the land adjoining the Hopewell Baptist meeting house about 1790-95. The spot is pointed out as being slightly east of the present memorial monument to John Hart, and near the grave of the Reverend James Ewing, a later pastor of the church. The new school has been described as "low and humble." It is said to have measured about fifteen by twenty feet. The earlier school, the "Golden Schoolhouse," is believed to have been used until about 1835. For a number of years thereafter it served as a dwelling and finally was razed about 1880.

Isaac Eaton, profiting by the instruction given him by his parents as well as through the Southampton church school, had become the teacher of the classical school at Southampton when he reached maturity. This is borne out by minutes of a church meeting held April 9th, 1774, which states that Joseph Hart was chosen trustee "of the latin grammar school formerly kept by Reverend Isaac Eaton."

Chapter IV

As a minority religious group, Baptists were viewed as dissenters or "irregulars" in most of the colonies. Generally, the civil authorities, in seeking to maintain and preserve the established government as well as the system of religion espoused under the guise of "religious freedom," were quick to apply pressure upon those who entertained different views.

The status of religious matters in the various colonies is more readily understood when the course of religious history in Europe prior to the days of American colonization is fully grasped. In turn, such a study makes the position of the Baptists in the Province of New Jersey more comprehensible.

Over a period of several centuries, a sweeping revolt against the dictates of Rome in religious matters had taken place in Europe. The common man had discovered that religion could be a personal matter involving a direct relationship between himself and God. There need be no intermediary, many were now convinced. Groups of individuals who found this to be a common rallying point took advantage of this cohesive factor. However, they were subjected to other pressure against which they could not successfully battle. This was the influence of the political state itself, ruled by a monarch who

believed that a loyal subject must accept unquestioned the religion of his king or sovereign. There evolved a pattern in which the ecclesiastical and the governmental became closed linked, to the peril of the former when corruption, laxity and indifference developed.

When certain groups felt that conditions were intolerable, and removed themselves from the authority of the established church, and generally from their former surroundings as well, they still were not ready to discard the general plan under which churches had operated. They were not declaring that religion and governmental authority could not work together. Instead, they were striving to achieve a set-up where religion would be rescued from those who seemed to be permitting it to gasp feebly for its existence despite the elaborate mask of well-being that fooled the unthinking.

The colonists seeking "religious freedom" were hoping basically to gain freedom from the worst of the abuses of religion attributed to those who professed to be its warmest friends. In most of the American colonies, however, the practice from the outset was to link governmental authority with the religious life of the settlement. Citizenship and adherence to the prevailing church were considered inseparable in most of the provinces and colonies. A portion of the taxes collected for the support of the local government went automatically to maintain the church property and the minister. Adherents of the ruling church regarded this arrangement as

unassailable. They held that since these colonies had been established to escape the abuses inflicted by those from whom they dissented, it was a matter of self-protection to insist upon acceptance of the religious system set up by those in power in a particular colony.

Thus, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the groups that had left their homeland to break away from the domination and hostility of the Church of England saw no reason why the faith for which they had sacrificed should not be the only religion in the respective colonies. In preserving freedom of worship for themselves, they nevertheless were actually denying religious freedom to other groups. It has been estimated that in Massachusetts the Congregationalists outnumbered the Church of England followers by approximately 30 or 40 to one. Whenever and wherever a movement was discerned that appeared aimed at setting up the Anglican Church, the authorities were quick to pounce upon its leaders. To be sure, Massachusetts included a provision in its Charter of 1691 assuring "liberty of conscience in the worship of God to all Christians, except Papists." This was a fine gesture on paper. For all practical purposes, complete toleration of minority sects was far from being realized until many years thereafter, when the franchise was no longer dependent upon religious ties with the Congregational Church. Those who belonged to the minority religious sects also were made to feel that they were "outsiders," as far as positions of authority, as well as the social life of their communities, were concerned.

Despite its commanding position, the Congregational Church lacked vitality in the New England colonies. There developed an alarming lukewarmness among those who were classed as believers; further, many of the clergy had grown lax under the system linking the church with the government. Serious thinkers were appalled by the religious indifference prevailing from 1700 to 1740. The day was not far distant when George Whitefield would exert his dynamic personality to touch off a revival spirit unlike anything witnessed before or since in America.

Much of the weakness within the churches of the Puritans is attributed to the "Half-Way Covenant." Infants underwent baptism and thereafter were regarded as members of the church. There was no occasion when children decided for themselves whether they wished to take a stand personally as a Christian believer. Having been baptized in infancy, they were permitted later to partake of the Lord's Supper as one of the elect. Under such circumstances, the communion observance lost much of its significance, and the entire church structure was weakened.

Church life in Connecticut followed the general pattern of Massachusetts until the adoption of the "Saybrook Platform" in 1708. Then the Church and State were separated, and the Congregational power began to yield to the Presbyterian influence. Slowly, the Episcopalians, Quakers and Baptists also gained a greater measure of liberty, although

the requirement that they support the ministers of the prevailing church was continued for many years with a constant struggle over its enforcement.

In Virginia, the Church of England prevailed and dissenters were always at odds with the ruling class. It was contended by the conformists that since Virginia was a Crown colony, there was no sound reason why the Church of England should not be the only recognized church there, with regularity of attendance required of all colonial settlers. In 1689, however, Parliament enacted the Toleration Act. Certain laws were no longer to be construed as working to the disadvantage of those who dissented from the Church of England. Ten years went by before the rulers in Virginia were satisfied that the provisions of the Toleration Act should be placed on the statute books there. Then the religious requirements were altered only so far as to relieve dissenters from attending the services of the Anglican Church. If they set up a non-conformist place of worship, it must be registered. Lacking ministers, the non-conformists were forced to rely chiefly upon traveling evangelists from the Northern colonies. Hence toleration left much to be desired as far as complete liberty was concerned.

In the Carolinas, the Church of England also existed by governmental fiat, with the ministers licensed by the Bishop of London. Through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a number of missionaries entered this colony from abroad.

In Maryland, Catholic strength was dominant at the outset under Lord Baltimore, but the Colony was compelled to invite Protestants as settlers when English Catholics failed to be attracted. When the Protestants, by sheer numerical strength, obtained control of the government, the Catholics were deprived of their voting privileges. The colony also adhered to the Anglican Church after Catholic influence had been subordinated. By public law, funds were then provided for the maintenance of the ministers of the Church of England.

Pennsylvania, as a Quaker colony, manifested a broad spirit of tolerance toward other religious sects, with the result that the Baptists, Mennonites, the Dunkards, Moravians and others arrived there in sizeable numbers. In Pennsylvania, New York and the Province of New Jersey, a comingling of church groups was experienced. During the rule of Colonel Nicolls in New York, religious freedom was granted there because of the mixture of Dutch and English settlers. Yet under strict Dutch rule, the colony had witnessed the banishing of Baptists from Flushing, Long Island, by Director General Peter Stuyvesant. John Bowne, an ardent Baptist, appealed his case to the Dutch West India Company. Upon going to Europe to present the matter, he convinced the authorities that his protest had merit, and Stuyvesant received instructions to tolerate religious dissent within certain limits. But the Dutch rulers were insistent that all residents first must pay their taxes, including support for the Dutch Reformed Church, after which they could worship in other churches if they preferred.

Stuyveant's intolerance induced many Baptists to depart from his realm. The guarantees being offered in the Province of New Jersey made the latter the logical destination. Berkeley and Carteret had pledged that colonists would be free to worship as they desired, and could form groups as they saw fit and support ministers of their own choice. Actually, the ministers were subject to approval by the Governor and his Council. In conflict with this arrangement, however, was a decree issued in 1664 by the Duke of York that every parish should establish a church. This was interpreted by the Governor and Council to mean that all residents must be taxed to provide support. Through the protests of the Dutch, it was interpreted finally as providing that the taxes would be allotted for the first church set up in each parish, and after paying the tax, residents could give their loyalty to any denomination they favored.

As the 18th century developed, the Church of England began to make itself felt in New Jersey, chiefly through the work of missionaries including John Talbot and George Keith, sent over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. However, the Province never set up the Anglican Church officially, although the Royal Governors were named from the English throne. Queen Anne in 1702 had gone so far as to direct that the "book of common prayer is by law established, to be read each Sunday and holy day." As late as the 1750s, a Royal Governor issued a proclamation for a day of prayer

and prescribed the form of the services for that occasion.

The situation as to the Church of England in the colonies it dominated has been described as follows by Bernard Fay, in his book, "Franklin the Apostle of Modern Times":

"Though the Church of England conserved its strong armor, it had an internal weakness which the pious and zealous worshippers felt keenly. It was still capable of maintaining the social and spiritual order, but it could not supply the spiritual nourishment, the ardent faith, or the mystical satisfaction, which every one, and above all, the crowd, had need of in this contradictory century."

Rhode Island, of course, was a Baptist haven from its founding. Because of Roger Williams, it developed as a colony where Baptists could enjoy a maximum of security, independence and religious expression. The governmental power rested in their hands and there was little threat of being reduced to a position of subservience in political or religious matters.

In 1765, New Jersey had approximately 160 meeting houses, of which thirteen per cent were Episcopalian (Church of England); 33 per cent, Presbyterian, 19 per cent, Quaker, and 12 per cent, Baptist. The Baptist churches were rather widely spread throughout the Province. As a matter of fact, Baptist Churches were located chiefly in the Middle Atlantic states-- Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, and in 1740, their membership totaled less than 3,000, according to Lee's "New Jersey as Colony and State." Baptist families had come

chiefly from England, Ireland and Wales. The churches, feeble at best, looked to Philadelphia as their focal center, in part because it was the largest city in America at that time. Yet Philadelphia had less than 30,000 inhabitants as late as 1787, exclusive of those living in its more thinly populated environs.

Lacking a strong, authoritarian set-up, the Baptist denomination, according to William W. Sweet, was "not so much church as it is a movement under the impulse of a common experience." In general, Baptists look to the Bible as the foundation for their beliefs and practices, each member personally accepting Christ as his Saviour, and being immersed as a symbol that the old life through baptism has been supplanted by the new. As exponents of individual liberty, the Baptists also refuse to accept any person within the ministry as an intermediary between themselves and Christ. They also reject any interference by governing powers or any church authority in their principles or practices. Hence, each Baptist church stands independent of all others, governed by its own members who seek through their church to work the will of God.

Because of their independence of one another, each Baptist church has always determined for itself what tests should be used to admit or exclude persons seeking to become members. Likewise, each church decides the manner in which money received through collections or offerings should be spent. In the choice of a minister, each local church is a law unto

itself. There is no overshadowing authority that assumes the power to dictate or rule in any of these matters. While sharp differences of doctrinal interpretation may develop from time to time, there is an acceptance of basic beliefs that provide common ground for fellowship between most of the Baptist congregations.

Baptist churches came into existence in one of three ways: (1) if a band of settlers had the good fortune to have a minister included in their group when they set sail from abroad, the establishment of a church was accomplished with ease, even though meetings might be held for a lengthy period in the homes of the various members because of the lack of a suitable or adequate meeting house; (2) when a sufficient number of persons adhering to Baptist beliefs settled within convenient travel distance of one another; and (3) when a group attending an existing church concluded that the travel distance was too serious a handicap and determined to establish a church nearer their homes. Distances of thirty to fifty miles were not considered prohibitive as far as church attendance was concerned, particularly since "meeting" usually was held only once a month and rated as an event of outstanding importance. If a group of six or eight families, numbering possibly twenty-five to fifty persons in their households, was available, it was regarded as sufficient for the beginning of a church.

Where was such a group to obtain a minister? Generally,

the pastor of the church--in the case of a group withdrawal-- would assist in the business matters preliminary to formal establishment of a new church. He already may have been holding services in the smaller unit as a matter of convenience for those living in that vicinity, and it was quite natural for him to continue such an arrangement, even after the members constituted a separate church.

Such an arrangement was not always possible. If a Baptist minister at the most adjacent church was not available, or considered not acceptable by the new church, inquiries might be addressed to other Baptist congregations as to whether there was anyone in their midst who might be qualified. Usually, the sons of the ministers were studied with considerable thoroughness, either as possible successors to the father or as candidates for licensing and ordaining as preachers to assume charges elsewhere. Sometimes, inquiries would be conveyed to Baptist clergy in England, Ireland or Wales if there was any reason to believe that those addressed might be interested in such a change of locality or know of others of like mind.

With less than three thousand Baptists in America in 1740, it is readily understood why there was such a dearth of acceptable Baptist ministers. Unfortunately, open pulpits attracted imposters. In the absence of a postal system linking the colonies and communication irregular as a consequence, it was possible for pseudo-preachers to go about with

considerable immunity from public disclosure as "fakers." Too frequently, those who posed as preachers brought disgrace to the ranks of the clergy. By the time suspicions might become aroused or misdeeds discovered, the impostor would have departed for another colony. Church records contain frequent allusions to such pretenders who became involved in thefts of property, immoral conduct or deceitful practices. By forwarding their names to other groups of worshipers, efforts were made to checkmate their activities, but with little success.

Morgan Edwards described these deceivers as ". . . vain and insufficient men who had set themselves up to be preachers," who "would stroll about the country under the name of Baptist ministers; also, ministers degraded and excommunicated, who, with their immorality too, brought disgrace on the very name of Baptist; . . . in truth, they are self-made preachers; and it has been said that a 'self-made preacher, a quack doctor and a pettifogging lawyer, are three animals that the world would do better without than with.'"

By what standards was a man considered for licensing as a preacher or designated as a minister of a Baptist church? Since each church was a law unto itself in such matters, there were no prescribed qualifications that had to be met. Invariably, an inquiry as to eligibles simply brought a reply that a man might be sufficiently "gifted." This meant considerably more than keenness of intellect or fluency in

speech. To be "gifted" meant that divine inspiration apparently had been bestowed. Lacking it, it was felt that a man should remain silent as far as preaching the gospel was concerned. This stress on inner power caused the Baptists to recoil from any spiritual leader who appeared to be scholarly at the expense of a deeper God-given gift.

David Benedict, Baptist historian, entertained grave concern over the effect of high educational requirements if adopted within the denomination. He wrote: "Should the period ever arrive in which Baptist churches shall confine the ministry to college men only, then transmigration will be rapid, and other churches will be formed from them, as they have been built up from all others, who have adopted this practice." Others argued that there was no foundation in the Scriptures for educating the ministry. Even the Philadelphia Baptist Association, suggesting through resolutions such practices as it was hoped might be agreeable to the member churches, saw fit to go no further than to say on one occasion that "No man shall be allowed to preach among the associated churches except he produce credentials of his being in communion with his church, and of their having called and licensed him to preach."

Reverend Isaac Backus, whose opinions were sought and respected, issued his "Discourse on the Nature and Necessity of an Internal Call to preach the everlasting Gospel." Therein, he held to the view that "all true ministers of the Gospel are called into that work by the special influences of the

Holy Spirit." His biographer, Alvah Hovey, D.D., sums up Dr. Backus' viewpoint as being that "a true minister's qualifications consist more in divine enlightenings than in human learning, that his authority to preach depends more upon his being internally called by the Spirit of God, than upon his being externally sent by the voice of man."

The hostility or indifference toward an educated ministry caused the belief to grow that the Baptists were an ignorant lot, and prejudiced against men of learning. Dr. Backus cited this in a letter to Dr. John Gill in London, remarking that the general belief is "that none but ignorant and illiterate men have embraced the Baptist sentiments." He went on to say that this undermined the stress laid by the denomination upon believers' baptism. If the Baptists generally were poorly educated and saw no special merit in preachers who had advanced education, how significant could the claim be that the acceptance of Christian beliefs and church membership should wait until a person was old enough to reason matters through and make a personal decision?

Another reason for branding the Baptists as ignorant was their alleged lack of zeal in seeking a closer acquaintance with the Scriptures. If they were devout seekers after the truth, it was argued, why were they content with one service a month? Those who scored them on this point labeled their victims as "Thirty-Day Baptists," because of the interval between meetings.

Perhaps the meteoric career of George Whitefield, who aroused thousands throughout the colonies to the need for an individual, soul-searching religious experience, served also to crystallize opinion concerning the background essential for ministers of all denominations. For Whitefield's evangelistic zeal brought an urgent demand for men who could assume the leadership in new churches that sprang up from Maine to the Carolinas in the wake of this amazing preacher and his followers.

Who was this George Whitefield? In a critical mood, the Charleston "South Carolina" Gazette described him thus: "A staunch Churchman in Old England. A thorough Independent in New England! An Anabaptist 'mong Anabaptists! A true-blood Kirkman in Scotland! And a Quaker 'mong Quakers! becoming all Things to All Men, not that he might gain some, but make some Gain of all!"

On the other side of the ledger, Reverend Samuel Jones, preaching a "Century Sermon" in 1807 to mark the 100th anniversary of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, said this concerning Whitefield: "He was the blessed instrument in the hands of the Lord, both in commencing and spreading that wonderful work. This revival had a happy effect, not only in bringing many thousands out of the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God's dear son, but also in being the means of introducing into the ministry many pious and zealous dispensers of the word, especially among Presbyterians in the Middle States, and the Congregationalists in the Eastern States."

Whitefield may have been "violently religious," as one writer described him, and the results of his work may be incomprehensible to some historians. But a man with the ability to arouse thousands of persons with a message that exploded their moral complacency and set them to examining themselves is not to be dismissed simply by branding Whitefield as a sensationalist.

Yet it must be conceded that his visits stirred up deep controversies in many churches. Some ministers who were his friends at the outset later refused to permit him to occupy their pulpits. Yet Whitefield converted ten to fifteen thousand, it has been estimated. The number that he touched and encouraged to a better way of living is incalculable.

Back and forth from Maine and Massachusetts to Georgia, Whitefield traveled to work an amazing change. Denominational lines had no meaning for him. He explained: "Every thing I meet with seems to carry this voice with it: 'Go then and preach; be a pilgrim on earth; have no party, or certain dwelling-place.'"

If a minister refused to welcome him into his parish, that did not prevent Whitefield from being heard. Out in the open--at the side of the road or adjacent to the residence of a friendly advocate--Whitefield preached. His name and oratory had a magical effect. He drew audiences that consistently ran into the hundreds and thousands. Even in rural areas the attendance was phenomenal. When the great Whitefield was known to be coming, men and women abandoned their daily pursuits to stand in his presence.

Yet Whitefield was no lone-star evangelist. In most cities he enjoyed the friendship of influential persons, as well as that of the common people. In Philadelphia, for example, Benjamin Franklin entertained him repeatedly in his home. When controversy raged as to Whitefield's methods and doctrine, Franklin lent his influence to espouse Whitefield's cause. Franklin liked to relate that Whitefield "us'd, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion but he never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard." Philadelphians provided a structure of considerable size where this noted English preacher could hold forth. They acted after he had been refused the use of the English church. Yet Whitefield insisted that all "orthodox, experienced ministers . . . of whatever denomination" were to have use of it. Later, the building was utilized by classes comprising the public academy, or the College of Philadelphia, after its founding. Philadelphia was deeply aroused by Whitefield's preaching. Everyone seemed eager to discuss the essentials of a changed life. Business was neglected when Whitefield was on hand to preach. In a single year, residents of Philadelphia formed twenty-six prayer societies. Dancing schools and concert halls were little patronized. The effect upon the churches was amazing. Some churches held three or four services each Sunday, with two prayer services every week-day. Sermons were eagerly sought in preference to all other reading matter.

Whitefield was a young man--only twenty-four years of age--when he first came to America. In London and Bristol, England, he had displayed preaching ability of outstanding worth and he commanded sizeable audiences from his first sermon. Whitefield was born at Gloucester, England, on December 16, 1714. His father was a tavern keeper and died when George was two years old. The widow continued to maintain the public-house and when Whitefield was fifteen years of age, he gave up his schooling to assist her. She had remarried, unhappily. His duties included work as a "professed and common drawer" in the taproom for a year and a half. Later, Whitefield wrote that he "was always fond of being a clergyman, and used frequently to imitate the ministers reading prayers." He read his Bible nightly and even composed two or three sermons.

Aspiring to enter Oxford, Whitefield renewed his studies in grammar school and at the age of eighteen, entered the university. This was in 1732. He was attracted by the serious group known as the Club, later termed "Methodists" in ridicule because of their determination to live "by rule and method." John Wesley and his brother, Charles, were chief among the group which met weekly for meetings of a devotional character. Whitefield was converted in June, 1735. Completing his studies, he returned to Gloucester where the bishop of the diocese sought to overcome Whitefield's reluctance to be ordained as a deacon until he felt that God had called him for the work. Thus before he was twenty-two years old,

Whitefield was ordained as a deacon of the Church of England on June 20th, 1736, and he preached his first sermon in that capacity on the following Sunday.

In December of the same year, Whitefield followed in the footsteps of the Wesleys by setting out for Georgia on a missionary journey. This colony of General Oglethorpe was a haven for "children of poverty"--debtors who had been forced to live on public funds in Europe--and also for those who were seeking to escape persecution. Then plan was to establish silk and indigo plantations to provide employment and support for these refugees. Charles Wesley had been appointed secretary for Indian affairs in Georgia with a view to caring for their spiritual growth, while John Wesley was named as missionary at Savannah. Charles Wesley and General Oglethorpe proposed to erect an orphanage in Georgia for which Whitefield helped to raise funds before he embarked on his first voyage to America. The number of orphans was unusually large as many of the former debtors, suffering ill health when transported and compelled to live amid severe hardships, died in the colony. This cause won Whitefield's heart and he determined to seek adequate funds for the construction of the orphanage, and he gave unstintingly of his time to make public appeals in its behalf. The expense of maintenance rested heavily on his mind for many years after the building was erected and named Bethesda (house of mercy). Before it was begun on March 25th, 1740, the orphans had been housed in a rented property, with many requiring infirmity care. The colony itself was struggling

to maintain its inhabitants, with many abandoning it if possible to plan for a habitation elsewhere. In 1746, a Latin school was started at Bethesda. When General Ogelthorpe died, he placed the institution in the care of his long-time friend, Lady Huntingdon, who arranged for its conduct and management. Later, fire leveled the buildings and the Revolutionary War with its disturbing influence on titles to property, created added handicaps. Mindful of Whitefield's grand hopes for the institution, Savannah salvaged what could be gathered together after the war and set up a school in Whitefield's memory. In his later years, Whitefield had endeavored to create a college, using the orphanage school as a foundation and to be chartered after the plan followed for the College of New Jersey at Princetown. Whitefield was willing to assign the assets of the orphanage for that use and the Georgia authorities designated 2,000 acres as a site. The charter, however, provoked a dispute that was never adjusted. The Privy Council of His Majesty insisted that a member of the Church of England should be the college head. Whitefield pointed out that dissenters had been the chief contributors to the orphanage and that "the mouths of persons of all denominations would be opened against him" if he consented.

Whitefield, according to contemporaries, possessed a marvelous voice, melodic yet powerful. He could be persuasive or tender and soothing. He also had the art of expressing himself in simple, persuasive language, while adapting the

flow of his words to the needs of the moment. His graceful manner made one forget the squinting of one of his dark-blue eyes, attributed to measles. He was of medium height. His alert mind and happy disposition made him a person that could not be forgotten soon. In an age when ministers always followed sermon notes, Whitefield astounded his hearers by speaking without such assistance, and his prayers were equally amazing for a like reason. In fact, his free style employed in prayer gave rise to the complaint that he was "omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the Common Prayer Book" of the Established Church. Actually, Whitefield employed it when an Episcopal Church opened its pulpit to him; however, the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists did not use a prayer book and hence they were not available when Whitefield visited in the latter churches, so he prayed as he felt moved to do as an individual before God. Whitefield remained a Church of England adherent, although its followers in the colonies "pronounced suspension upon him." Others alluded to him as the "English Methodist." The powerful sweep of the revival did "tend to break down denominational exclusiveness" and Whitefield's cosmopolitan tendencies contributed immeasurably to that end. Whitefield saw his mission to be the awakening of the indifferent, but having accomplished that, he did not attempt to dictate the denominational tie-ups that a convert made.

Whitefield frequently was accompanied by Gilbert Tennent,

one of the sons of the founder of the Presbyterian "Log College." They often preached several times in a single day. The younger Tennent had come into conflict with the Philadelphia Synod over the rigid standards prescribed for the qualification of its ministers. But Whitefield, long since stepping outside the rigid bounds of the Anglican Church, accepted anyone who was interested in salvation of individual souls. He spared no words in depicting the dangers awaiting the unsaved, alarming many hearers to a point where they cried out, fainted or pleaded that he show them how to live regenerated lives. Other evangelists turned to an emotional appeal as the basis of their preaching but Whitefield made a serious attempt to keep within proper bounds.

Whitefield could command attention, beyond all doubt. He held his audience to such a degree, according to one man whose thoughts usually ran to shipbuilding while attending a church service, that he longer was able to "build a ship from stem to stern during the sermon, but under Mr. Whitefield, could not lay a single plank."

So non-sectarian was Whitefield in his preaching that, upon his departure to another colony, his converts were unwilling to join the existing churches, in many instances. They had been aroused to such a state that they were uncertain whether they as individuals deserved salvation. Their fears were overwhelming and persistent. Whitefield had made them feel when he preached as if he was saying to each one personally, "I have a message from God unto thee." They hardly dared

to hope for citizenship in Heaven. They wanted preaching, the emotional type preferred, because it reached down where a theological sermon never seemed to penetrate. As Charles H. Maxson has expressed it in his "The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies," "they longed for a religion of energy and passion." Hence, Whitefield's converts would appeal for a minister to settle in their midst to continue the evangelistic Calvinism that marked the Great Awakening or "New Light" movement. New churches began to spring up everywhere, it seemed, with membership usually determined by acceptable proof that a candidate had begun to live a better life.

Within the Baptist fold the changes wrought by Whitefield and the religious upheaval were not so incisive as in some other denominations. True, a number of Separate "New Light" Baptist churches were formed, but it was new growth for the most part, rather than any open revolt against the existing churches. The Baptist message being evangelistic in nature and having somewhat of a popular appeal in stressing the greatness of the common man in relation to his God, came considerably closer to the Whitefield pattern than the more formalistic Established Church, as well as to the reserved type of worship prevalent in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. New Jersey Baptists felt the Whitefield influence radiating from Philadelphia in particular, and from his preaching as he crossed and re-crossed the Province of New Jersey. In Philadelphia, he preached at the Pennepek meeting house, and praised Jenkin Jones, of the Baptist group in Philadelphia, as well as Abel Morgan, as well-qualified preachers.

Enroute to New York on one occasion he preached at Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) to a large audience. On that occasion, a wagon served as his platform. Again, in late April, 1740, he preached at the Amwell (Presbyterian) Church, not far distant from Hopewell. This was during the pastorate there of the Reverend John Rowland. On the latter occasion, the huge audience estimated at five thousand by Seward in his journal, listened to three sermons while awaiting the arrival of Whitefield. Nevertheless, Whitefield, when he appeared, held them spellbound, although he had traveled fifty miles from Philadelphia, making the journey although "very weak in body."

Despite wretched health that constantly handicapped his later years, Whitefield preached with rare intervals of complete rest until his death on September 30, 1770. As the monument on his grave at Newburyport, Mass., states, he had preached more than eighteen thousand sermons, crossed the ocean thirteen times, and "as a soldier of the cross, humble, devout, ardent, has put on the whole armor of God: preferring the honor of Christ to his own interests, repose, reputation, and life."

In denominations other than the Baptist, the divisive effect of Whitefield's preaching was almost ruinous in some localities. Churches were being undermined or split. Worship became a haphazard experience for some groups, who found themselves dependent upon the uncertain visits of "wandering ministers." The clergy and the less emotional upholders of

the established order pitted their strength against the surging tide of emotionalism. When a minister denied Whitefield the privilege of appearing in a pulpit, schisms frequently arose that left deep scars. It was a time when the question as to the "elect" and the "non-elect" came in for serious re-examination, in contrast with the newer thinking distinguishing between the "converted" and the "unconverted."

The practice of infant baptism also was seriously questioned. As a result, Baptist congregations in the New England area made unusual gains. To the South, the call for ministers was heard frequently and persistently. Lacking a preacher, the most devout member of a group usually was designated to preach, if he seemed to have the "divine gift." If he spoke "from the heart," that satisfied most of the listeners. Many of these men served acceptably even though they did not have the advantage of attending schools providing education beyond that obtainable in a private home or a small neighborhood school.

Whitefield's success, viewed alone, settled nothing with finality as far as the question of an educated ministry was concerned. Those who approved of his methods cited him as an example of the effectiveness of a "true minister" who possessed religious fervor. If he could win converts by the thousands through an emotional appeal, what further proof was required that the simple approach was the best? Of course, it might have been said in reply that Whitefield was an Oxford graduate.

Within the Baptist denomination, no plan for a college had been advanced. Those who believed in its worth conceded that it would be a gigantic undertaking, in view of the independent status enjoyed by every Baptist church. However, a heavy percentage of the Baptists saw no need for advanced studies, either for the training of ministers or for their own sons.

Yet there were Baptist youths who desired a higher education, usually for callings other than the ministry. But where could they enroll and feel comfortable? The austere and rigid atmosphere of Harvard might be all right for the sons of the conservative Congregational residents of Massachusetts who were willing to let social class determine their place in school affairs. Yale College, organized through a movement led by ten ministers who believed that Harvard, their alma mater, was shifting toward liberalism, still remained essentially a school best adapted for New Englanders and Congregationalists. Parents were wary because these colleges exerted a deep influence through their emphasis upon the classical and religious courses during the years when students were at an impressionable age.

The College of Philadelphia (later to become the University of Pennsylvania), set amid a Quaker colony, was frowned upon because the Episcopal element in that city seemed to obtain dominance over this non-sectarian institution in short order. Under the presidency of Dr. William Smith, it was declared by its critics as being a college where students

developed a "taste for high life" and became Episcopalians because they could sin and not be held accountable. Some students who attended there had given up their Presbyterian beliefs and had departed for England to prepare for duty as Episcopal clergy. To be sure, Benjamin Franklin's plans for the college were a bold step in a quite different direction. He hoped to develop practical men with a "compleat education" who would be ready to engage in business and trade, free from classical learning and the aristocratic haughtiness associated with William and Mary in Virginia, as well as the Puritan atmosphere of Harvard and Yale. Classical languages were to be sacrificed, English being considered sufficient for ordinary purposes. Yet Franklin was shocked to discover that it was nearly impossible to find teachers that satisfied his requirements, for almost the only persons available were teacher-clergymen who were not at all sure that Franklin's standards were sufficiently high. Dr. Smith allowed the English school to wane, embittering Franklin because Latin and Greek were being emphasized contrary to the original plan.

As for the College of New Jersey at Prince-town (Princeton), this had come into being after a feeble start in Elizabeth and Newark, New Jersey, and was distinctly Presbyterian in character.

Within the Baptist fold, the battle as to the relation of scholariness to the ministry seemed endless. In his "History of the Baptists," Armitage castigates those who opposed an

educated ministry in these words:

"So ignorant or mean, or both, were many of them, that they thought it the absolute duty of their pastors to support themselves by a profession, by farming, or some other form of manual labor, and then prove their Apostolic calling by preaching for nothing."

Certainly, most congregations were not demanding that their ministers have an education beyond that provided by a school maintained by an individual church or pastor. If a man had a "plain English education," it sufficed. Sometimes an enterprising minister taught Latin and Greek to a few students but that was not always the case. Those who had witnessed the decadence that developed in colonies where the trained ministers were an essential part of the ruling government preferred to lean toward the side of ignorance rather than risk a later surrender to preachers who were swift thinkers and perhaps cunning in obtaining complete control. These Separate Baptists could not reconcile education and religion.

Those who were not frightened by advanced education frequently admonished their critics that learning was meritorious when it existed in proper relation to the spiritual side of a minister's life. Education alone, it was admitted, fell far short of qualifying a man for that calling. This view was expressed by Elder Henry Keeling in appraising the work of Elder John Courtney. The former said:

"It is truly desirable, that ministers of the gospel be well educated men. But this should never form the base of their qualifications. And who will assume the responsibility of saying, that none but classical and scientific men shall preach? or who will name the attainments requisite to be made? Education is important in an orator or a salesman' yet with such an one, as could not be called classical, Patrick Henry inspired, and roused into effort a nation, and the immortal Washington conducted it to freedom. And an apostle declares, 'I, brethren, came not unto you, with an excellency of speech, or of man's wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God; but was with you in weakness, and fear, and much trembling.'"

Jonathan Edwards had this to say in the controversy:

"Some of late have been for having others that they have supposed to be persons of eminent experience, publicly licensed to preach, yea, and ordained to the work of the ministry; and some ministers have seemed to favor such a thing; but how little do they seem to look forward, and consider the unavoidable consequences of opening such a door! . . . Not but that there may probably be some persons in the land that have had no education at college, that are in themselves better qualified for the work of the ministry than some others that have taken their degrees and are now ordained. But yet I believe that the breaking over those bounds that have hitherto been set, in ordaining such persons, would in its consequences be a greater calamity than the missing such persons in the work of the ministry."

Dr. Alvah Hovey, writing in 1859, declared that ". . . we are by no means surprised that clergymen of the standing order in New England were resolved to welcome none but men of classical learning into their ranks. For they were convinced on the one hand that such learning is exceedingly desirable for religious teachers, and they were doubtless reluctant on the other hand to surrender a weapon--namely, the reproach of ignorance--which had done them good service against the Baptists."

Middle ground is taken by John R. Davies, in "Pioneer Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania." His comments concerning clergy of that faith are equally applicable to the Baptists: "The church polity they the ministers represented, and the system of theology they preached, demanded neither the head nor the heart, but the trained and sanctified union of both."

Against these strong individual opinions there was no stern higher-church authority among the Baptists to decide between the two points of view, or to delineate the basis of compromise that might win both sides. The Philadelphia Baptist Association, formed in 1707, exerted a mild influence at best through its yearly meetings. However, these sessions were largely devotional in character. Such discussion as involved policy questions affecting individual churches usually ended in the issuance of "advice" which could be accepted or rejected.

Yet the delegates of the five churches who attended the meeting in 1707 when the Association was established gave

expression to their general views concerning a proper ministry. They urged that earnest concern be shown in respect to the character of any stranger who asked to be permitted to preach. A letter of recommendation, it was urged, was most desirable. In its absence, the churches were advised to make sure that the person was "gifted, and of a good conversation." This proposal left much to the interpretation to be given to the word, "gifted."

Thomas Hollis, a London merchant and a Baptist, hoped that Baptist youth might be among the "poor students" in whose behalf he provided funds for ten scholarships at Harvard College in 1719. Ignoring the fact that Massachusetts had been hostile to Baptists, Hollis displayed a liberal mindedness that he felt sure would be shared by those in authority at Harvard. As far back as 1690, Hollis had been in touch with affairs at Harvard, sending funds payable from the estate of an uncle who had named Harvard as a beneficiary. Hollis did stipulate that Baptists were to be eligible for the scholarships as well as for the professorships in theology and mathematics that he endowed.

His wishes apparently were communicated to the Philadelphia Baptist Association for it was suggested at its meeting in 1722 that the churches notify Reverend Abel Morgan, who was pastor at that time of the church at Middletown, New Jersey, if they knew of eligibles "hopeful for the ministry and inclinable to learning."

In the following year, a suggestion went out through the Association that "brethren and ministers" be examined before being permitted to speak in the churches. Each church was reminded that it would be well to "have due regard to order and decency in the exercise of those gifts at all times, and not to suffer any to exercise their gifts in a mixed multitude until tried and approved of first by the church." When a minister was not available, it was suggested that the churches "meet for devotional exercises."

By 1732, the pastoral shortage prompted a decision by the Association to set aside a day for fasting and prayer. The churches were invited to pray "that the Lord may gift some among ourselves, such as may be serviceable, or order, in the course of His providence, some such to come among us from elsewhere." While individual ministers sought to instill a desire to preach among those who appeared to have some "gift," the number of men available still left many vacancies. A number of men devoted a considerable part of their time to travel, in the hope of holding the churches together. Under arduous conditions, such traveling evangelists spread the gospel, increased the spirit of unity and furthered the work of forming new churches.

With the Great Awakening giving rise to an expansion of far-reaching proportions, the ministerial shortage was ominous in portent.

Chapter V

Before attempting to survey Isaac Eaton's career as an educator, a closer glimpse at his family, as well as his style of preaching is desirable.

During his first visits to the Hopewell church on those Sundays in the Springtime of 1748, Isaac Eaton became acquainted with Rebecca Stout, daughter of the second David Stout, of Amwell, and granddaughter of the David Stout generally referred to as "Amwell David."

After Eaton accepted the call to be the Baptist minister in Hopewell, he began to pay marked attention to Rebecca. Within the Stout family circle, beaming approval was apparent. Eaton was a "good catch" for any young lady. His family background was favorable, since the Eatons were thrifty, steady-going stock. His father had been well regarded by the Hopewell people during his long service as their visiting minister. And from Isaac's viewpoint, an alliance with the Stout family meant, among other things, that he could count upon hearty support from the controlling group within the church.

Soon Isaac and Rebecca made it known that they planned to wed and the ceremony took place before the end of 1748. The exact date is not given in existing church records.

As aforementioned, Eaton's father-in-law was the second "Amwell David." Some historians have confused the two David

Stouts, declaring that the first "Amwell David," son of Richard Stout (who had come to Hopewell from Middletown) was Rebecca's father. Actually, the first "Amwell David" was born in 1667 or 1669 and about 1725 purchased a tract of land near Wertsville where he lived for the remainder of his days. He had married Rebecca Ashton in 1688. His grave was in a family plot on his farm. His son, David (Junior), was born in 1695 and married Ann Merrill (or Anne Merrle). In all probability he was often referred to as "Amwell David" after his father's death. At the time of Isaac Eaton's arrival in Hopewell, this second "Amwell David" was a deacon in the church, and it was at his brother's home, the residence of Colonel Joseph Stout, where the Baptists had first convened to consider forming a church. There developed strong ties between Deacon Stout and his son-in-law, Isaac Eaton, as was evidence in 1756 when the former provided a building in which Isaac could conduct the Hopewell Academy.

The church congregation decided to provide a home for Eaton and his bride. A sizeable house and lot, with six acres adjoining, were obtained in 1749 by purchase from Joseph Dis-
the
borow. This homestead, with/other building erected about one hundred feet distant on the south side of the dwelling, became the site of the Hopewell Academy. The residence remains to the present day, and is excellently preserved. It is located on West Broad Street in Hopewell, almost at the center of the town.

The minister was expected to obtain a considerable portion of his living from the yield of his farmland. His income or "glebe" from the church at the outset of his ministry is not recorded but it was set at sixty pounds per year on July 20th, 1751. The money was raised by subscription of the members, with four members of the church designated each year to receive and deliver same to the minister.

The parsonage property was sold on March 28th, 1768, to Zebulon Stout, who paid sixty-seven pounds, ten shillings. Isaac Eaton probably continued to occupy it for the inventory of his assets after his death lists such items as horses, cattle, pigs, "hay in ye barn and barracks," etc.

The Eatons had two sons, Joseph and David, and three daughters, Amy, Uria (variously spelled as Ure, and Uriah) and Pamela (Pamela). Amy, it appears, pre-deceased her father. Uria, who was named after her grandmother, Uriah Humphrey Eaton, wife of Reverend Joseph Eaton, never married. Pamela was wed to John Humphrey, son of Stephen Humphrey, who lived on the outskirts of the village after having moved from Long Island about 1740.

Of Joseph Eaton, the older son of Isaac and Rebecca Eaton, born in 1750, more will be related in subsequent chapters as he was schooled in the Hopewell Academy and Rhode Island College. David, the second son, was born October 21st, 1762, and like his father and brother, became deeply interested in medicine. He has been described as

having become an "eminent physician," engaging in that profession at London Tract, Pennsylvania, until his 60th year when he died on August 13th, 1812. His wife was Mary Potts, daughter of William and Amy (Borden) Potts, to whom he was married on October 21st, 1784. They had several children.

The Isaac Eatons lived well in Hopewell, and according to the custom of the times among families of average means, had servants to assist with farming or household tasks, or both. An inventory of Isaac Eaton's goods and chattels, prepared a few weeks after his death, lists three servants, being described as "1 Negar man named Tom and his wife, both are not worth anything," and a third person whose name is not decipherable in the records of the estate in the office of the Secretary of State at the State House, Trenton, New Jersey. The name appears to be "Arihe" or it could be "Mike." He was valued at forty pounds, but the reference to Tom and his wife as being "not worth anything" apparently represented the views of the appraisers who were judging the servants from the standpoint of sale value.

Chapter VI

What sort of a preacher was Isaac Eaton? If a sheaf of his sermons was available, a proper basis for an appraisal might be provided. Regretably, the material available is scanty, consisting chiefly of notes concerning one or two Biblical discussions with his Academy classes, a portion of two sermons preached in his church at Hopewell, a charge delivered at the ordination of Reverend Samuel Jones, who was one of his former students, and an ordination sermon dealing with "The qualifications, character and duties of a good minister of Jesus Christ." The last named was delivered at the ordination of Reverend John Gano, the Hopewell-born youth who became an outstanding figure in Baptist history. Eaton's writings, as previously mentioned, included the first assembled history of the Hopewell church.

Even if more material evidence of the workings of Eaton's mind was available, an accurate evaluation of his ability as a minister of the gospel would be difficult, if not impossible, at the present time. Methods and standards of preaching vary with each generation. Who, in the knowledge of today's practices and beliefs in this regard, can weigh the value of another man's preaching of two centuries ago? Furthermore, the printed word, when matched with a sermon heard in person,

may seem at times as being a clumsy or shallow presentation of thoughts compared with an eloquent, moving appeal of lasting memory. Therefore, any comparison would be hazardous at best.

Being of a scholarly nature, Eaton doubtlessly prepared his sermons with great care, enriching his thinking with material obtained through constant reading. As a descendant of Pennsylvania Welsh settlers, he possessed the background to which Dr. A. H. Newman alludes in his history as follows:

"The prevailing Welsh element among Pennsylvania Baptists had come from churches well grounded in an evangelical type of Calvinism and in Baptist principles and practices. They combined evangelical zeal and fervor with thorough-going denominational self-respect."

For the benefit of his advanced students during their studies in Greek translation, Eaton was accustomed to lecture or expound on the meaning of various verses and chapters of the Scriptures. His clarity of thought prompted some members of the lower class in the Academy to attend these upper-class sessions when opportunity offered. Samuel Jones, in his diary, reports that Manning urged him to attend such a session on January 8th, 1758, when the schoolmaster-preacher was to discuss the 17th chapter of the Book of Acts. James Manning, another student, and Jones agreed to take notes of Mr. Eaton's remarks. As customary, class members first read portions of the chapter, giving an English translation. Frequently Eaton

interrupted the translation to bring out the exact meaning of key words. To this method, Jones was no stranger for it was used with the lower class as well. Then Eaton discussed the import of the chapter as a whole. In his diary, Jones wrote the following comment:

"My whole soul was moved in a way that I cannot well describe as Mr. Eaton descanted on those verses which describe Paul on Mars hill, surrounded by the beautiful temples and gorgeous palaces where had assembled a large crowd of the most learned men of Athens. . . . Mr. Eaton's mode of explaining the Scriptures to his scholars is so impressive that all give earnest heed to what he says."

Yet Eaton was realist enough to bring the message down to the day in which he lived. Jones quoted him as follows:

"At that day and among that people, heathen though they were, no one was persecuted for his religious belief, but all were allowed full liberty of conscience--an example which the people of some New England colonies and the Colony of Virginia might follow, even in this day."

A further insight into Eaton's style is given in a summary of one of his sermons preserved in Samuel Jones' diary. Apparently prompted by the arrival of balmy weather, Eaton preached on April 1st, 1758, to a large congregation "with more than usual fervor, although he was still suffering from an attack of ague." The diary record of the sermon is as follows:

". . . Mr. Eaton . . . said that as he walked along the

road and heard the sweet carol of the birds, he was reminded of the words of Solomon: 'The time of the singing of birds has come.' After describing the hard winter . . . all nature locked in a sound embrace of forgetfulness, he contrasted therewith the beauty of this day, when even the birds appeared to be praising God. Then he turned towards his pupils and told them that their hearts should be full of love and praise to God for the blessings they enjoyed . . . gratitude for every-day mercies. He also said that the winter, with its icy bands, reminded him of death, but now the south winds blow and call forth from their hiding places the beautiful flowers, with their sweet perfume, and the meadows with their carpets of green, and the trees with their quivering foliage, and that this seemed like a resurrection. His application was very touching, especially when he said, 'How is it with your hearts? Have they no part in this new life? Is there no spring-time in them? Does winter, with its cold pall, still cover your hearts and shall they not give back to God some token of love and thankfulness?'"

Another sermon report from the Jones' diary describes Eaton's development of the text, "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee." This text from Luke 12:20 was used on September 16th, 1758. Jones described it as a "powerful sermon" given before a full meeting-house. It also was the Sunday before the opening of the 1758-59 school year for the Academy. The diary reads as follows:

"He said that, while the text was specially adapted to husbandmen who had been prospered in their labors beyond their hopes, yet it had, like all our Lord's parables, a wider scope. He spoke beautifully of the abundant crops which many of his hearers had gathered, and said he knew they felt happy, and many were grateful to God for his mercies, but most persons never thought of the Giver of all these things, and it was to such persons the words of the text were specially applicable.

"Then he spoke to young men beginning life as students, and said that they, too, were included in the text, for they must give account of their lives, their thoughts as well as actions, and of the time they spent in study as well as play, and of their words. All persons are laying up their treasures somewhere, either on earth or in heaven, but woe to that one who layeth up treasure for himself and is not rich towards God. He closed by urging on all to seek first the kingdom of God, the reign of Christ in the heart, and said if we only loved God truly, everything in life, even our daily labors, our studies, our thoughts, would be God-like. The effect of the sermon was very deep, and as he closed, he leaned over the pulpit and looked very solemn, and said, slowly, and in a deep voice, 'Sinner, this night thy soul shall be required of thee.' His closing prayer touched my heart, as it was in behalf of his students who were beginning this week what might prove a life of great usefulness, or one full of woe. Tom brother of Samuel Jones--author's note) had never heard such

a solemn sermon, and was afraid to sleep by himself, and now, while I write, has come into my room and begged leave to sleep with me. Dear boy, his conscience is so tender that I have hopes he may be led to see his duty, and yet when daylight comes he forgets all and is ready for any sort of fun. Such is life!"

The warm regard that Eaton had for Samuel Jones, and also his recognition of the many qualities required of a true servant of God in the ministry, is displayed in his charge to the minister and the ordination prayer given by Eaton on January 2nd, 1763, at the ceremony held in the College of Philadelphia when Jones became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia. Jones had just been ordained with the laying on of hands by the three assisting ministers, Eaton, Morgan Edwards and Samuel Stillman. The ordination charge and prayer were as follows:

"When mortals attempt to speak or act in the immediate presence of the heart-searching God, what awe and reverence should possess their spirits?

"We have this day been called upon to transact some of the most solemn concerns; not only in attending the means of grace, in a common manner; but also in hearing some of the necessary qualifications of a gospel minister clearly represented; and, particularly, in setting apart our Reverend brother to the sacred office of a minister of Christ, by earnest prayer and imposition of hands.

"The lord of Lords, whose goodness is infinite, and power unbounded, hath, in mercy to his church, placed one watchman more on the walls of Zion; hath called one more to act in his name and by his authority, for the promotion of his glory and good of mankind.

"To close the work of this day, I am now to deliver unto you, my brother, a charge relative to the office wherewith you are invested.

"Dear sir, in the Name of our Lord, I bid you welcome in- to his delightful vineyard. I congratulate you, that, after proper study and preparation, you are become a fellow-labourer, not only with us, but with Jesus Christ also.

"Suffer me now seriously to charge you, to be faithful in the following things.

"Make the word of God, contained in the old and new tes- taments, the constant man of your counsel. This sacred vol- ume is not only able to make you wise until salvation through faith in Christ Jesus, but completely to furnish you for every good word and work. Hence you may derive doctrine, reproof, and instruction in all your private studies and public ad- ministrations; evidenced and confirmed by this, how will truth shine, conviction strike the neighted minds of mankind, and consolation flow into the distressed soul! In duly studying and properly applying these sacred weapons, under the divine influence, how will error flee away, and every thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of the Living God be cut down and abashed; and the stubborn wills of mankind, be

led in willing subjection.

"Strive, to understand these sacred pages, stored with the best of treasures; and to enter into the life and spirit of these oracles of God. Let these be the rule of all your doctrines and practice, To understand, and live agreeable to scripture, form a character worthy men of the greatest genius.

"Need I remind you of the necessity you will be under, frequently to apply to the throne of Grace--A prayer-hearing God giveth liberally, and upbraideth not those, who, sensible of their wants, humbly ask for wisdom. This is one excellent method to maintain that heavenly mindedness which is necessary for every minister of the gospel--What can more invigorate your mind, when you are about to address mankind in the most serious manner, than to enter upon the work immediately after an holy interview with the father of Spirits.--

"Prayer is the duty and privilege of Christians in general, but, in many respects, of a minister in particular--In this duty they bear, the different cases and circumstances of those under their care, to the good and great shepherd of souls, who carryeth the lambs in his arms, and gently leadeth those with young.

"Let a deep and solemn sense of divine truth impress your spirits--Strive to maintain your evidences, as to a state of grace, clear and comfortable--Meditate often on the awful realities of a future state--Beware of pride, sensuality, and covetousness, those destructive preventatives of a spiritual

progress--Take heed of popular applauses, lest they betray you, and prove an impediment to your advances as a Christian; and success as a minister--While in this body, you may expect to meet with many temptations, and be subject to many infirmities; you may be called upon to endure hardships, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ--Take care always that you be not led by the blind dictates of unruly passions, but by the deliberate and safe directions of reason--a proper government of yourself will lay a foundation for all your public relations, and render all your connections with mankind easy, profitable, and delightful.

"We charge you to take heed, not only to yourself, but to your doctrine, that it may be according to godliness-- Whatever you preach be well assured that it is contained in the word of God; and that all your inferences be natural and genuine---

"Let the dignity, honors, offices and characters of the mediator be frequently the subjects of your discourses--Press the necessity of regeneration, sanctification, and an holy life for the eternal comfort and happiness of Men--

"Let your preaching be distinct, plain and pungent, that you may approve yourself in the sight of God, and men also, 'a workman that needeth not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth--Feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as lording it over God's heritage; but being an example to the flock.'

"In the administration of ordinances, as to the subjects and modes, adhere strictly to the pattern which is laid down in God's word--

"If at any time necessity calls for it, 'contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints'--Oppose gainsayers, and all such, of whatever name and character, as either reject the truth, or take pleasure in unrighteousness--Exercise all meekness and gentleness toward the weak--In a word, as you are now called to minister in holy things, attend diligently to all the services of the sanctuary--As you are a shepherd, take heed to the flock, that when Christ, who is the great shepherd, shall appear, you may have joy and praise before him--

"As you are a watchman, be circumspect and diligent to warn sinners, direct and encourage the weak and comfort the saints--As a steward, you are entrusted with great and invaluable treasures, the precious word of God, the gifts of his holy Spirit, and a charge over the souls of men; exert yourself, therefore, in improving the talents which God hath given you, that when you are called to give an account of your stewardships, you may be able to say, here, Lord, are thy talents with usury--

"And now, under the awful apprehensions of a future meeting before the august tribunal of the supreme judge of heaven and earth, we charge you to be diligent, faithful and honest in the discharge of the several duties, relative to this

important office, which are, or shall be made known unto you
--And this we do in presence of the eternal God; and of the
Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy angels; and we call this
assembly to witness, that you are bound by the most solemn
obligations to devote yourself, henceforward, to the work and
service of God in his church.

"Finally, we would enforce these things upon your mind,
by arguments drawn from the glorious perfections of God, his
inflexible justice, unspotted holiness, eternal truth and
rich mercy; from the nature of the everlasting covenant of
grace; from the incarnation of the son of God; from the holy
life and bitter agonies of the mediator; from the worth and
preciousness of immortal souls; from the glorious reward of
the faithful servants of Christ, and the insupportable pun-
ishment of the unprofitable ones; from the just judgment which
Christ shall pass upon the world at the last day; from the
glories of heaven, and the horrors of hell--and that you may
be supported and have success in this weighty undertaking,
we recommend you to the Lord, and to the word of his Grace;
assuring you of our constant regard; and that our unfeigned
desires are, that the author of every good and perfect gift
may abundantly supply you with every necessary blessing; and
that God may enable us mutually to advance his glory until
our last breath. Amen."

At the conclusion of the charge to the minister, Eaton
prayed as follows:

"O Thou who art the 'door of the church! who openeth and no man shutteth!' Open to this thy servant, who seeketh, with all good shepherds, to enter by thee into the sheepfold; and not to climb thereinto any other way! Thou that 'clothest thy priests with salvation,' endow him with that ministry by which it hath 'pleased thee to save them that believe!' Thou who hast ascended on high to receive gifts for men, Bestow, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, all the gifts and graces which he, as a minister and a Christian, stands in need of! Make him a polished shaft in thine hand, that many, by his ministry, may be pricked in the heart with convictions of sin! And let the Lord God anoint him to heal the broken hearted. Add many seals to his ministry! And, at last, let him shine with those who have turned many to righteousness. Amen!

"O most high and mighty God! Permit us, we beseech thee, to repeat our requests in behalf of this thy servant, whom we, in the most solemn manner, set apart to the sacred office. Let our united supplications reach thine ear, Lord God of Sabbath! Indue him, we humbly pray thee, with the graces of thy Holy Spirit, and every necessary and important qualification; whereby he may become an able minister of the Gospel, and may rightly divide the word of truth! And now, by thine authority, we send him forth! Be thou the guide of his youth; and prepare him for the various vicissitudes through which he will have to pass! May his life be a series of benevolent and pious actions; and his labour attended with a

blessing from on high! And, when thou shalt remove him from this transitory scene of things, may he be enabled to say, 'I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith; and receive the crown of righteousness, which thou, the righteous Judge, shalt give thy faithful servant at that day, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen!'"

Four years earlier, Eaton had preached the Ordination sermon on the occasion when Reverend John Gano was invested with full ministerial duties. This was given on May 29th, 1754. Later, the sermon was published. Eaton wrote an explanatory note, a preface which in itself is illuminating in regard to the preacher-teacher himself. It was as follows:

"The occasion of the following lines being published is not from any affectatious view to excel others who have worthily wrote on the same subject, but rather to bear witness with them to the same solemn truth. I am sensible the opinion that has been received in the world concerning the Baptist ministers, and their method of being sent, has been some prejudice to our holy profession (especially where they have been the least known). And however unjustifiable and groundless many of those charges against us are, yet none of our ministers in this country have thought proper to publish a sermon of this nature; and whether this is sufficient to let our brethren of other denominations know, that we, as well as they, look upon the office of the Ministry as a solemn trust, and be left to the judgment of the reader.

"'Tis my desire, as far as I can agree with any set of Christians, to walk by the same rule, to mind the same thing. I am careful to make any apology for myself: Hence the criticck can hardly be satisfied, and the subject spoken of, is too solemn and weighty to need much decoration of speech. I shall leave the performance to the blessing of God, and pray that all the ministers of Christ may be endowed with a double portion of his Spirit, and that the Lord would send many more labourers into his vineyard, fitly qualified for the weighty charge."

The ordination sermon itself was based upon the text, I Timothy 4:6: "If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine, whereunto thou has attained." The sermon follows:

"The cause of our present assembling together is known to this congregation, that it is with a design to set apart one to the service of God, to preach the Gospel of his dear Son, and that according to the rule left for us in his Word. If ever any, undertaking to be Watchmen on Zion's Wall, have had need of large accomplishments, and great qualifications, no doubt the circumstance of the Church in this age calls for it in an eminent manner; not only because sin and vice abound to a great degree (which hath been the just complaint of the Godly at all times) but what seems more shocking is this, whilst, on the one hand, almost a fatal stupidity does seize

the generality of professors, insomuch, that little of that well-becoming zeal and activity are to be seen for God, and holy religion, which might justly be expected from persons professedly attached to matters so worthy in themselves: On the other hand, when persons are a little roused from indolence and sloth, how affecting to see the growing spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm: These are the common evils of the times; of which our Lord, and his Apostles, have long since advertised us. Notwithstanding, in the midst of these, and many other calamities, we are now left with seasonable encouragements: Christ, the King of Zion, bears rule, and hath given us his Word to judge by, and act from; wherein we have the qualifications he requires in his ambassadors, and the method prescribed, how they shall be legally authorized to act in that high station; together with various directions for the future regulation of their whole conduct.

"In a very particular manner St. Paul's instructions to Timothy and Titus, furnish us with a clear view of what is expected from persons so called; In which the Apostle, as a wise and careful Father, exhorts his son Timothy, how he should devote and conduct himself; as in the first Chapter of this Epistle, from the first to the sixth verse: And proceeds to inform him of the greatness of the work, from the various circumstances which attend the due execution of that sacred office, in relation to the opposition he might expect to meet with: Likewise those affairs which respected the Truth itself, and how he should conduct himself, in re-

lation to his divine Master, and the people with whom he was to be immediately concerned. All which were necessary, in order that he (observing the same) might deservedly acquire the honourable character in our Text: A good minister of Jesus Christ.

"In the Words we may observe,

"1. The title of one thus employed (i.e.) a Minister. The word Diaconos represents one who labours earnestly, or sweats in the dust. 'Tis a comprehensive term, and variously applied. It denotes the execution of a civil trust in a common Wealth, Rom. XIII, 4. Elsewhere it is applied to matters relating to spiritual worship; and therefore fitly adapted to shew the Office of a Deacon: But in the Words of our text, it intends that Office which Christ hath appointed as an ecclesiastical function in his Church, viz. To preach, administer, and rule. The way and manner of acting herein, is not as the Princes of the Gentiles, exercising authority upon, or dominion over, the people; but whosoever will be great in the Church, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant; Matth. XX, 26, 27. The Office we now speak of is not a Lordship, but a laborious service, both in doctrine, and being exemplary to the Flock.

"2. The Words seem to have a specialty in them; Paul was desirous that Timothy might not be only a Minister, but a good Minister. The Word, Good, may be considered in a sense restricted, according to what it is applied: Our Lord

has told us, There is none good, save One, that is God; Luke, XVIII, 19. Which most certainly is true, when spoken of him who is essentially so. But then Goodness may be applied to persons and things, so far as they bear a relation in that respect to their divine Original, which does admit of various degrees of greater or lesser good, and yet may be properly good in their natures, answering the station, ends, and purposes they are designed for: and therefore Paul, on Timothy's observing the respective obligations laid upon him, and discharging the duties required of him, might justly call him a good minister of Jesus Christ.-----Where note,----- of Jesus Christ. expressing the honourable character of such an One; tho' it is to serve, yet this service is pleasant; it is a serving of Jesus Christ, the best and most reasonable Master; it is to serve his Church, the excellent Ones of the earth; it is to promote the happiness of the souls of men: For, saith this same Apostle, We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. For the fulfilment of this charge, we find Timothy was favoured with necessary and excellent qualifications, which remain exemplary to ministers, viz. To be nourished up in the Words of Faith; intimating, that as food causes the human body to grow, and advance from infancy to maturity, so by suitable application, and culture, the Word was made nourishment to the soul of Timothy; whereby he increased mightily in the knowledge of divine Truth; and by his acquaintance with good doctrine, discovers to all Ministers the necessity

of a general and particular acquaintance with the doctrines of the Gospel, their nature, distinction, and mutual dependence. To put novices in the Ministry, the Apostle hath long since exploded as very dangerous and ought to be shunned now as much as ever.

"In order to treat on these words, I propose the following method.

"First, I shall shew what qualifications are necessary to furnish a person for the ministerial work.

"Second, Wherein consists a legal call to this office.

"Thirdly, How such an One discovers himself a good Minister of Jesus Christ, or what are the duties incumbent on him.

"Fourthly, Apply it to the present case and time.

"The Qualifications necessary to furnish a person for the ministerial Work, are

"FIRST, a true saving and experimental knowledge of the Work of Grace on the person's own heart: This is absolutely necessary, in order to be a good Minister of Christ, in discharging that great trust: And that for many Reasons; because we find it proposed as one of God's special tokens of regard to his Church, under the former dispensation, by which is declarative glory, and his Church's good, should be much advanced. Jer. xxiii, 4. I will set up Shepherds over them, who shall feed them; and they shall fear no more, nor be dismayed. Where we see the Lord chose such as himself did approve, to take care of his people. And nothing can more discover the divine Favour, in any external way, than is

herein made known; when, on the contrary, there never has been a worse plague to the Church, than a false, ungodly, and extravagant Ministry: Isa. lvi, 11. Ezek. iv, 8. Zech, x, 3. From which places, the bad consequence of encouraging an irreligious, unwatchful, or ignorant Ministry, doth plainly appear. Further, it will appear, that real piety is essentially necessary in a Minister; for when Christ, the Head of the Church, was himself on earth (and, among other important concerns, was about to introduce a Gospel Church-State) he first called the Disciples, and gave those whom he designed to instruct in that sacred Office a saving discovery of himself; and much pains he took, in private, to instruct them by Word and example in the mysteries of the Kingdom; which at least amounts to an argument, that he, who was the best Judge, saw it then necessary, that they should be thus qualified: And if then necessary, it was either exemplary, or it was not: If not exemplary, so far as what we bring it for, then there must be some toleration somewhere in Scripture for persons unrenewed to preach, and be Ministers of Christ; and therefore to be avoided as much as possible. On the contrary, the solemn charges given; the spirituality of the work considered, will make it appear necessary: and how any person may be called a good Minister of Christ, whilst a stranger to, and an alien from, God, and never felt the powerful efficacy of divine Grace in renewing his soul; still remaining under the ruins of the Fall, in the depravity of nature, and pollution of sin; and enemy to God, and not subject

to his Law, is beyond my comprehension. Let that solemn question bear its due weight in this affair: But unto the Wicked God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy Mouth? Ps. 1, 16. Moreover, we have a particular direction, 1 Tim. iii, at the beginning; he must be a person of good behaviour, not given to wine, &c. Besides, how unlikely it is, that one who never had a just regard to the divine Law, should be able and faithful to teach it to others; one unacquainted with the pangs of the New-birth, to speak a word in due season to the weary and heavy-laden, and strengthen the feeble-minded; one ignorant of the preciousness of Christ, and yet preach him to the world as Wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and display the transcendent excellencies of his Grace, as suited to the coming Sinner, and his Love, as felt and enjoyed by the believer; a stranger to the fullness and sweetness of the promises, and yet unfold, and rightly apply them, seems too great a contradiction to expect from one man. Surely there are some parts imitable (by all the Ministers of Christ) of what the Apostle speaks; I John, 1, 1. That which was from the beginning, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life.

"II. A second qualification in a Minister, is gifts, without a measure of which he cannot be deemed suitably furnished for the ministerial Work.---I shall descend to enumerate some of the most necessary; as

"1. KNOWLEDGE in the mysteries of Godliness, which are in themselves very great; the various subjects sublime; many are the branches, and extensively large the divine science. For want of this, what great disadvantages have many laboured under; when the teacher himself had need be taught to first principles of the Christian religion, and the nature of those things which tend to the edification and establishment of both Minister and people when the blind lead the blind! To be well acquainted with, and distinctly to know, the doctrinal and the practical parts of the Christian religion, as fully revealed in holy Scriptures, is so delightful a study, sufficient to induce a Minister to search diligently into, and labour painfully after; for want of which, many parts of sacred Truth lie hid, or, at the best, but darkly disclosed, and incoherently inculcated. And hence, when our Lord was about to ascend to his Father, and our Father, he opened the understanding of his Disciples in the Scriptures, which was necessary to their being fitly qualified for the work; and tho' that was in an extraordinary manner, yet we may expect to obtain some good degree by the ordinary and lawful use of means, principally a diligent search into and study of the holy Scriptures; In the neglect of which, no one can be excusable who takes upon him so important an affair.

"2. Prudence is a necessary qualification for a Minister to have, which must be exercised in every part of his Office. The variety of subjects he is to be concerned with and about; the different stations and tempers of mankind; the peculiar

fitness of seasons to address or apply, call for the exercise of this gift continually. Is he engaged in public discourses, Prudence will teach him what subjects are most necessary and suitable, together with the manner how each one should be treated; it will direct him to beware of rhetorical phrases, and prevent him from soaring about above his hearers in philosophical speculations; it will constrain him to represent truth in its own plainness, in a sober, grave, unaffected style; and yet powerful, judicious and easy: The difference of subjects will necessarily alter the manner of discoursing on them. In this, prudence is necessary to inform how each one should be handled: And when he has to do with mankind, prudence will be necessary to make choice of the fittest seasons, and the most favourable circumstances, to address them; that he may become all things to all men, so far as it consists with truth, morality and modesty, and yet act faithfully in his high station, and maintain his character among mankind with a becoming air of gravity, without appearing abject or groveling, or offering any violence to his ministerial dignity.

"3. Faithfulness is a necessary gift for a Minister: The Gospel Minister is a steward; and it is required of a steward to be faithful. The affairs committed to his trust are of the utmost importance; and there must be a conscientious regard to every part of the work; and lest he mar the whole, he must act from right principles, and motives; to make the honour and glory of God his ultimate end and aim, and sincerely

to strive for the good of immortal souls. These are the governing designs of his Ministry: Whereas an unjust regard had to One's own interest or honour, will soon pervert and overturn the right and faithful administration of the Word and Discipline. Hence Ministers in general are solemnly charged, to take the oversight of Christ's flock: Not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: I Pet., v.2. It was the temper of St. Paul, naturally, to take care for the State of the Philippians: Phil. 11, 20, 21. And he discountenances seeking our own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's. A Minister must be careful to declare the whole counsel of God; he cannot be faithful and keep back any part of the portion which belongs to the Children of God; he must give each one their meat in due season. Every part of divine Truth is necessary either to perfect the understanding in knowledge, or direct the Christian in practice. He must let the unbeliever know the awfulness of his state; how he revolted from God in his first Apostacy; what depravations, impotency, and pollution are inherent in his nature, and how he is become an Heir of Wrath. He may not omit to inform the sinner how reconciliation is made by Christ, and the Way to be restored to the divine Favour, through the perfection of the satisfaction made by Christ, and the prevalency of his intercession. In doing of which, it calls for the exertment of all his natural powers and acquirements, and use them with the greatest impartiality.

"A Minister ought to be a man of good natural genius, and have the gift of learning.

"1. Natural Genius, or, in other words, the natural powers and faculties of his mind, to be active and well regulated. It seems improbable, that such who are of a low, mean and unactive disposition, should be very likely to be of much service in so great a work; a work which demands the exercise of all the rational improved powers of the human soul. How shall persons addict themselves to the work of the Ministry, whose powers of mind, at their highest pitch, are but shallow and contracted; there must surely be a consistency in this, as well as every other part of the divine System; and therefore it will reflect dishonour on the Lawgiver, to suppose that he hath appointed to the highest office such as are forbid by nature the exercising in, or fulfilment of, the same. It is left in divine history as a lasting infamy on Jeroboam, I. Kings, xiiii, 33. That he took of the lowest of the people, and made them priests of the high places: and consecrated such who, through ignorance, were willing to rush into the priestly office. Those foolish and base things Christ chose, has not so much reference to their ignorance and incapacity of mind, but rather to the opinion the carnal world had of them, from the meanness of their circumstances and figure, in opposition to the sinful grandeur and follies of this world: For he enjoins on them, and so makes it lawful for his harmless doves to be as wise as serpents: and though his Kingdom is not of this world, yet it is in this sinful, carping, opposing world;

and the Advocates for his interest ought not to be dull and sluggish, but most active, industrious and prudent.

"2. HUMAN LEARNING, concerning which many disputes have risen, which is not my present design to enter upon, but give my judgment in the case, and offer my reasons for it in as brief a manner as I can. As to the extent of lawful learning, I suppose no one man has ever reached it in all its parts; yet some degrees thereof are greatly advantageous to a Minister, and may be comprised under these particulars; some acquaintance with the original languages, wherein the Scriptures were penned, so as to know the import of words, and their radices; especially of the New Testament, which all must allow to be greatly beneficial; together with some knowledge of the sciences, especially logick, rhetorick, natural and moral Philosophy, &c. I will not say it absolutely necessary for a Minister of Christ, or that Christ has no Minister who cannot read the original tongues, nor rightly, according to the rule of science, define every subject; because I have some good evidence to confirm me, that it has been, is, and may be so: Yet Learning is good, and helps to make a well accomplished Minister in these days of opposition and error, who, by that means, can better confound and bring to light the subtle artifices of designing men, and oppose, refute, and put to silence, the cavils of errorists, whilst the clear doctrines of the Gospel may shine in their unobscured lustre: And though there have been great and good men without any large degree of human learning, useful to the Church in their day, yet such

instances are abused when made use of to invalidate learning; and I could wish it were more encouraged, and sought for, provided, notwithstanding, it be kept within its proper bounds, and not suffered, with Hagar, to insult over divine gifts, or any ways to be equal to its rightful mistress, Grace.

"The second thing proposed, was to shew wherein consists a legal call to this Office.

"As there are necessary pre-requisites, so there are proper methods of investiture in the Office itself.

"The first in order, is this, an internal call by the holy Spirit in the ordinary use of means; by which understand, that those whom God calls to the work of the Ministry, even in ordinary times, he works in them previous dispositions, and bestows upon them gracious qualifications, as necessary to precede the actual call to, and susception of, this Office; working a willingness to comply with the charge, and that under the strongest conviction of the weight of the work. It hath been the common experience of the faithful Ministers of Christ, that the weightiness of the work hath oppressed their spirits, and they have been led to search after knowledge: And not from any immediate impulse, as many persons pretend to; who, big with conceit of their own qualifications, do run before they are sent, and intrude upon the office, when neither God nor his people hath called them thereunto; blindly imagining that they have some extraordinary impulse to exercise, or else from motives as base and perverse, do strive to climb in some other way, different from what Christ hath ordained.

"2. To shew that such an one may be further confirmed of his designation/^{to}the Ministry by the united concurrence of divine Providence, and that many ways; as when the sober religious walk of a person bespeaks his sincerity; and the promising appearance of his usefulness begets the good-will of others (they observing the same): likewise, the apparent necessity of some to be employed in the work, is a call from Providence, to use the best gifts; and one whom God hath endowed with the chiefest natural blessings of wit and parts, and a power of easy communication, together with the united freedom and inclination of a church to choose such an one. All which, put together, may encourage a person in undertaking to officiate in that work.

"3. A CALL from the Church of God, in order to the trial of the qualifications of the party for the Church's satisfaction, by which he hath an opportunity to grow in the exercise of his gifts. I know it had been controverted, whether a church hath power to call any person to preach or not. For my part, I judge from what Paul exhorts, I Tim. iii, 10. That there must be some way of trial before the person is thoroughly qualified to execute every part of the Ministerial function. The authority of a gospel church over her members, the right she hath to all the gifts of every individual, discovers something in this affair; the relation every member stands in to the church he belongs; the end of the ministry, as particularly fixed in the Church, put together, plainly discovers that it belongs to the Church to examine, and call a person to the

trial of his ministerial gifts.

"Mr. Hooker saith, 'That the Election of the people rightly ordered by the rule of Christ, leaves the Impression of a true outward call.' ---- It was the opinion of a set of learned men in New England, 'That the substance of the outward call of a Minister, was the free election of the Church.'

"4. The fourth thing to complete this call, is to be set apart to this Office by solemn Ordination, which we find to be performed by fasting and prayer, and laying on of hands: And as the whole province of a Minister's work is assigned to him by Christ, to whom the power originally belongs; and he hath intrusted his Ambassadors to act for and under him, to send others by this solemn act of ordinating them; the intent of which is to set aside, or design the persons to that trust, and enjoin upon them the duties required by Christ; this full authority is received in Ordination, where the qualifications are previous in the persons.---- As to fasting and prayer, they are very suitable upon occasions of so solemn a nature. We find Paul and Barnabas were recommended to the Grace of God when they were sent on some special work, Acts xiii, 3. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away. Laying on of hands was an ancient ceremony, used in the dedication of a person to some holy office; as also a sign or way which the former saints used in their benedictions: So Jacob blessed the Sons of Joseph, and Christ the children. It seems to have been in use when Moses laid

his hands on Joshua, and gave that solemn charge, Numb. xxvii, 23. That it is the way Christ hath appointed for the sending his Ministers, will appear, when we consider that it was an apostolick practice; and since the Church is said to be built on the foundations of the Apostles and Prophets, let us attend to an enquiry and search into their practices, and we shall find that they ordained ordinary Officers in the Church, as Timothy and Titus, and Archippus, with others, and appointed that Elders should be ordained in the Churches. It was so much accounted of in the Apostles' time, that the whole of the mission was expressed by it, I Tim. v. 22. Lay hands suddenly on no man. The manner Timothy was set apart to this work, was by laying on of the hands of the Presbytery: and St. Paul, writing to the Romans, tenth Chapter, and fifteenth Verse, shews the necessity of this mission; How shall they preach except they be sent? In which he discovers the natural connection between the cause and the effect by various interrogative expressions; which testify, it is as impossible rightly and orderly to preach, without being sent, as rightly to call on him on whom one believes not, or to believe without hearing: And as hearing and faith are both necessary in ordinary times, so likewise must this sending be allowed necessary in ordinary times to a Gospel Minister. Upon the whole, it appears altogether unwarrantable and unsafe, so much as to put forth the hand, and touch the holy calling, without being legally authorized thereunto. Let all beware of running without being sent, or strive to climb into this office any

other way than Christ the Lawgiver of his Church hath appointed, lest they perish in the gainsaying of Korab; for by the same rule whereby one may assume the liberty to officiate in this sacred trust, uncalled, or irregularly called, so may another; and where are there any bounds to man's extravagant fancy, when uncontrolled by the Word of God, the only invariable and true Standard? What melancholy mischiefs, what rueful confusions have always succeeded, when the Ministry hath been brought into contempt by unqualified persons pretending to act in it, which ought always to be watched against, and by no means encouraged.

"The third thing was to shew wherein a person discovers himself to be a good Minister of Jesus Christ.

"And this will best shew itself by their conduct in the discharge of the various duties relating to their office, which are many, and may be reduced to these general heads. First, to their divine Master; secondly, to the Church especially, and to others in general; and, thirdly, to themselves.

"As to the first, it is to be an Ambassador for Christ, a representative of the eternal God; in which high station a Minister has the honour of being employed for the King of Kings. As an Ambassador at a foreign court represents the person of his Prince, and is to negotiate in the most weighty affairs relating to the honour of his sovereign, though not to propose any new terms, neither is he to deviate from those made by his Master, but always to stand firmly attached to the interest and honour of his rightful Lord; so the Ambassadors

of Christ are sent forth by him to carry on the treaty of Peace with mankind in the Name, and by the authority of, Christ; and exactly according to the platform laid before them, and upon no consideration to propose any new or other method of obtaining the divine Regard, 2 Cor. v, 18. All Things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the Ministry of Reconciliation.

We see what a great trust is reposed in such; and therefore Timothy was directed to commit the same to faithful men, 2 Tim. 11, 2. A Minister must be upright and honest in clearly demonstrating divine Truths, though ever so much opposed by man, or any set of men: He must endeavour to suppress the growing sins of the times, though he lose the applause of men by it: In one word, to stand against every thing in doctrine and practice repugnant to the Word of God, though appearing with ever so much popularity and fashion, if he must thereby be forced to lose his good name, and many worldly enjoyments, esteeming it greater riches to please God than man; neither influenced by the flatteries, nor terrified by the frowns of the world, knowing he is faithful who hath called us to this service. We may therefore open our mouths with boldness to proclaim the divine mysteries, tho' atheists mock, and Deists ridicule the glorious scheme of revealed religion; and tho' impenitent sinners live in the open contempt of the holy Law of God, and refuse the precious Grace of the Gospel, yet his servants shall be for a Crown and Praise, though Israel be not gathered. The

Ministers that are faithful, have a witness in the conscience of ungodly sinners who perish.

"2. Ministers are to officiate in their trust with love and zeal; they ought to preach with zeal as becomes the importance of the subject; and their love to Christ should glow with ardour, altho' the warmth of the speaker's address cannot convey a sense of the matter to the hearers, yet it may serve to draw their minds to a more direct steadiness in hearing. It discovers the regard the speaker has to the subject delivered: And who can refrain feeling a sensible warmth of mind when speaking of the revealed glories of the divine mysteries? The super aboundings of the love of the precious Redeemer; the transcendant amiableness of his Person; the prevailing efficacy of his merits; the riches of his Grace; the sweetness of his Love, when shed abroad in the heart? Glorious subjects, filled with attractive influences! May I feel the force thereof more and more from day to day.

"What further motives to zeal, when we see our fellow creatures persisting in unnatural rebellion against God, their rightful Sovereign, violating the reasonable and wholesome Laws of Jehovah; despising the most precious Blood of the Covenant; refusing a compliance with their own happiness, and practically saying, we will have none of his Laws nor Grace. I say these are motives to enkindle the zeal of the Ministers into a holy flame, and make them cry aloud, and spare not, to lift up their voices like trumpets. Notwithstanding, they ought not to suffer their zeal to drive them

to irregularity, but to preach with proper distinctions; some of which I shall mention, as the keeping a just and proper distinction between the Law and Gospel, and discover the difference between the one and the other, by shewing the nature and design of each; advancing and maintaining their native lustre, usefulness and property; to blend, mix, or not rightly apply either, is very prejudicial to the scheme of the Christian religion; Also the nature and necessity of justification and sanctification, together with their different stations; the one wrought by Christ, in his own Person, by his active and passive obedience, without us; the other consequent thereupon, wrought in us by the holy Spirit, in renewing the faculties of the Soul, and conforming the person to the moral Law, and Gospel Grace, and not comixt in their natures, nor changing their respective places. Moreover, a proper distinction is to be made between the holy and the vile. A Minister should take care not to make the hearts of those sad whom the Lord would not have made sad; neither to daub sinners with untempered mortar, nor sew pillows under their arm-holes: He ought to delineate the character of the regenerate, and condescend to the capacities of the weak in faith; to take care of the lambs of Christ, and feed the sheep; to give milk to babes, whilst meat is administered to the strong. At the same time the empty formalist must be sharply reprehended; the vile sinner condemned in his practices; the self-righteous boasting Pharisee overthrown, and all his towering hopes

demolished, by shewing the essential difference between the highest attainment of nature, and the lowest degree of supernatural grace.

"3. It is a Minister's duty to be constant in his labour; it is a work that will not indulge negligence. The Apostle exhorts to be instant in season and out of season. He ought to improve all proper seasons offering to preach; and when not employed in preaching, there are various duties to fill up his time.---In order that Timothy might be a good Minister, he must give himself wholly to it. For my part, I do not see how a man can act up to the duties of his calling in this respect, and to be by far the greater part of his time employed in secular affairs; nor how such congregations will answer it before God (in another day) who are able, and yet force their Minister to labour for his own and family's reasonable support. Notwithstanding the work of preaching is not to be performed every day, yet there are various duties necessarily incumbent on him, of which I shall shew some in remarking on the other two particulars proposed.

"The Second was to shew the duties he owes to the Church especially, and to others in general; and there are many, as

"1. To attend on the public administration of the Gospel; to preach Christ crucified to the audience, presenting him as the Way, the Truth, and the Life; the only medium of our access to, and acceptance with, the Father; explaining the nature, and opening the fulness of the well-ordered Covenant; the fulfilment of all the Articles stipulated therein;

the answering all the obligations assigned to him as Mediator; the reconciliation of God to man through him; to expose the horrid nature, and direful consequence of persisting in a course of rebellion; to represent the necessity, nature and marks, of the New-Birth; to discover the abundant readiness in the eternal Father to forgive, and acquit every one coming to him in an humble, penitent manner, through his Son; to edify, confirm and establish, the Saints of God. How large the Province; how many the parts; how painful the work of the ministry when engaged in, to declare the whole counsel of God, and be a steward of the manifold mysteries of the Kingdom, enough to demand his strongest powers, and most sedate meditations to accomplish; for who is sufficient for these things?

"2. He is to administer the Ordinances of the Gospel, such as baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the censures of the Church; in doing of which, a Minister must have a view to the commands and examples of Christ, as they are left in the New Testament, and to make those things the only terms of Communion which the Word makes so.

"3. RULING is another branch of a Minister's duty: Tho' he is not to lord it over God's Heritage, yet he is to rule and take the oversight of the flock willingly, which is one of the more difficult parts of his work, and requires great skill and caution. No doubt will be made, but that much of the executive part of the Laws of Christ in his Church depends upon him, when we consider the appellations so often given to

such in holy Scripture; where they are called leaders, rulers, shepherds, elders, &c. A Minister is to lead and guide the people of the Lord, the particular bounds of which are too large for me now to demonstrate: And one thing which renders this part of his work difficult is, the Church's peace much depends upon it, and the various cases, and ungovernable tempers of mankind, in wanting to rule more than to be ruled.

"4. VISITING his Congregation: In which part he hath the fairest opportunity of knowing the state of his flock, which he ought seasonably to improve for his information how the state of their souls is; what progress the professors of religion make in knowledge and sanctification; what are the troubles and temptations they meet with. He ought to be loving, plain, and particular herein, which calls for a freedom in the people to disclose the various exercises of their minds unto their Minister, so far as it consists with prudence, and tends to piety. There is a very near relation between a Minister and his people, and it is his duty to pray with and for them, and strive to influence them to the public and private duties of religion, to act in their stations in the House of God; and in their families to pray with and instruct their domestics in the way of Godliness. 'Tis his duty to visit the sick as the occasion may call for it; instilling into their minds something of the importance of death, and the coming World. In his private visits, he may lay before the ungodly their misery by more direct application than in pulpit discourses; and shew them their mistake in choosing

sin for pleasure, by setting before them the joyful ways of piety; and representing the loveliness of true godliness, to captivate their minds with the intrinsic value and comfort of a conformity to Christ, in heart and life.----Visiting his Congregation will afford him opportunity to bestow acts of charity to the needy: As he is fixed in a conspicuous station, he ought, so far as enabled, to shew himself exemplary herein, like Christ his great Father, who shewed all the tokens of kindness, regard and compassion, to the indigent, infirm, and needy. Let mankind in general, and the household of faith in particular, share in the Minister's love and benevolence, both in word and deed.

"The third thing was to shew the duties which relate to himself, and

"1. A close attachment to study. Timothy, though from a child was acquainted with the holy Scriptures, yet must give himself wholly to it. 'Tis a Minister's duty to study the nature of the Christian religion. It requires him to be well acquainted in theology; to be well seen in the various branches relating to systematical and practical Divinity; to obtain the knowledge of the false arguments invented by sophistical men against the truths of the Gospel; to acquire a stock of well digested knowledge; otherwise he cannot put to silence gainsayers, who oppose themselves against the Truth, and to deliver any thing without some proper antecedent reflections thereon, is hazardous, and sometimes productive of bad consequences. Those who are credulous will readily suck in

almost anything that comes from a Minister they stand well affected to, and thereby neglect the commendable example of the noble Bereans, whilst others, who are of a captious disposition, will embrace the opportunity, and endeavour to render the speaker contemptible, and subvert the true intent of the Gospel. To prevent which, let the Minister study to preach with all perspicuity.

"2. To be much in prayer, is the duty of a Minister; not only with and among the people, but also in secret: As he is to be an example, and go before them in the former, so in a very particular manner, in the latter, he ought to be frequently and zealously engaged for himself, for the Church of God, and for sinners. Secret prayer is one of the most useful parts of a Minister's private exercise; without which, there is little expectation of his being a lively, feeling Christian, a great Divine, or a good and successful Minister of Christ.

"3. He must live in great watchfulness over his own conversation amongst mankind: His deportment and speeches are much noticed. Ministers ought to be as glasses, in which the hearers might view their own blemishes; and whether they will observe to imitate them in piety or not, some will not be wanting to espy those notes that may be seen in such: Let Ministers therefore strive to convince them with all gravity and sobriety, that there is something in religions more than a mere name; that true godliness influences the morals, and tames the extravagant dispositions of men; that there is something in it of a sweet compelling virtue, to the greatest

advancement of the human nature. No one knows what influence the courteous, meek, religious and affable conversation of such has upon others.

"IV. The fourth thing proposed, was to apply it to the present case. And,

"1. If these are the qualifications necessary to the manner of introduction and greatness of the work, it will inform those who are under a Minister's charge of some of their respective obligations; as first, being instant in prayer for your Minister. Do you desire the glory of God to be publicly advanced; your souls profited; sinners awakened, and a day of God's power? Pray for your Minister.---Remember Paul's request. Ephes. vi, 18, 19, 20. Brethren, pray for us. You must know they are but earthen vessels, who have nothing but what they receive from the Lord.

"AGAIN, if their work is so great, strive to help them with all manner of encouragements; be as Aaron and Hur were unto Moses; bear up their hands; strengthen them in their work; beware of blasting their credit. You know they are failable creatures, yet in the flesh, subject to like infirmities with yourselves; yet esteem them worthy of double honour who labour in the Word and Doctrine. They watch for your souls: Do not you watch for their halting. The interest of religion depends much on the credit of the ministry. Honour them, esteem them, and praise God who sends them; and pray that they might be endowed with a double portion of his Spirit;

always remembering, that every thing excellent, or praiseworthy in them, or wrought by them, comes from God, and to him let all the praise be ascribed; for there is nothing due to the Creature but love, for the Work's sake.

"FURTHER, if they must devote their whole time in this service, then you must know, that it is your indispensable duty to support them. Brethren, God requires this from you in his servants' behalf, and for their use, who officiate in spiritual things. Act then from a principle of conscience, in that you are bound by the laws of the eternal God to yield it, lest you be found to rob it in tithes and offerings, and leanness be sent into your souls.---That Man is, and will remain inexcusable, that takes upon him the work for filthy lucre's sake: and those will find it a solemn charge, in the day of account, who refuse to give what God demands. To you, precious and immortal souls, who remain in the state of the spiritually dead, this is an alarming consideration to you, who withstand all the calls and warnings from God to you through the instrumentality of a preached Gospel. Will you remain in hardness, and turn your hearts from the gracious calls, and, like the deaf adder, stop your ears, until the sound of the Archangel's trump second the trumpet of the Gospel?---My soul mourns your awful state, and longs for your conversion to Christ, lest the aggravated guilt of your refusal be a means of your more intolerable damnation.

"2. LET me address myself to you, my reverend Brethren, and Fathers, whom I now personate and speak before you; you

have enjoined it on one of the unworthiest of your order to speak on this solemn occasion.

"AND can you bear with me whilst, with all deference to your superior knowledge, I apply myself to you. I question not your freedom to hear something of the importance of the work which you are engaged in, not doubting but the many trials and difficulties you have met with in the execution of this Charge have (before now) suggested to you the necessity of far more and greater qualifications than has been now laid down before you. I persuade myself, you know so much of the weightiness of the work, as to make you careful not to send unqualified men into the Ministry. Consider, my Brethren, the trust reposed in us: Let the present declining state of the Church not discourage us, but rather reinvigorate us to more activity. I question not your faithfulness, being favoured, in some measure, to be acquainted with, and a witness of, your zeal and labours: Yet may we not, do we not find, often find occasions to accuse ourselves to too much sloth and negligence? Are we earnest with our Lord day and night in fervent prayers, that he would cause righteousness to go forth as the light, and salvation as the lamp that burneth? Let us have the weight of the work before us lay heavy on our minds. Does not the deplorable case of our fellow men call for tears of sorrow, and the strongest endeavours to reclaim them? How many of our friends, and those under our own charge, are going swiftly to destruction, dishonouring our God, rejecting our precious Redeemer. Let us

be up and doing: Let us exert ourselves instrumentally to pluck them as brands out of the burning; and doctrinally arrest them in their wild career, denouncing the awful penalties of Jehovah's violated Law, as the artillery of heaven, charged with divine wrath against them whilst persisting in their vile practices. Let us engage their warmest thoughts to seek after peace through the Peace-speaking Blood of the new Covenant. Let us unfold the transcendent beauties of a dying Redeemer, telling them, that mercy yearns in the Father's bowels. Let us edify the saints, and quicken them to holy emulation in religion; and that by our doctrine and example. In a word, we are stewards; let us then act so, that we may give up our accounts with joy, and not with grief. May we strive to do much in a little time, that when time with us shall be no longer, we may be admitted (through infinite rich and free grace) to enjoy some humble place in Heaven, there may be a standing faithful Ministry to succeed us, which may by far outshine us in the orb of the Church.

"3. To you, my Brother, who is here waiting on God and his Ministers, to receive this necessary qualification of imposition of the hands of this Presbytery, to authorize you to act in this Station, suffer me to address you in the behalf of my worthy Brethren. You have heard some particulars, out of the many which might (would the opportunity allow) be spoken to, of those important pre-requisites to, as well as greatness of, the work you are now about to undertake. I

question not but you have, according to your advantages, thought much of them. We assure you it is with pleasure we act under, and for, God, to send any person of a promising appearance: Therefore, suffer a word of exhortation. Let the greatness of the work always have this effect, to humble you, by having a just impression on your mind. Beware of the poisonous sweet of flattery. Take heed that the unguarded applause of friends do not betray you into spiritual pride. Let nothing draw your mind from aiming chiefly at the promotion of the Lord's interest in the world. Depend upon it, all will not consult the progress of Christ's Kingdom; all will not consult your interest nor comfort: Nevertheless, omit no point that is requisite to insist upon; declare the whole counsel of God. Observe there is this charge laid upon you in Ordination. Remember the declarative glory of God much depends upon your faithfulness in the discharge of the before-mentioned duties. For your encouragement, consider the Cause is good, the Work honourable, the reward of all the faithful Ministers great. The Cause was so good, that our Lord and Master was clad with zeal as with a cloak, when engaged in it. Illustrious pattern! See his regard for dying sinners. See him leaving the realms of glory, and veiling his divinity in a fleshly mantle. See him going about to do good to poor Man. View him making his exit from this our base and miserable world on the cross, as an expiatory atonement for sin, repairing his Father's injured honours, and to bring in a complete and everlasting righteousness for sinful men; it was a cause

he delighted much in. My Brother, you serve the best Master, and in the highest station that ever mortal man can be placed in this world. What can exceed the being sent by God with a weighty message, bearing tidings of life and death; Therefore strive to act answerable; use all possible prescribed methods to turn many to righteousness, and thereby cover a multitude of sins, that you may shine as a star of the first magnitude for ever and ever. On the other hand, if you are unfaithful, how dreadfully terrible to have the blood of sinners cry against you, and be required at your hands, in the Day of Judgment? Shall souls through your unfaithfulness sink into eternal misery? Let these considerations rather warn than discourage you to act for God; leave the success to his all-powerful influence and blessing. Go on, my Brother, go on in the strength of the mighty Redeemer, undaunted at the united force of earth and hell, be a Herald for Christ. The Lord be with you, and go before you. The Lord bless you, and put words in your mouth. Be not afraid of the faces of men; and then, though you do not here enjoy what you and we long for (viz. the conversion of souls) yet you shall have a name and a place among the faithful, which will be sufficient to all eternity to view, enjoy, be near, and like the blessed Lord Jesus: For whose sake, may God grant to make you a good Minister of Jesus Christ To whom be glory in the Church, now and for ever, Amen."

Chapter VII

John Gano

Disquieting rumors reached Isaac Eaton in the Fall of 1752. Reports were in circulation, evidently occasioned by remarks uttered by travelers returning from the Southern settlements, to the effect that John Gano, of Hopewell, was preaching without first obtaining proper authorization either through licensing or ordination.

Eaton was aware, of course, that John Gano had gone South. Gano had been taken ill while engaged in serious study along theological lines, and the hope had arisen that he might eventually be found acceptable for the ministry. The journey South had been designed to improve his health. He had accompanied Reverend Benjamin Miller, of Scotch Plains, and John Thomas, of the Montgomery church, who had been delegated by the Philadelphia Baptist Association to render assistance to two churches in Virginia that had appealed for help.

Eaton, in typical Welsh fashion, determined to face the issue as to Gano's unsanctioned preaching at the earliest opportunity following John's return. Uncorroborated stories, that seemed to be relying largely upon hearsay, were likely to damage Gano's reputation. A prompt inquiry must be made to determine whether any basis existed for the stories, as Gano was to decide shortly whether he would devote his life

to the ministry. The welfare of the Hopewell church also called for disciplining if Gano could not furnish a satisfactory explanation.

Preachers who lacked proper credentials were far too numerous. Some had caused scandalous situations that could not be tolerated. A number of churches had been victimized by men who, holding themselves out to be ordained ministers, won the confidence of a community and then became involved in financial speculations or worse, followed by hasty departure for some new field of opportunity. Aside from the secular phase of these activities by self-styled ministers, the assumption of the right to preach was in direct violation of the rule of religious denominations generally that a minister has no right to do so unless he has satisfied others that he has been called by God to act as His servant in extending the Kingdom upon earth, and under proper supervision has gone through a period of testing and final examination as to his final qualifications for solemn ordination.

Gano, now twenty-four years of age, had intended to tarry only briefly in Hopewell upon his return from Virginia. He was planning to resume his studies in the classics at Morristown, where he was receiving instruction from the Reverend Timothy Johnes (sometimes spelled Jones), pastor of the First Presbyterian Church there. The latter had become its minister (the church was then known as West Hanover to distinguish it from the Hanover church) on August 13, 1742, the beginning of a pastorate that continued until his death over fifty years

later, September 17th, 1794. Reverend Mr. Johnes, of Welsh descent, was a graduate of Yale in the Class of 1737, and had been ordained in February, 1743. He inclined strongly toward teaching and gave instruction through classes held in schoolhouses and elsewhere in several neighborhoods. In addition to hearing recitations in the catechism and explaining its provisions, he formed groups of young men for regular classes. His method of teaching them was to issue Bible questions, the students submitting written answers which were then read aloud and discussed by the Reverend Mr. Johnes and others.

Reverend Isaac Eaton promptly informed Gano, after greeting him in Hopewell, that some were saying he had gone "disorderly into the ministry." He suggested to Gano that he remain until the following Sabbath Day when a church meeting would be called. In accordance with Baptist practice, the subject would be thoroughly aired and the congregation asked to pass upon the conduct of Gano as one of its members. Gano consented.

Gano had grown up in Hopewell and believed he had little to fear from those who would sit in judgment upon his conduct of recent weeks. While most of these Baptist parishioners were of English descent, there was no reason to suppose that Gano's French Protestant background would be of any disadvantage. The group also knew of his inclinations toward the ministry and his struggle over the question as to whether he was worthy of such a high calling. They knew that this was

the youth who had ploughed all one afternoon through a continuous downpour, oblivious of the foul weather, while trying to decide why the words, "Warn the people, or their blood will I require at your hands," preyed upon his mind.

That experience while at work in the fields had been the start of months of anxiety for Gano. Eaton, noting his air of depression, had talked with him, fearing that there was some dissatisfaction perhaps with the church itself. Eaton volunteered advice and at the next church meeting, called Gano aside and informed him that he felt duty-bound to mention the matter to the group and to ask them whether they should examine Gano with a view to eventual licensing. On that occasion, the church arranged for Gano to preach on trial, supplying him with a text, with the understanding that if he concluded after this attempt that he preferred to pursue it no further, the plan would be dropped; otherwise, he could further his studies and be heard again at a later date. According to the church minutes, he "exercised to the church's general satisfaction." At that time, Gano had decided to proceed with his studies, with the larger question as to qualifying for the ministry still undecided. That date marked the beginning of his development from which he eventually emerged as one of the outstanding clergymen of his day.

The Ganos were farming folk, industrious and of a religious turn of mind. The family name originally had been Gerneaux but this was changed by John's great-grandfather

after he and a group of followers fled from the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel, to avoid persecution and probable death. "I have been expelled from my birthplace, and my property has been taken from my family for only one aggression--a love for the Bible and its teachings," Francis Gerneaux declared. "Let my name change with changing circumstances." Thereafter he was Francis Gano.

As Francis Gerneaux, he had made his escape from Guernsey through concealment in a hogshead. A servant employed by a neighbor had come under cover of darkness to warn him that he must make an immediate departure if he was to avoid martyrdom. Gerneaux's family was hurried aboard a vessel he owned and with Gerneaux, after he had been delivered there secretly in the hogshead, set sail. At extreme peril, the party touched shore at several places to enable other Protestants to join the party. Eventually, this group crossed the Atlantic and settled at New Rochelle, on Long Island Sound, adjacent to New York.

Stephen, a son of Francis, married Ann Walton. Their son, Daniel, was wed to Sarah Britton, daughter of Nathaniel Britton, of Staten Island, and these were John's parents. His maternal grandmother, a Stilwell, was a Baptist and likewise his mother, but his father adhered to the Presbyterian faith. In John's memoirs, he speaks of his Father as a "steady Presbyterian" and his Mother as "a pious Baptist." She had joined the Hopewell church about 1720, a membership that continued for about sixty-five years until her death on September 11th, 1785.

John was born at Hopewell on July 22nd, 1727. As a growing boy, he had a strong ^{ling}likely for the occasional dances and frolics arranged to break the monotony of farm life. Nevertheless, John brooded long over a prediction made in respect to his father, often repeated by the latter although the exact source had been forgotten, that he "would have many children and three of them would die in their 20th year." John had good reason to be concerned. True, the family was large but it had been decreased by the death of John's older brother, Stephen, when the latter was in his twentieth year. About two or three years later, nearly the entire family was stricken with dysentery and two sisters and a brother succumbed. One of the sisters had been in her twentieth year! As John neared twenty, he devoted himself assiduously to prayer, church attendance and serious reading. His acquaintances commented upon his changed manner. Discovering that some others of his age were like-minded, John met with the group to discuss their problems and to pray. He felt strongly inclined toward becoming a preacher by reason of the studies in which he was now engaging. His twentieth year came and went, and fortunately John survived.

John had every intention of joining the Presbyterian church. When his studies brought him to the subject of baptism, he searched the Bible "for months together, and enquired for, and obtained all the disputes, especially in favour of infant baptism, that I could hear of," his memoirs state. Then he adds! "I, however, could find nothing that seemed to

me to amount to a divine warrant." He discussed it with his father and sought instruction from one of the Tennents, the famed preachers. Eventually he decided he would not be content unless he became a Baptist. When he was baptized on November 11th, 1747, by the Reverend Carman Miller, several young people in his circle of friends also united with the Hopewell church.

Determined to study further, he delved into Latin Grammar and other classical studies as a student at Morristown. But the qualifications for a minister seemed so high and unattainable that John despaired. He invested in a farm, hoping to pay off his debt by the yield of the land. He prayed for divine guidance. His mind seemed to be flooded with the words, "Go forth and preach the Gospel," and again with "Thou shalt speak to many people," "I will send thee far hence," and "Thou shalt speak to all, to whom I send thee," according to his memoirs. Two years of indecision and inner torment followed before he resolved that he would do what appeared to be God's will--enter the ministry.

Meanwhile, the Hopewell church, recognizing him as an ardent member, named him to go with Elder J. Stout to Scotch Plains to complete arrangements for Reverend Benjamin Miller to come to Hopewell at regular intervals to conduct communion services.

As a student, Gano was unsparing of himself. While studying at Morristown, he visited Newark frequently where early classes of the College, later to be named Princeton University,

were being held under President Aaron Burr. The President took a liking to Gano and permitted him to attend some of the classes. He also discussed the preparation Gano needed to enter the group made up of older students in the College. But when John became ill, suffering from a high fever and bodily pain, relaxation of mind was recommended as the best cure for his state of health. A change of scenery also was suggested and the trip Southward was arranged.

Being acquainted with this background, the members of the Hopewell church were well prepared to sit in judgment on his conduct while in the South. On Sunday, November 19th, 1752, the day selected by Eaton for Gano to present his defense, the congregation tarried after the regular service. Duty as well as curiosity detained them. At the outset of the meeting, Gano asked that the exact charges be stated and the available proofs be submitted. He was confident that he could clear himself. His question had an added advantage. Tales carried by wayfarers usually were exaggerated outrageously while being tossed hither and thither by the slightest puffs of gossipy air. It was one thing for an individual to repeat rumors but something quite different to declare in public meeting that certain things were non-controvertible because a traveler, who had now gone on his way, had said thus and so. As Gano expected, first-hand knowledge and other reliable proofs were simply lacking.

Next it was suggested that Gano himself tell just what had occurred during his trip through the South.

"This is the first time I ever heard of an accused party being called to present the only evidence in the cause," the young man replied. He added, nevertheless, that he would volunteer an account. While it concerned his personal experiences in an area of expanding settlement, it also was the story in part of the spread of religion in America.

With Reverend Benjamin Miller, of Scotch Plains, and Reverend John Thomas, of Montgomery, he said, he had set out for Opocken (also known as Opeckon and Opequon) in Berkeley County, Virginia, and Kotockton (Ketockton), also known as Blue-ridge, in Loudon County, below the Blue Ridge Mountains. At Opocken, a preacher named Joseph Loveall had formed a church, baptizing a number of worshippers and then proceeding to become "licentious in his life," according to Gano. Loveall was dismissed and the church asked the Philadelphia Baptist Association to send someone to restore unity. Reverend Mr. Miller was a logical choice as he had visited the church on earlier occasions. In respect to the Kotockton church, Reverend Mr. Thomas was qualified as the congregation sought someone to conduct the ecclesiastical ordinances, some time having elapsed without a minister visiting the church.

The group also included a Mr. Sutton, of Old-Town, as well as Gano while journeying as far as the Potomac. There Miller and Sutton proceeded toward Opocken, while Thomas, accompanied by Gano, headed for Kotockton. The latter pair halted one night enroute at a tavern. Upon entering to inquire about lodging, they found a party of roisterers who

were loud and vulgar. Gano asked for "a room apart from those people" and the request was granted. The landlord went to quiet the others if possible but upon making his request, was dismayed as the others rushed from their room into that occupied by Gano. One of the number demanded, "Are you New-Lights?" Gano replied that his group consisted of "civil travelers, and neither wished to disturb you, nor be disturbed ourselves." The ringleader pointed to one of his group and said the man could lick anybody there. Gano demanded that the one assuming authority be removed from Gano's room to permit Gano to talk to the others. The landlord persuaded the leader to leave. Gano told the group that it was difficult for him to understand how a man, who "came from the hands of God, designed for sociability and mutual good-will," could be possessed by a desire to make others unhappy by coarse conduct. As Gano reported later, "They all sat decently and heard me out, and then got up, gave us their hands, and wished us a good journey."

At this point in Gano's narrative to the Hopewell congregation, the speaker seemed to have convinced his audience that he had not committed any grievous error. He continued, nevertheless, his story having the ring of candor and plausibility. It was true, he said, that he had spoken on more than one occasion but peculiar circumstances had prompted his actions. There was one day, he said, when Reverend Mr. Thomas had preached two sermons to an assembled group who continued to remain in their seats when the messages were at an end. So

Thomas whispered to Gano:

"I wish you would say something to the people, as they continue in waiting."

Others nearby heard the suggestion and pressed Gano to comply. He said he had no authorization to present himself as a preacher. At best, he pointed out, he could only reiterate some of the highlights of Thomas' sermon. Those in the audience were willing to have him do that. Gano yielded. He asked a few minutes to collect his thoughts, then proceeded to speak. At the close of the service, Thomas agreed to give a sermon on the following day. Gano reminded him that he already had committed himself to conduct a service at the same hour for a group twelve miles distant. According to Gano's account as given to the Hopewell church, Thomas insisted that there was no confusion.

"I saw through his design," Gano declared, "but intended to stick by him. I did not mean because I had got abroad, to preach without license. He acknowledged he had been precipitate but begged me to stay and meet the people, and pray and converse with them, if I did no more."

Gano agreed to do that. When the audience assembled, he found a considerable number facing him, eager to hear. "I began to pray and exhort," Gano later agreed, as "their zeal to hear encouraged me to proceed."

There was a similar experience on the following day when another meeting was held enroute to the point where these travelers were to rejoin Miller and Sutton. After Thomas had

preached on this occasion, an elderly gentleman said to Gano:

"We are as sheep without a shepherd, perishing for lack of vision; and if you have a regard for our souls, do endeavour to say something to us."

Gano obliged. Was this to be regarded as preaching without being licensed to do so?

It also had developed that one group encountered by the Northern visitors had hoped to be established as a regular church. Three of their number proved that they were Baptists and could assist in organizing the group. Others admitted that they had not experienced a work of grace, a pre-requisite for baptism, but six were held to be qualified for immersion. Their baptism followed. Then the church was constituted. Those who had been left outside appealed to Gano, saying they believed the examining ministers blamed them for being unprepared. Could he give them some instruction? Gano was concerned because of their attitude toward the visiting ministers and agreed to speak to the group. For his theme he used the verse, "They being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God."

With the telling of this experience, Gano had completed his narrative for the Hopewell "judges," other than comment about his return trip and his arrival in Hopewell, culminating in his appearance before this congregation on charges of being disorderly.

What was to be the next move, he wondered. Questions were quickly forthcoming.

"And what do you think of your own conduct? Do you think you were preaching without being licensed to do so?" one member of the congregation inquired.

Gano replied that as the one accused, he must say in fairness to himself that these inquiries were even more remarkable than the earlier suggestion that he give testimony that might be self-incriminating.

"I have given evidence at your request, and now am I to judge in a cause where I am the accused party?" Gano asked.

Throughout the proceedings, Isaac Eaton refrained from playing a leading role. But one of the church officials was rather persistent. He shot this question at Gano:

"Do you propose to go on in this same manner?"

"It's quite unlikely that the same circumstances will occur again," the defendant said. "If they did, I do not believe I would be doing wrong, nor even be disorderly in God's sight, if I followed the same course of action. In my own conscience, I have no sense of guilt. I plan to return to my studies, but as far as this charge is concerned, it rests with you to decide whether my conduct was improper or not."

Some hesitation followed. Then Isaac Eaton made a suggestion. How would it be, he asked, if Gano was called before the church to preach before he left to continue his studies. Thus, his preaching at home would be in harmony with what he had done while in the South, and have the effect of placing

the church's stamp of approval on his earlier course of action. The plan was accepted, Gano agreed to the arrangement and a date was set.

John availed himself of notes he had written during his spare time at school after reading various verses of Scripture. These contained random thoughts but they served as a basis for his preaching on the date specified, January 20th, 1753. A second appearance before the church a month later was suggested. This meant a special trip back from Morristown but Gano obliged, and was heard on February 17th, 1753. When a third request was made, John demurred because of the time and distance involved, as well as the effect upon his regular studies. Without further delay, he was granted a "full license to preach in public wheresoever Providence may call."

As a licensed preacher, Gano took charge of the Morristown Baptist church. Since its members were widely scattered, he created a circuit and preached each Sunday at a different location. His circuit included Basking Ridge, Mendham and Passaic. A newly founded church at Black River also made claim upon his time and he visited that church frequently. His sermons made a strong appeal to young people and Gano was rewarded with the attendance of considerable numbers of those in the lower age groups. Meanwhile, he continued his studies at every opportunity.

Special interest attaches to Gano's first candidate for baptism. It was Hezekiah Smith, who later attended the Hopewell Academy and was licensed to preach by the Hopewell church

during Eaton's pastorate. Subsequently Smith enjoyed a long pastorate at Haverhill, Massachusetts, beginning October 22nd, 1762, and was instrumental in founding and aiding a large number of Baptist churches in New England and Canada.

One of Gano's experiences while at Morristown illustrates the severity of the tests that the church imposed upon candidates for membership. There was Kate, a colored woman, whose application was brought before the church six times without final action. After the sixth disappointment, Kate stood in the church aisle and declared herself as follows:

"Well, Kate is a Christian. By and by she will die and then she knows she will go to Heaven and Jesus will meet her at the gate and say, 'Kate, where are you come from?' 'From Morristown.' 'Have you been baptized?' 'No, I went to John Gano and he refused me.'"

Gano, upon hearing her words, exclaimed:

"Kate, come back here. You are not going to heaven with such a story as that about me."

As a result, the church voted to admit Kate into membership after baptism. Her faithfulness as a church member continued through the rest of her days.

The Philadelphia Association pressed Gano with a request to make another journey into Virginia, and North and South Carolina. The church at Cpecken, Virginia, was asking for help and advice because of a dispute with its minister. This experience was not exceptional as a conflict over the necessity

for faith and conversion before joining a church was frequent in the churches of Virginia at that time. The General Baptists, who were not inclined to subscribe to that tenet, clashed as a result with the Particular Baptists. Gano demurred about the trip, saying he was young and inexperienced, and furthermore, that he could not administer the ordinance of the Lord's Supper because he was not ordained. He also had plans to marry shortly.

His advisors urged him to seek ordination and undertake the missionary journey. Gano yielded and an ordination council was called. Baptist ministers from several churches assembled, Gano was questioned as to his beliefs and practices and his ordination followed. This took place on May 29th, 1754. Reverend Isaac Eaton preached the ordination sermon. At last, the doubting farmer lad was a full-fledged minister. The accusations standing against him after his first Southern trip had been the stepping-stone that brought about his acceptance as a preacher, rather than censure from the denomination. Pastor Eaton had proven himself to be a master of procedure and psychology.

Gano left shortly for the South, a journey that revealed needs greater than had been anticipated. A longer stay than contemplated was the result with an additional wait for his bride-to-be. But his influence in the South was far-reaching. He assisted several struggling churches by creating a better understanding about Baptist principles and administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. At the request

of the newly-formed Charleston Baptist Association, he sought out promising young men for the ministry and aided in preliminary arrangements for their education through assistance provided by that body. The Congaree Association in South Carolina came into existence through his influence at that time. Several churches also were brought into being after he had shown the way.

In Charleston, Gano first met George Whitefield, the famed evangelist from England. Having been invited to preach in the pulpit of the church being served by Reverend Oliver Hart (later to be pastor at Hopewell, New Jersey), Gano was dismayed to find that the audience included Whitefield as well as a dozen other ministers. Gano wrote afterward that the occasion "brought the fear of man on me; but, blessed be the Lord, I was soon relieved from this embarrassment; the thought passed my mind, I had none to fear, and obey, but the Lord."

In his preaching, Gano was busy daily, except when travel prevented. He reached many scattered groups. During one stop near Charleston, the whites were outnumbered by the Negroes, prompting his host, a Mr. Stephens, to declare to Gano that he "made a very good Negro preacher." The Negroes, "pronouncing many blessings on me, for taking so much care of their souls," humbled Gano until he resolved that he would never overlook them in his ministry. On another occasion, well-meaning friends stole Gano's horse in order to detain him while they continued to hear his preaching. Gano searched

and searched without success, but preached on. When he decided to depart, the people presented him a horse.

Serious difficulty threatened when he reached Tar-River, because of the general hostility toward the French and French expansionist moves. The story circulated that Gano--the change of name from Gerneaux was not sufficient to remove certain racial characteristics--was a French spy. Gano refused to give up his journey because of any fears. He stopped at a public house, insisting to his friends that he saw no reason to proceed secretly as they were urging him to do. A general muster call had been issued for that county, and despite the fact that the colonel of the regiment was one of those who had threatened to arrest Gano as a spy, the preacher asked his landlord to get word to the colonel that Gano would be on hand at 10 A.M. and would preach a short sermon before the military maneuvers began, if the officer consented.

After preaching twice on Sunday at the meeting-house, Gano rode twenty miles the next morning to reach the scene of the muster. Friends had erected a platform for him in the woods. There he proceeded to deliver a sermon. He then asked to speak to the colonel who had joined the crowd. Gano informed him that "although I profess loyalty to King George, and do not wish to infringe upon the laudable design of the day--yet I think the King of Kings ought to be served first. What I have said will not make worse soldiers of your men, but better Christians." The colonel offered to shorten military matters, if possible, in order that Gano could deliver

another sermon. Gano was unable to remain, however, as he had considerable traveling to do to take care of his commitments for the following day.

Gano returned to Morristown, New Jersey, and resumed preaching there. His salary was forty pounds a year. His return also enabled him to carry out his plans to marry Sarah Stites, whose father, John Stites, was Mayor of Elizabethtown. Sarah's sister, Margaret, had married James Manning, who shortly was to become the founder of what is now Brown University. Gano bought a small farm near Morristown with financial assistance from his father-in-law. Of this marriage, seven sons and three daughters were born. One son, Stephen, born December 25th, 1762, in New York, became a Baptist minister and served as pastor of the First Baptist Church at Providence, Rhode Island, for thirty-six years. Another son, born in 1770, was named Isaac Eaton Gano, to honor the one who had exerted such an influence upon John Gano's life.

Because he had made such lasting impressions, Gano received further appeals in 1756 for him to return South, in particular to South Carolina, in order to visit the various churches. He left late in August. Arriving at Yadkin, North Carolina, Gano was greeted with a pressing invitation to take up permanent residence there. To back its plea, the Yadkin congregation dispatched two messengers to Gano's church at Morristown. Gano, however, asked his North Carolina friends to desist because of his commitments to appear in South Carolina. Eight months elapsed and upon his return to Morristown

in June, 1757, the request that he be released to serve at Yadkin was pressed anew. Deciding that the people in Yadkin "were entirely destitute," Gano accepted their call in September, 1757.

Enroute, Gano visited his parents in Hopewell. Reverend Isaac Eaton immediately invited him to preach on the following Sunday. Gano accepted. The nature of his sermon and the impression he created is recorded in the diary of Samuel Jones. The latter found that Gano had "a peculiarly tender, impressive voice, which arrests the attention as soon as he begins to speak." Jones added that "Mr. Gano is slight in his form, and has a sweet face." The diary continued:

"His reading of the Scriptures or a hymn is better than many a sermon I have heard, for he reads with a certain expression of voice that makes you realize that he truly believes everything he says. I shall never forget his sermon, and his voice rings in my ears even now while I write in the quiet of my room. I feel in my heart every word of it. His text was John, iii, 14: And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up."

As the sermon continued, Gano "read several verses from Numbers XXI and pictured in graphic style the fiery flying serpents, fearful and wonderful creatures, which filled the air and fell down in the midst of the people and bit those on whom they fell, and entered the tents and crept into their beds, so that the whole camp was in despair. The fright and

distress of the poor, bitten sufferers, their vain efforts to escape the fangs of the serpents, the hideous creatures running about as if to seek new victims, the earnest prayers of the people, now roused to see how they had sinned against the Lord, their entreaties to Moses to pray unto Jehovah to banish the reptiles, the dead and the dying victims all around, were set forth so vividly that I felt as if the venomous reptiles were actually in the meeting-house, and once or twice I was about to dodge my head, for he cried out in earnest tones, pointing with extended arm, and with a fixed gaze, as if he saw what he described: 'There! can't you see the serpents darting through the air, ready to bite some poor soul? Oh, look up, look up, poor bitten Israelite--look up at the brazen serpent.' . . . His close was what Mr. Eaton afterwards called masterly, as he seemed to seize upon our very souls and held them at his will. In detailing what I had referred to, he had spoken very rapidly and the people were wrought up into quite an excitement. Then he gradually changed his whole tone and his voice fell into a sort of sweet, pleading cadence, which made us all feel very solemn."

Gano, according to the diary, caused a profound silence as he gave the closing words of his sermon. Jones wrote:

"I could have screamed had not sobs from many of the young people in various parts of the house, broke the spell. Mr. Eaton himself, who usually keeps very collected, was so touched with deep emotion that he could scarcely pray, and twice repeated the words. "God have mercy upon us miserable

sinners. Help us, help us, O god, to receive into our hearts the truths we have heard this day. Amen.' And now, in the midnight hour while Time with noiseless step is walking in my room, then going into other rooms, to see which occupant he will cut down the coming year, I am of all the household the only watcher. I feel so strange tonight. It may be the crisis of my life. Why do I linger when I know that the river of life is hurrying me rapidly on to the boundless ocean of eternity?"

Arriving at Yadkin, Gano settled for a pastorate that lasted for two and a half years. A meeting-house was soon constructed. Since the group consisted of persons belonging to several denominations, a board of trustees was created including representatives of each group. Four times a year, Gano also traveled a distance of 110 miles to preach at Pedee, supplying in the pulpit of a church whose minister had been released because of excessive drinking.

The hostility of the Cherokee Indians created general alarm during Gano's ministry at Yadkin. The Governor of North Carolina conferred a captain's commission upon him but Gano resigned this when there was no call for his services. For the sake of his family, now including two sons, John Stites Gano (who died in 1765 after a fall while visiting his grandparents) and Daniel, who had been born November 11th, 1758, he returned to New Jersey and Elizabethtown.

Two groups requested Gano to visit them, having him in mind for extended service. One was from the Baptist church in Philadelphia, the other from New York City. The Philadelphia pulpit was vacant due to the death of Reverend Jenkin

Jones on July 16th, 1760. Efforts had been made to find a suitable successor but the impression prevailed that the Philadelphians were extremely exacting in prescribing the qualifications of the man desired.

The situation in New York was quite dissimilar. As early as 1721, Nicholas Evers, who described himself as a brewer and a Baptist teacher--a rare combination--asked Governor William Burnett for permission to preach. Evers stated that he had been "a public preacher to a Baptist congregacon within this city for four years," having rented a house for that purpose on Broad Street as early as February 1, 1715. There also had been a group of Arminian Baptists who had provided a place of worship in 1728 but that little band dissolved some time later. The Baptist work began on a permanent basis with the arrival of Jeremiah Dodge in 1745 from Fishkill, New York, who first preached in his own home. He received assistance from Reverend Benjamin Miller, pastor of the Scotch Plains (New Jersey) church, who went to New York quarterly to preach and conduct the Communion observance. The group met in a loft on Horse-and-cart Street, now William Street, but held membership in the Scotch Plains church. A stone meeting house was erected in New York and opened on March 14th, 1760.

Gano visited the Philadelphia as well as the New York church. He decided he might assist in both places by spending two Sundays in succession in each city. The church in Philadelphia was awaiting the arrival of Reverend Morgan Edwards from

England, he being due in the following Spring; therefore they urged Gano to make his home with them meanwhile. Gano agreed and Philadelphia was his residence through the Winter of 1760-61. His daughter, Peggy, was born there on December 23rd, 1760.

Despite the ninety-mile trip to New York, Gano made the journey regularly in conformity with his schedule. In passing, it is interesting to note the currency inflation at that period. Gano's first visit to Philadelphia covered a period of five weeks and two days, and his board-bill was computed at the rate of \$200 a week, totaling \$1,046, which the First Baptist Church paid. In addition, the church reimbursed a Mr. Aldrich, who returned the horse to Philadelphia that Gano had ridden as far as Trenton at the time of his departure, by a payment of \$70 a day.

Eager to obtain Gano's services on a permanent basis, the New York church issued a call to him in the Spring of 1761 when his commitment in Philadelphia was nearing an end. Gano accepted for one year, with the understanding that he could take three months of that time to render further assistance in North Carolina. Philadelphia Baptists were reluctant to see Gano leave them, as is evidenced by their action in 1778--eighteen years later--in again extending an invitation for him to be their pastor. He declined, but in September of 1779 another appeal was addressed to him. Gano was then serving as an Army chaplain and felt obliged to turn down the call. His letter stated in part:

"Nineteen years ago I served this church steadily for a season, my defects and the expenses of my family were then known and borne with. . . . I was then in my own esteem unequal to the place, although then in the prime, now in the decline of life, my family then small, now large and more expensive; the church, probably from its late political difficulties, the death and removal of members, the heavy taxes of the times, may be less able to bear the charge of a family like mine, who having been long unsettled, and flying from place to place, which with losses and expenses, without the advantage of replacing, are reduced to an appearance however neighborly like, in a back place, yet rather reproachful in this place, to a church like this. Neither is the sum mentioned in your call at the present exchange anyway adequate to a present support, all which I could leave to God, did I satisfactorily know his will and consequently my duty in the present case.

". . . Providence put and has continued me in the army for these reasons--I never sought it, neither did I expect to like the life. Many things I have and must see and hear in the army very abhorrent, but little Christian conversation, no retirement for study, discouraging prospects for convening or converting sinners, or quickening and edifying God's children, and having no disposition to court the hardships and fatigues of campaigning, and had not the contest appeared to me just, and of so much importance to my country, both in a

civil and religious sense, as to render me incapable of refusing any services or suffering I might be called to in it, at the same time knowing there were popular men of character in the ministry that left the city also, and some in the State beside, that by the temporary acceptance manifesting a readiness to the service, that on the whole I have not known but God meant to keep me ready as an instrument in some future, when the enemy shall leave New York City, to assist that broken church where so much of the best of my time has been spent, and should I leave the army contrary to the desire of not only those of the first military characters in the State as also some eminent in the civil, I should probably in a late date fling all those advantages that I might expect from the state in favor of that church into a hand not so amical to it.

"My family has somehow been preserved and supported, neither is the prospect at present less promising for the future. We late last Spring got on a little place, although much out of repairs, and a poor habitation, it is fertile in pasturage and will afford near 20 tons of hay, has an orchard, and my son, although an entire stranger to farming, yet turned in to assist the family, and with a little help they procured and raised something of a summer crop of almost every kind, and has now near 20 acres of wheat in the ground, which place I rent at 67 pounds continental per year--many disadvantages we are under and particularly the education of children. This view of the case I hope will show you my difficulty in determining, and I expect you will not take it unkind should I not accept your invitation."

Beginning his ministry in New York, which extended twenty-six years, including the war period, Gano attracted large congregations. He preached three times each Sunday and gave a lecture during the week. A parsonage was erected. The meeting-house was enlarged and "at every church-meeting there was a number who offered themselves," Gano later wrote in his memoirs. The membership grew from twenty-six to more than two hundred. Newly-arriving ministers from England nevertheless created some unrest in Gano's congregation at times. There was John Murray, a believer in universal salvation, who won some away from Gano's church. Another was Henry Dawson, concerning whom adverse reports had been received from England. Gano's hostility toward Murray stirred up some resentment within the church but a split was avoided, although churches at Stratfield, Connecticut, and Newport, Rhode Island, where Dawson visited, did not fare so well. The Philadelphia Association also considered Dawson's case in October, 1769, when he appeared in person to seek vindication. The Association concluded that "we cannot judge between him and the parties in London" but the Association again urged the churches "to avoid him, because he stands ex-communicated by two churches of the same faith and order, from the one justly, to our knowledge, and, for ought appears, justly, from Dr. Gifford's church (in Eagle Street, London), the preamble to his excommunication observing that his breaking was 'reproachful to religion.'" Another troublemaker was John Allen, who styled himself as "Junius Junior." Gano described him as causing

more trouble than the other two combined. Allen leveled personal attacks at Gano, who obtained reports from abroad about Allen with the result that Allen's following dwindled and he "removed eastward."

A real division occurred in the New York church because hymn books were introduced. Purchased in England, their use represented a decided break from the practice of having the words of each hymn "lined" by being read aloud before the congregation sang. Protests arose and the differences were magnified to the point where a group of members withdrew. They formed a second Baptist Church, which became known as the Bethel Baptist Church.

With the founding of a Baptist college in Rhode Island under way, Gano was named as one of the original trustees in 1764. In 1769 he was designated to receive much-needed funds for the college. When an appeal was addressed to the Baptist Associations in 1774 for help in maintaining the college, Gano served as a member of the committee. He also was one of the first regents of the University of New York. In September, 1767, Gano attended the first meeting of the Warren Baptist Association in Rhode Island as a delegate with Abel Griffith and Noah Hammond from the Philadelphia Association. Gano was chosen as moderator for that meeting.

The advent of the war sent Gano's New York congregation scattering in all directions. He was determined to remain in his home until the British arrived. When the British fleet entered the North and East Rivers, with troops landing on

Long Island and Staten Island, Gano was compelled to flee, even abandoning his household furniture. His family previously had gone to Horseneck, Connecticut, at the invitation of Peter Brown. Gano had been preaching each Sunday for the regiment of Colonel Charles Webb and Lieutenant Colonel Hall, although refusing an earlier invitation to become the regimental chaplain. Until Washington took charge of the army and recommended that Congress authorize a chaplain for each regiment with the pay at \$33.33 per month, each regiment supplied by the various colonies had attempted to procure its own chaplain.

Gano retreated with the Army to White Plains. In the engagement against the British there, Gano found himself "in the front of the regiment" instead of remaining behind with the surgeons. His refusal to quit this advanced position set many of the men to talking about him later in complimentary language. In the march across New Jersey with General Lee seeking to join the main army near the Delaware river, General Lee was captured at Basking Ridge. He was succeeded by General Glover. In the Christmas night battle at Trenton, when Washington's forces crossed the Delaware to surprise the Hessian hirelings of the British, Gano experienced the perils of battle along with the regular troops.

Shortly, Gano shifted to become chaplain of Colonel Dubosque's regiment stationed opposite Fishkill, New York, on the North River in Fort Montgomery. The fort fell and Gano escaped in a galley that successfully crossed the river. After a furlough spent with his family at New Fairfield, Connecticut,

Gano returned to the army. He became chaplain of General Clinton's brigade consisting of four regiments and received his Congressional commission. The brigade spent a Summer without any major action and then entered Winter quarters at Albany. Subsequently Gano went to Canajoharie and moved with troops for the Western expedition against the Indians. The troops advanced to Cayuga and skirmished against the Indians there and at Newton, Pennsylvania. Returning to Easton, Pennsylvania, Gano received a furlough to spend some time with his family. During this period, the invitation from the Philadelphia church reached him. With the army encamped at Newburgh for the Winter, Gano's family was not far distant and he was able to be with them considerably until Spring.

General Washington's movements leading to the surrender of the British caused Gano to march as far as Baltimore. Upon being assigned to tarry with General Clinton's aide who was ill, Gano did not rejoin the army in time to be on hand when the British surrendered. The army returned to Newburgh, living in huts for the Winter. One was set aside as a place of worship and Gano preached each Sunday until the following Spring when the British left New York. Gano then was able to return to the desolated city. On April 19th, 1783, when General Washington proclaimed peace from the "New Building" in New Windsor, between Newburgh and West Point, Gano was one of the chaplains called upon to give thanks to God.

Gano found his house badly in need of repair and re-furnishing. The state of his church and congregation saddened him even more. The Baptist meeting-house on Gold Street had been used by British cavalry as a stable. Aside from its filth and disfigurement, it was almost completely ruined. Nevertheless, Gano set about locating his people. To his dismay, he found only thirty-seven of his two hundred members. The seven-year occupancy of the city, aggravated by two serious fires and the spread of disease, had done its worst. Gano's parishioners restored the church for occupancy, and then he preached from Hag. II:3: "Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now?" Other members returned and "we soon had large congregations," Gano's memoirs state. His ministry in New York continued until 1787.

At the age of sixty-one, Gano listened with interest to an appeal that he remove to Kentucky where a man of mature years and experience was needed. The financial inducements also were pleasing and Gano, worried about his personal debts, saw this as an opportunity to dispose of his house and lot to satisfy his creditors, with enough remaining to buy wagons and horses for the trip to Kentucky. His church offered to raise his salary if he remained but he decided to depart. In his memoirs, there is evidence that he would have remained in New York except for the apparent indifference of the congregation until they realized too late that he had decided to set his course in a new direction.

Gano lived seventeen years after taking his departure from New York in May, 1787. Several of the families in his New York church accompanied him and others planned to follow. Misfortune seemed to be his constant companion during his declining years. Obtaining boats to transport his goods and horses when he reached the Ohio river, Gano and his party headed downstream. One boat overturned. The occupants, including the horses, were rescued but it was a narrow escape. A quantity of Gano's possessions was lost, however. All the feed for the horses had gone overboard but other traveling companions from New York and New Jersey made up this shortage.

Landing at Limestone on June 17th, 1787, the Gano family proceeded to Washington, Kentucky, where Gano preached to his fellow-travelers and the residents from the text, "So we got all safe to land." Invited to preach and live at Lexington, Gano moved there although Georgetown made similar overtures. A year elapsed and then Gano moved to Frankfort, being impressed with the possibilities of the newly laid out town. He took charge of the church at Town Fork, about twenty miles distant, also. The Ganos had barely settled themselves when Mrs. Gano fell from a horse. The mishap crippled her seriously. Pleurisy developed and her death followed. As James Manning wrote in a letter to Hezekiah Smith dated June 4th, 1791, concerning Gano: "Poor ill-fated man! He is not to have his portion here. Well, I believe he is secure of it above." For Gano had just suffered another setback, this time it being a fire in the kitchen of his home, which destroyed his supply of

smoked meat, considerable furniture and other belongings.

Later, Gano re-married. His second wife was the daughter of Colonel Jonathan Hunt, a former neighbor of the Ganos in New Jersey. She was the widow of Captain Thomas Bryant. The Hunts had moved to North Carolina and Gano had visited them on more than one occasion. In 1790, he and his son, Stephen, who was now an ordained minister, had been guests of the Hunts. At that time, Stephen had baptized Mrs. Bryant, his future step-mother.

The new Mrs. Gano could not arrange to immediately go to Kentucky. As a result, Gano visited at Charleston, South Carolina, where he supplied the pulpit of Richard Furman while the latter was absent for three weeks. Gano also attempted during a journey of nine weeks further to the South to assist a Baptist Association where the question of electing a moderator was under debate. Some maintained that it was an assumption of divine authority for worldly people to elect a moderator, and a violation of Christian freedom. Gano convinced them that the election of a moderator had worked out satisfactorily in associations in the North. The delegates decided to carry out that plan.

Because of her family cares, Mrs. Gano further postponed her removal to Kentucky from the following Spring until Fall. Gano decided to make a trip with his stepson, Morgan Bryant, to New York and Rhode Island. Gano preached a number of times while on this trip, including sermons in New Brunswick and Philadelphia, as well as in New England, Maryland and Virginia.

During his absence, his church at Town Fork had been served by ministers who lived nearby.

With Mrs. Gano, he returned to his field early in October, 1794. His work broadened as residents at Frankfort wished a more settled arrangement about services there. On occasion, the Town Fork church meeting had been held in Frankfort. Lacking an edifice of their own, services were held at times in the State House assembly room. Gano preached the first and third Sundays of each month at Frankfort during the Winter of 1794-5 and also continued his duties at Town Fork. Members there, however, began to insist that he come there to stay and one member, a Mr. Lewis, offered a house and thirty acres of ground for Gano's use if he would settle there. Gano accepted and moved in March, 1796, but found he had only complicated affairs, for the house was inadequate in size. He lacked a stable for his cattle and being without adequate funds to build, was puzzled. Finally, he decided to return to Frankfort, selling a part of his property there and using the proceeds to erect a log house that would be more comfortable. He began his building operations in 1798 but cold weather and a mishap delayed its completion that year.

Gano fell from a horse, fracturing his shoulder blade, in October, 1797. Then a paralytic stroke occurred, leaving one side of his face and body affected. Gano was barely able to speak. Ten months elapsed before he was able to be about to any extent. But with his indomitable will, he resumed preaching, resting in a chair while he spoke. He also managed to

resume horseback riding in order to take care of his calling. On one occasion, he rode with his sons, Stephen and William, as far as Eagle Creek while William was returning to Rhode Island to continue his education. Enroute, William became ill and died with a fever at the home of Gano's sister, the wife of Dr. Thane.

In his 78th year, Gano became seriously ill early in August, 1804. After four days, he passed away. A monument to his memory was erected in Cincinnati by his family. Of Gano's abilities, Henry Clay said: "He was a remarkably fervent preacher, and distinguished for a simple and effective manner. And of all the preachers I ever listened to, he made me feel the most that religion was a divine reality. I never felt so religious under any one's preaching as under his." Dr. Wood Furman appraised Gano as follows:

"He was, in person, below the middle stature, and when young, of a slender form; but of a firm, vigorous constitution, well fitted for performing active service with ease, and for suffering labours and privations with constancy. In the more advanced stages of life, his body tended to corpulency; but not to such a degree as to burden or render him inactive. His presence was manly, open and engaging. His voice was strong and commanding, yet agreeable and capable of all those inflections suited to express either strong or tender emotions. Passions were strong and sensibilities were easily excited."

Isaac Eaton's faith in John Gano had not been misplaced. The persuasion exercised upon Gano that led him to enter the ministry had greatly enriched the Baptist denomination.

Chapter VIII
The Bold Venture

Hopewell Academy

When the news began to spread that Isaac Eaton was preparing to open a preparatory school primarily for the training of young men for the Baptist ministry, it provoked widespread comment. Every shade of opinion was represented. There was forthright opposition--devastating ridicule--wait-and-see indifference--lukewarm support--and a moderate amount of outright enthusiasm.

Numerous persons held firmly to the opinion that this could only be an ill-starred venture and they had considerable justification for their views. Isaac Eaton lacked college training; that could not be denied. Furthermore, his ability to step into the role of an educator heading a school of learning remained to be proved. As to the school itself, an inherent weakness was the lack of accumulated funds to assure the development of Hopewell Academy, as it was to be called, over a period of years. And to top it off, the student body at best must consist of only a handful of students.

Isaac Eaton was a man of strong convictions, however. Gifted with Welsh tenacity, he was not one to be swayed easily when he had determined upon a course of action. While others expressed their misgivings with frowns or negative shakes of the head, he pressed forward with his plans. The

need existed, he felt he could be useful, and he set his plans in motion.

Posterity now properly credits Isaac Eaton with being the founder of the first Baptist educational institution in America offering advanced studies for young men. His Hopewell Academy was the direct forerunner of the present-day Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island, the first Baptist college in the New World.

If the move had been the culmination of a dream of Isaac Eaton alone, and the school had been just another private educational venture restricted to his own immediate neighborhood or group, and the time had been the present instead of 1756, the flood of comment and criticism might have been non-existent. But Isaac Eaton's act was expressive of the will of an aggressive group within the Baptist denomination in America who believed that educational pioneering was demanded if the expansion of the Baptist cause was not to be choked off for lack of trained leadership in the pulpits of Baptist churches.

Yet Isaac Eaton was not a seeker after the limelight. He was serving his first and only pastorate in Hopewell. Preaching, advising, teaching --working always in a quiet manner -- giving medical care as an added activity on occasions -- these were the ways in which the young minister was utilizing his time. Yet gradually there had grown upon him this compelling conviction that it was his appointed task to promote the education of prospective preachers for the Baptist denomination. Once he had made his decision, Eaton wasted no time in seeking

to turn his dream into reality and in the earl Fall of 1756 "Isaac Eaton's Academy," as it was frequently called, or "Hopewell Academy," received its first students. And on that day, who could foresee that many of its students were destined to become distinguished leaders, participating in the formation of a countless number of churches throughout the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, and that the beginning of Brown University would stem from Eaton's experiment in the little village of Hopewell.

Since the "Academy" designation carried connotations of non-existent grandeur, the general practice was to refer to the undertaking simply as "Isaac Eaton's Latin Grammar School." Yet that was misleading, as a grammar school nowadays is accepted as providing classes for pupils from the first to the eighth grades, with the ages of the students generally not going above fourteen or fifteen. The Hopewell Academy, on the other hand, brought together young men who were in the advanced 'teens or beyond. Their more-advanced age, as well as the nature of their studies, prompted nearby residents to refer to the fifteen or twenty students as "the young parsons."

Those who believed in Isaac Eaton and the educational movement being sponsored by him naturally entertained favorable opinions as to his prepration for this special task. During the eight years since he had been called to the Hopewell church, he had been giving a good account of himself

in that capacity, although at the beginning of his ministry, he was only twenty-four years of age. But if being well-educated means preparation for a well-rounded, complete life, regardless of the manner in which one's education is derived, Eaton satisfied that test. For he did undergo a process of development through childhood and early manhood that cultivated his natural powers and scholarly propensities. On the other hand, if education means a thorough knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences derived through attendance at a recognized college or university, with instruction under competent scholars over an extended period of time, Isaac Eaton failed to meet these conditions.

If circumstances had permitted, Eaton undoubtedly would have preferred to obtain his education through such formalistic methods. But colleges were few in number in the American colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century and they sought to compel students to conform to the beliefs of the college founders. Hence Baptist families were hesitant about placing their sons in colleges where strong religious influences prevailed that differed sharply from their own beliefs.

While gales of controversy swirled around his project, Eaton carried on his bold undertaking, never losing his own sense of proportion because he had taken the initiative. For him, there was satisfaction enough each day as he taught Latin, Greek, mathematics, theology and other subjects to his students. Beyond these daily classes he could envision

these students, now carefree, now studious, now unpredictable --according to their mood of the moment, assuming ministerial duties or other places of responsibility in public life, fostering and aiding in the growth of Baptist churches.

If his own denomination had been an united force behind the Hopewell Academy, Eaton's task would have been eased considerably. But there was a sharp division among Baptists as aforementioned--not only as to whether one should adhere to the beliefs of the General Baptists or the Particular Baptists--but also on the more restricted question as to whether it was proper to provide formal education for a youth who felt inclined to study for the ministry. Many believed and were adamant in their views, that a "call" of divine origin alone could determine whether a man should enter the Baptist ministry. Once such divine inspiration seemed evident, they believed that God would provide a way for such individuals to develop their thoughts and express them in accordance with His will. Those who felt as Eaton did, however, had no quarrel as to the need for divine inspiration, but they coupled with it a belief that the development of a person's mind and the broadening of his knowledge through advanced education would further the effectiveness of any individual's ministry.

Beyond this, there was a long-persisting hostility toward Baptist groups in several of the colonies. The religious liberty which the Baptists proclaimed--freedom from taxes which were used in part to support the Congregational churches

in New England, for instance--freedom to worship as each individual might choose, with each church as a power unto itself in the administration of its affairs--was not well understood by those who adhered to other forms and practices.

Eaton, being more scholarly than argumentative, did not squander his time declaiming his views. There was greater satisfaction for him in the low hum of activity that could be detected at almost any hour of the day within his domicile and in the adjacent building housing the Academy students. The boarding students perhaps were few in number but they were a constant reminder that a greater force, although less tangible, was at work.

Eaton's classes also included a number of boys from the homes of his parishioners and other nearby residents. While they were not seeking training for the ministry, they took advantage of the opportunity to acquire some scholastic assistance. Their presence was indicative of the developing interest in education in colonial America. However, plans had not been devised as yet by the various colonial or provincial governments for the operation of a public school system providing popular education.

Pennsylvania had directed as early as 1683 that parents should school their children in reading and writing, or be subjected to a five pounds' fine. In 1712, Pennsylvania granted permission to religious bodies to acquire land upon which schools might be erected. Since several diverse groups

existed and each sect created elementary schools as needs demanded, a muddled situation arose and the hope of unification into a single school system was remote.

In Maryland, the church authorities sought to set up a school in each county but the program was not too successful as dissenters were generally in the majority, and they provided a minimum of cooperation with the teachers selected by the Established Church. In New England, the towns were under orders from the colonial governments to set up schools providing instruction in reading and writing, but again the ministers--Congregationalists in this instance--had the final say in the naming of teachers, when they did not serve as teachers themselves. Hence, the children of the minority groups in that area were left at a decided disadvantage.

New Jersey, during the years while it was constituted as East and West Jersey, witnessed friendly gestures in respect to schools. As far back as 1693 and 1695, East Jersey had outlined a plan whereby any town could set up a school. If a majority of the qualified voters agreed, a committee of three was designated to supervise the project. The committee named the place and time when school would be in session and selected the teacher. The cost was shared by all, once a majority had approved the establishment of a school. In West Jersey, the Assembly chose an island in the Delaware, known as Matinick, as a location for a school to serve the town of Burlington. Yet restrictions were imposed to enable the governmental

authorities to keep a hand upon educational developments. In 1758, the instructions from the Crown to Francis Bernard when he was appointed to the office of Governor included a provision that "No schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep school in said province without the license of said Bishop of London; and that no other persons, now there or that shall come from other parts, shall be admitted to keep school in that our said province of New Jersey without your license first obtained." Not until long after the Revolutionary War, which instilled a spirit of unity in the colonies and in communities so essential to public education, did New Jersey move toward an uniform system whereby each child was provided with schooling and required to attend.

Before that point was reached, a practical education was all that an average boy or girl generally could hope to attain. In most instances, this was procured at home. Education was woven into family life. Almost every home was a school for some part of a day, particularly during the Fall and Winter months, with parents and older sisters serving as teachers. Such knowledge as the adults or older children possessed was passed along, with reading and writing stressed. Arithmetic, "doing sums," might be added. At the same time, the children were taught the skills that every-day existence demanded. Text-books were an extreme rarity. Reading matter was comparatively scarce, other than the family Bible and the yearly almanacs. If a newspaper was obtained with any regularity, it helped

considerably but these were weeklies and generally a copy was to be seen only in the homes of the more prosperous families, or at the public inns or taverns. Occasionally, a pamphlet might be obtained dealing with a political controversy or setting forth the convictions of a writer on a religious topic. If a book did come to hand, it probably would deal with a religious subject. Growing children became acquainted even with such volumes as a supplement to their daily readings in the Bible. Beyond doubt, the Bible was the chief textbook in most homes. Unless the Bible was opened daily, God-fearing citizens believed that they might become objects of God's wrath. The children also read considerable portions of the Bible to broaden their acquaintance with the English language and to improve their memories.

Occasionally itinerant schoolmasters were available. These men would arrange to hold classes, usually for boys only, in a private home, where neighbors' children also might attend. Within the limits of the knowledge possessed by such a schoolmaster, supplemental education was provided. But many schoolmasters of this type were unstable and after a season or two would depart for one cause or another. Fortunate indeed was a community where the teacher came with some formal educational background and possessing the common sense essential to a good teacher. In some instances, a "redemptor" arranged during his period of servitude to provide instruction. But the schoolmaster who taught because he saw an easy living at a time when parents were zealous in seeking to improve their children's

education often proved to be an evil influence, for over-indulgence in drink, gambling and affairs with women frequently marred their records and the departure of such teachers was received with general approval.

Schooling was closely associated with the individual churches from the beginning of colonization. Each denomination sought to provide religious instruction for its growing youth. Since ministers usually ranked among the better-educated residents, the clergy took the leadership in forming and conducting classes. The studies necessarily depended upon the aptitude of the minister-teacher, but there was likely to be some attempt to teach Latin and Greek as well as advanced English and mathematics. Memory work was stressed in the absence of textbooks. The capacities of those who came under instruction also were a determining factor.

In northern New Jersey (including geographically the section known as East Jersey), those who settled at Elizabethtown and Newark, having come in considerable numbers from New England, relied upon their Congregational churches to teach Bible reading and the catechism. The Scotch-Irish, Scotch and English who came direct from abroad, brought their religious institutions with them into New Jersey and looked also to their churches to further the cause of education. The Quakers in West Jersey, fanning out from Philadelphia and the William Penn colony, linked schooling with their meeting-houses almost from the outset. One of their leaders, Thomas Budd, went on

record as early as 1685 in favor of a law requiring all parents in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to send their children to a public school for at least seven years. He espoused instruction in the reading and writing of "true English and Latine," as well as the arts and sciences. He even dared to advocate teaching of "joynery, turnery," weaving and shoe-making for the boys, and spinning of flax and wool, knitting, sewing and needlework for the girls.

A certain amount of social responsibility also was felt in most communities in regard to the education of children of poorer families. Coupled with this was the maintenance of classes for the "redemptioners" or "indentured servants" who lived in many homes. Their number had grown quite extensive, the arrangement being for a "redemptioner" to promise seven years' work to repay the cost of passage from Europe, advanced by the landholder to whom the "indenture" had been made out. The "redemptioners" included middle-class persons, as well as those from the lower classes, but all were characterized by an embarrassing lack of funds. Usually, the indenture pledged that an education would be provided as a part of the arrangement, in preparation for independence when a term of service expired. Many of the "redemptioners" became substantial citizens in the colonies, although the conditions of their service, while it lasted, frequently were less advantageous than those of slaves. This prompted many to run away. To assist them in an independent start when they had

satisfied their contracts, New Jersey assigned a tract of fifty acres to such individuals. In furtherance of the promise to educate the "redemptioners," most owners looked to the minister or the school maintained by the church that he attended.

During the eighteenth century, many children were apprenticed in order to earn a livelihood. These were from the poorer classes, and some unscrupulous schemers took such advantage of their defenseless position that regulations were enacted in what is known as the Apprenticeship Law of 1744. This stipulated that every contract for indenture should state specifically that "every master or mistress to whom such poor child or children shall be bound out as aforesaid, shall cause every such child or children to be taught to read and write.

The schools conducted by the ministers, as well as by the more substantial element among the general schoolmasters, usually developed into Latin grammar schools. The more advanced students gave attention to Greek as well as Latin, since this type of secondary education was essential for admission to college. Instruction was thorough-going, and the ability to read the classics in both languages, and to prepare and deliver addresses in Latin at commencement exercises, was not uncommon as a requirement of graduation. But geography and history were to come at a later date as educational innovations. A heavy percentage of those attending the Latin grammar schools had theological training in mind and the

courses given in the lower school were shaped to that end. In fact, the Latin grammar schools were a carry-over from the type of school that had been maintained abroad, conducted with a view to bridging the gap between an elementary education and college studies.

As attempts were made to broaden the courses of study, thereby satisfying the needs of pupils other than those who had the pulpit as their aim in life, these secondary schools began to be identified as Academies. The curriculum was expanded. Thus, the Academy begun under Benjamin Franklin's inspiration in Philadelphia in 1751 incorporated an "English School" and "Mathematical School," as well as a "Latin School." However, there was no distinct line of separation between Latin grammar schools and Academies and the terms were used interchangeably.

The "Academy" type of school mushroomed in the colonies, springing up as the pressure for secondary education became too powerful to be ignored. Private schools ^{being} and unpretentious for the most part, they nevertheless carried education a step forward, and in turn made it inevitable that new colleges come into ^{being} in which the curriculum extended into the realms of science, with less emphasis on the classical and religious requirements.

As a man of vision, Reverend Isaac Eaton sensed clearly that the Baptist denomination was in urgent need of a Latin Grammar School or Academy. The Baptists were somewhat behind the times in their lack of a college in America, but this was

attributable in large part to the vastness of such a venture for a denomination consisting of strictly independent churches, whose total membership in the colonies was about 3,000. But what excuse could be offered if no method was found to provide secondary education for the youth within the Baptist denomination who saw that progress in the world of affairs demanded greater preparation than home training could provide? More men and abler men were needed to take charge of new churches as the expansion of religious interest made itself felt throughout all denominations.

But why did the Eaton homestead become the scene of a theological training school, Hopewell Academy? Isaac Eaton, being settled in Hopewell, started the school in that village. His place of residence, being the only place available for classes, necessarily had to serve as the Academy, in part.

The village of Hopewell, without Eaton's presence, would never have attracted the Academy. It was little more than a settlement of a few families in farming country. A traveler approaching the village during the 1750-60 era would have found his attention captured chiefly by the Baptist meeting-house, the largest structure and quite new¹⁷⁴⁷. This edifice was regarded as one of the finest Baptist churches in the country at the time and here Eaton preached every Sunday morning and evening. If someone had informed the casual visitor that this church, in a rural area where homes were well-scattered, had experienced an in-gathering of more than one hundred persons

during the Winter revival of 1755-56, it would have seemed unbelievable. Actually, the church drew its congregation from homes as far distant as twenty to twenty-five miles, it being the only Baptist church in central New Jersey at that time.

Adjacent to the church, a scant two hundred feet distant on its westerly side, was a beer-and-cake shop. Its proprietors were Nathaniel Stout and Joseph Hough. The building itself was owned by one Hepburn. The property was the oldest in the village. Nearby a brook meandered, flowing southeastwardly through the meadow, first passing the residence of Obadiah Seely, which ranked as the third oldest house in the village, and then veering slightly further to the south where the land sloped gradually away from the doorstep of the home of Reverend Isaac Eaton and his family. The Eaton home was generally referred to by older residents of that period as the Nathan Hixon house. It was the second oldest house there.¹

Surrounding farmland was divided into tracts of varying size and owned by a number of individuals. The most extensive acreage belonged to John Hart, whose wealth and influence carried him to enduring fame in later years. He owned land that included some of the best situated fields lying to the north and west of the meeting house. Then there were the farms owned by the various branches of the Stout family, and others.

1. The Hepburn house was owned in the 1950s by Dr. J. R. Pierson; the Hixon house by G. Newell Holcombe, and the Seely house by J. Howard Dilts.

Interspersed were numerous parcels of land in which the virgin growth of trees and bushes remained untouched.

The dwelling occupied by the Eaton family with its surrounding acres had been provided by the Hopewell Baptists for the use of the minister. The farmland, it was anticipated, would enable the pastor to earn a living sufficient, for the most part, in supporting his growing family. The dwelling had been built along the generous lines of many colonial residences, unpretentious in height and design, and consisting of two stories and an attic. Its entrance was on the southerly side, with the farm buildings immediately adjacent. The house being situated near the extreme northerly edge of the property at a slight elevation, a view of the parsonage farm tract was afforded. In later years, with the village growing, the northern side of the house eventually became the entrance, fronting on what is known now as West Broad Street. Although the house was sold during Eaton's pastorate, the parsonage nevertheless has been in the hands of successive owners who concerned themselves with its preservation as a property of historic importance.

The house had been built to endure. The frame, joists and beams were hewn timbers of substantial size. Since open fireplaces had to be relied upon to provide heat, windows and doors were comparatively narrow and few in number. The kitchen served not only for the preparation of meals but as a comfortable living room. Cooking was done over an open fireplace in the kitchen, an inner ledge in the fireplace supporting

a lug-pole from which pots and kettles were suspended with the aid of pothooks and similar equipment. At one side of the stone chimney, an oven was built with a pit where a fire could be kindled when baking was planned. The practice in most farm homes where such an oven was provided was to heat the bricks or stones forming the oven, then after several hours to close off the chimney draft, clear away the remains of the fire and place bread, pies and garden vegetables in the oven to bake.

During the Winter, the remaining rooms of the house were likely to be freezing cold, unless a fire was maintained in a fireplace in the room. Generally, the upstairs rooms had no such conveniences. The feather-beds, in which one almost dropped out of sight, did enable the occupants to enjoy some measure of comfort, however, until the time came to set foot out upon the frosty floor. Many beds in farm homes were surrounded by curtains that also gave a suggestion of snugness.

Furniture was home-made and could be relied upon to be more practical than comfortable. For illumination, tallow dip and wax candles were to be found in the homes of those who enjoyed the better things of life. The glow from a fireplace on which pine-knots were used to create additional light was all that the homes of the less privileged classes could provide.

While foodstuffs were plain, considerable variety in table fare was provided. Milk, beef and pork from the farm livestock were always available, the meats being salted down

for year-round use. Through occasional hunting trips, deer and bear meat might be obtained by a fortunate hunter, while streams yielded fish at times. From the garden and orchard during the growing season, families obtained cabbage, potatoes, beans, carrots and turnips, as well as apples and peaches. To keep foods cool during the Summer months, the farm well offered the coolest storage place. Bread was generally made of rye flour or buckwheat.

Few articles of clothing were purchased. Each household provided materials for clothing, bedding and household needs, produced through the use of spinning wheels and looms. Many of the men wore leather breeches. Even knives and forks for kitchen and table use were home-made, with plates generally of pewter or wood. To manufacture clothing, flax was grown on the farm, then spun into thread and dyed with a stain produced from tree bark, after which it was woven into cloth and fashioned into garments.

Grain crops were cut with sickles or scythes, the latter coming into common use about 1750. This was slow work but the dried stalks of grain were carried in bundles to the flailing-floor of the barn where the grain was separated from the straw and chaff. Workers wielded flails, which consisted of a handle from which a strong leather strap was suspended and attached to a swingle, a piece of wood which would strike the grain and straw and hull out the tiny grains of buckwheat or rye as the workmen moved slowly back and forth across the heap.

The building which was to house most of the students of the Hopewell Academy was provided by David Stout, a relative of Eaton's wife. It was situated within a stone's throw of the entrance to Eaton's kitchen. The interior provided rooms for each of the older boarding students, while a large room on the ground floor level served as a classroom or study hall. This building, with the passage of the years, became a storage building and being built less substantially than the residence, finally was torn down.

Since the school activities of the Hopewell Academy and the affairs of the Eaton household overlapped in many respects, it was fortunate for the founder that Eaton's wife saw to it that the home was well-ordered and operated with the quiet efficiency that a husband usually takes for granted. Mrs. Eaton necessarily was far more than a busy housewife. As the wife of a minister, she shared her husband's special interest in the welfare of the members of the church. Beyond that, however, and with a family of her own to supervise, she daily was confronted with the extra demands that inevitably arose as students turned to her to sew on a button or two, or to lend assistance with their studies. Mrs. Eaton had sufficient to keep her well occupied.

It is quite likely that a few of the younger students at the Academy lived with the Eaton family in the parsonage, where closer supervision could be exercised. At the same time, such students were available when needed to assist with household chores. They carried wood for the kitchen

stove and the fireplaces; they took food to and from the table and assisted in clearing away the dishes and the crumbs after the students had displayed their appreciation of Mrs. Eaton's cooking.

Older students helped with outdoor tasks on the farm itself. Eaton's livestock included horses, a herd of cattle, a flock of sheep and a number of hogs and pigs. His barns included hay-mows, the grain floors and other appurtenances required to carry on the normal activity of planting, cultivating, reaping and storing the crops, as well as the working of flax and wool for weaving into cloth and fabric.

Because of the disparity in the ages of the students as well as variance in their prior training, Eaton found it advisable to divide his group into three classes. The "first class" consisted of the older students, young men in fact, such as James Manning who remained at the Academy a comparatively short time before entering the upper classes at Princeton University. There usually were about a half dozen in this group. The "second class" included students somewhat younger, while the youngest pupils in the earlier stages of formal education made up the "third class." Yet even in the age-group represented by the "second class," there were studies in the languages and mathematics, as well as "logick."

The custom prevailed for the older students to aid the younger pupils with their studies. Manning, in particular, was helpful, in this respect, being so proficient in Latin

that he could "talk in Latin," as Samuel Jones noted in his diary. Jones, being from a Welsh family, read daily in a Welsh Bible and served in turn as a helper for David Jones, not a relative despite the similarity in name, who needed advice on how to pronounce words and also to translate them with some degree of accuracy into English. Manning, a notable scholar, also outranked all the others in his studies in Greek.

After the evening meal, the students gathered in the large classroom and worked until dark. Early to bed usually meant early to rise, and consequently studying often was carried on soon after arising if morning chores about the home and farm buildings did not prevent.

At the beginning of each school year in September, Pastor Eaton outlined what he hoped the students might accomplish during their stay through the Winter months. According to Jones' diary, the messages were "cheering" and "so manly and sensible that they give us courage." In particular, Jones reported in his diary how deeply he was impressed on the day in the early Fall of 1758 when Eaton said to his students:

"I wish you to remember that each of you must, and will be the maker of your own future. You have talents and ability. I am happy to say this. Come to me when in trouble and I'll help you. Feel that you are young gentlemen, and I predict for each one an honorable and successful future."

Jones added this comment in his personal record of the occasion, alluding to Tom, his younger brother, who was newly

arrived at the school that year:

"Such words make us think, and they always do me good. Tom listened with eyes and ears, and told me that was the sort of talk he liked; for there was no threat of punishment. An appeal to a boy's honor and pride always sets him up."

Chapter IX
The Student Body

From scattered sources, a roster of approximately forty-five students of Hopewell Academy has been compiled. While this is believed to be reasonably complete as to the total number that enrolled for training under Eaton's supervision, there can be no certainty about it. Isaac Eaton undoubtedly kept records of enrollment, attendance, grades of individual students as well as financial papers and related documents, but such records apparently were destroyed or subsequently lost. There is no evidence of their existence at the present time. This is understandable, as Eaton's death came five years after the Hopewell Academy ceased to exist, and a short time thereafter his widow moved from Hopewell. Where any records were moved at that time, is also unknown. If they did remain in existence, they ultimately may have been destroyed or scattered.

In regard to the students whose connection with the Academy is definitely established, there are numerous points of special interest. The family background, dates and places of birth, as well as the highlights of their subsequent careers have been ascertained for a considerable number through extensive research. There follows biographical material

about many of the students, while a later chapter will be devoted to a recital of the later activities of many of them.

It is noteworthy, for example, that at least twenty students who attended the Academy became ministers, this being about half of the known student body. Yet, as far as existing records show, only five of this number had come from families where the father was a Baptist minister. Half a dozen others became members of the medical profession, and at least four turned to teaching, either as one phase of their careers or as a part-time activity. Five others became lawyers, with two holding positions later in life as judges. Several saw military service in the Revolutionary War.

Another point of special interest is the fact that five of the Academy students subsequently enrolled in the Princeton College for more advanced studies, two in the College of Philadelphia, and several in the College of Rhode Island.

The age brackets, while revealing a great contrast, emphasize that the Academy was accepted in most cases as the highest educational training in a Baptist-controlled institution that was likely to be obtained. It has been established that at least six students were twenty-one years of age or older when they entered the Academy, one being twenty-six years of age; two were twenty years old, and two were nineteen. At least six were between the ages of ten and seventeen. A few of the boys from families living in the vicinity of Hopewell undoubtedly were somewhat younger than that group, with their studies on an elementary educational level.

It appears that the boys of the Hopewell area numbered eight or ten, although there is some likelihood that the total was much higher, as historical records of the Baptist denomination would be concerned only casually with the "local" boys whose training was not definitely pointed toward theological studies and the ministry. In addition to these eight or ten or more, it is noteworthy that twelve to fifteen others were from other parts of the Province. At least four others were from Eastern Pennsylvania, these being chiefly sons of Welsh residents near Philadelphia, and two others from Delaware, where another Welsh group had settled.

The individual biographies follow.

John Alderson. Son of John Alderson, Sr., who had been sent South as a missionary by the Philadelphia Baptist Association, John, Jr. is credited as being the first Baptist minister who visited settlers in the southern portion of West Virginia. John, Jr. was born in New Jersey on March 5, 1738, and ordained in 1775. He followed his father as minister of the Smith's Creek and Lynville Creek Church in Frederick county, Virginia. He also assisted in forming the Greenbrier church in West Virginia in 1781, and aided in organizing the Greenbrier Baptist Association in 1807. While referred to as John Anderson by the historian, Thomas S. Griffiths, the correct name undoubtedly is Alderson.

John Blackwell was a Hopewell-born boy, son of Francis and Elizabeth Cornell Blackwell. His grandfather, Robert Blackwell, had come with a group that migrated from the town

of Newtown, Long Island. John was born on February 5th, 1738, being the oldest of a family of eleven children. Hope-well was to remain the center of most of his activities. He was known as a miller, farmer and storekeeper, although he did serve as a minister at Imlaystown, New Jersey, for six years.

Isaac Bonnell, raised in a Presbyterian family at Elizabetshtown, turned to the Baptist faith in 1757 at the age of twenty-two. He was born on April 9th, 1735. After his Hope-well Academy days, nearly twenty years elapsed before he was licensed to preach.

John Davis was a minister's son who came to the Academy from the Welsh Tract settlement in Delaware. He was born in 1737. When John was about eleven years of age, his father, David Davis, became the minister of the Welsh Tract Baptist Church at New Castle County, Delaware, a position held until his death in August, 1769. John's mother, Rachel Thomas Davis, belonged to a family that also had close ties with the Welsh Tract church, her father being Rev. Elisha Thomas, who was one of the group that had come as a church unit from Wales. He was the second pastor of that church, serving from 1725 to his death on November 7th, 1730. John Davis, the student with whom we are presently concerned, died at the age of thirty-five but not before he had become an outstanding exponent of the religious freedom for which the Baptists struggled in Massachusetts.

Joseph Eaton, the oldest son of the founder of Hopewell Academy, probably was "taken for granted" in the daily doings of the student body. He was between the ages of six and seventeen during the life of the institution, and as one of the Eaton family in "Isaac Eaton's School," he just naturally belonged. His interest during his schooling turned toward medicine and his father furthered his studies in that direction. In due course, he entered the Rhode Island College for further preparation for a medical career. Almost before he could launch his medical career, however, he passed away.

Aaron Forman, whose entry into the medical profession was in the making, also came from Welsh parentage. His grandfather, an uncle and a great-uncle had held political offices in Monmouth County but Aaron's inclinations proved to be otherwise. He was born February 4th, 1745, at Freehold, New Jersey. The family was Episcopalian. His parents were Ezekiel and Elizabeth (Seabrooke) Forman. Aaron's grandfather was High Sheriff Samuel Forman, of Monmouth, while Judge Jonathan Forman, of the Court of Common Pleas and a well-to-do farmer, was his uncle. Jonathan's father, Samuel, had held the office of High Sheriff in 1695. Aaron was only twenty months old when his father died in October, 1746, leaving six children, one of whom was born after the father's death. But the family possessed the means to send Aaron to the Hopewell Academy where Isaac Eaton's medical knowledge evidently was a vital factor in Forman's preparation for that profession.

Amos Hart was another "town boy." It is doubtful whether he was any closer than a nephew of John Hart. Existing records furnish meagre information about him, other than his marriage to Ruth Stout. Ruth was a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Stout, whose name is synonymous with the founding of Hopewell. Amos and Ruth, according to the Stout family historian, Captain Nathan Stout, whose "History of the Stout Family" was published in 1823, had several children and "moved to the northern country," which implies that they went to the lake region in New York State.

Jesse Hart, a son of the famed John Hart, was a "day scholar" of Eaton's. Jesse was born on September 19th, 1744, and is known to have been around the age of thirteen when he came daily from his father's 400-acre farm to take advantage of the training available under the local minister's supervision. He may have been one of those who, bringing their lunches with them, shared their mince pies and doughnuts with the regular students, as Samuel Jones later was to recount with some enthusiasm in his diary.

John Hawkins became a "boarding scholar" at the Academy in December, 1757, coming from Scotch Plains. His father was a farmer. Hawkins had received considerable schooling before coming to Hopewell and entered Eaton's "second class," or middle group. Almost immediately, Eaton placed him in charge of an arithmetic class comprised largely of smaller boys from

nearby farms who were attending classes during the Winter months. "The boys soon learned to respect him for his great knowledge," Samuel Jones wrote later, "and now many go to his room after school hours to study under his care and they pay him extra." Hawkins showed his farm training in the handling of an axe, according to the same writer, for in chopping wood, "he can cut more than any two of us, and does it with such ease." Jones added that "he is powerful strong and full of fun, but has the heart of a woman. He is a good learner and seems determined to make up by hard study for want of early training. Mr. Eaton says he is wonderful at mathematics and sees through every problem in the books thus far!" Hawkins soon found satisfaction in his acquaintance with Mr. Hobbs, staunch friend of the Eatons, with whom he discussed Euclid and the problems created by Euclid as "the father of geometry." Mrs. Eaton soon was to protest that Hawkins was studying too hard, sitting up until midnight, and developing a cough that caused general concern for his health.

David Howell was one of the younger boys in the student body of the Academy. Son of Aaron and Sarah Howell, of Morristown, New Jersey, he was under twelve years of age when he arrived in the Fall of 1757. In his diary, Samuel Jones described Howell as having a "bright face and cheery voice." After a stay of about two months, Howell developed a severe cough and returned to his home. Eaton's advice was that David should remain under watchful family care for a year or two.

In Jones' diary, it is further recorded that David was "inclined to make fun of religion," adding that "He don't (sp.) understand why if they ["miserable sinners"] are Christians they don't stop sinning and live as they should, and have a cheerful, happy tone in their conversation. He also said 'if I was a Christian, I'd live like one, do what the Bible says, try to be pious the whole week and not merely on Sunday, and until I see church members living up to what they profess, I don't want to become one.'"

While there is no existing record showing whether Howell returned to the Academy, he did graduate from Princeton College in 1766, at the age of nineteen. He was to enjoy a notable career as a professor at Rhode Island College, as a public official who served in the Continental Congress, as a Federal jurist; and in other public capacities, although at times a controversial figure who once exclaimed, "Thank God, I am not a politician!"

David Jones, like John Davis, came from the Welsh Tract Church in Delaware to the Hopewell Academy. Jones' plan was to prepare for the ministry. He and Davis were almost of the same age, David being born on May 12th, 1736. He was the son of Morgan and Eleanor (Evans) Jones, his father being a native of Wales. At the age of twenty-one, David was baptized by John Davis' father, and became a member of the Welsh Tract Church. As a relative of the Reverend Abel Morgan, distinguished minister at the Middletown (New Jersey) church who also was one of those named by the Philadelphia Baptist

Association to be one of its inspectors in relation to the Academy, it is not difficult to understand how Jones' interest in the latter developed. His grandmother, Esther Jones, was a sister of Abel and Enoch Morgan, both Baptist ministers. Twenty-two years of age when he entered the Academy, Jones spent three years under Eaton's instruction, obtaining a sound foundation in Latin and Greek, as well as other subjects. Upon completion of his Academy work, he took advanced studies, then launched into active preaching and an energetic life that included visits to the Indians in Ohio, where he was the first Baptist missionary to appear among them, as well as an extended and outstanding service as an Army chaplain.

Samuel Jones needed no introduction when he arrived in Hopewell to study under Reverend Isaac Eaton. Reverend Thomas Jones, his father, was pastor of the Welsh church at Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, not far distant from Eaton's birthplace and the scene of his boyhood activities. Thomas Jones had emigrated from South Wales in 1737, bringing his family including Samuel, who was then two years old. Samuel had been born January 14th, 1735, at Gefen y Gelli, in Bettus Parish, Glamorganshire, South Wales. Settled in Berks County, Pennsylvania, Thomas Jones was ordained three years later and installed as the first pastor of the Tulpehocken Baptist church. The minister educated his own children, including Samuel. When Samuel was at the age where outside instruction appeared to be advantageous, it was decided that he should attend the

Hopewell Academy, with a view to entering the College of Philadelphia (later to be known as the University of Pennsylvania).

To Samuel Jones, we are indebted for a diary in which he kept a detailed record of day-by-day events at Hopewell Academy. Since Samuel was twenty years old when he arrived at Hopewell in September, 1757, his diary evidences considerable maturity of thought. Samuel, however, found classwork difficult, being unaccustomed to it in contrast to some other students, although he noted in his diary that "father grounded me well in the rudiments."

While at the Academy, Samuel was undecided about his exact plans for the future although his Welsh friends frequently commented that he was "to be the preacher" of the growing family. He remained at Hopewell through the Winter of 1757-58. In mid-April, he returned to Tulpehocken because he felt he was needed on the farm. He found his home neighborhood in a state of suspense because of the danger of Indian raids. A company was formed and drilled weekly in the meadow of the Jones' farm. Mrs. Jones generally provided a meal at the conclusion of the drill and Reverend Thomas Jones gave an address to the men.

When Samuel returned to the Hopewell Academy in September, 1758, his younger brother, Thomas Jones, also came as a student. Thomas had been taught Latin grammar and the Greek alphabet during the previous Summer by Samuel.

Samuel became a member of the Tulpehocken Church on

December 31st, 1758. His diary records that mild and pleasant weather, even though it was mid-Winter, enabled his father to baptize him in Tulpehocken Creek, with many persons witnessing the ceremony

Upon the urging of Ebenezer Kinnersley, famed experimenter with Benjamin Franklin in the field of "electric fire" or electricity, Samuel entered the College of Philadelphia in the Fall of 1759. There he completed his formal education, preparatory to a lifetime of service that marked him as one of the most distinguished Baptists of his era.

James Manning, who is generally regarded as the most outstanding graduate of Hopewell Academy, was of Scottish extraction and a New Jersey resident by birth. His father, had prospered in farming and the Mannings were an influential family. Jeffrey Manning, the grandfather, was one of the early settlers in the Province, while Isaac Manning had been one of the charter members of the Baptist church at Scotch Plains. Born on October 22nd, 1738, James found that the opening of the Hopewell Academy in 1756 fitted ideally into his life pattern for just at that time he was ready for advanced training at the age of eighteen. After two years at Hopewell, Manning entered Princeton College (1758). His notable career will be followed in considerable detail in a later chapter.

Joseph Powell, concerning whom available records contain

little information, is named in the book of minutes of the Hopewell Baptist church as being licensed to preach on May 15th, 1762. In all likelihood, this followed his Hopewell Academy schooling or came near the close of his studies there. In September of that year, he was recommended as a supply minister to a church at Millcreek, Virginia.

Isaac Skillman, born in 1740, was another New Jersey youth. He went from the Hopewell Academy to Princeton College where he graduated in 1766. Then he taught in a Latin school in New York City while pursuing further theological studies, probably under John Gano, who is credited with bringing about his conversion. For Skillman, a career as a minister was to follow, further detailed in a subsequent chapter.

Hezekiah Smith was enrolled at the Hopewell Academy largely through the influence of Reverend John Gano, although not until Smith's parents had dropped their objections to higher education for their son. In Gano's memoirs as a pastor, he tells of the "happy instance of a promising youth (by name Hezekiah Smith)" who "appeared to have an inclination for education" after joining the Morristown Baptist church. Hezekiah's oldest brother, Jeremiah, added his persuasion to that of the pastor to win the consent of Smith's parents, a move that produced an outstanding preacher-missionary, a founder of many new churches, a defender of Baptist rights in stern New England, and an advocate of higher education for Baptists

of his day. Born at Hempstead, Long Island, on April 21st, 1737, to Peter and Rebecca (Nichols) Smith, Hezekiah moved in his boyhood with his parents to Morristown. He was about nineteen when he became a church member. Soon thereafter he was in attendance at the Hopewell Academy. He prepared for entrance as a sophomore in Princeton College in 1759, where he was to graduate in 1762. Ill health imperiled his career for a time but two years later he settled at Haverhill, Massachusetts, for a lifetime of service and achievement.

Benjamin Stelle came from a family that had provided two preachers for the Baptist denomination. His home was at Piscataway, not far from New Brunswick (N.J.), when he enrolled in the Hopewell Academy. His grandfather, Benjamin, born of French parents in New York, was the second pastor of the Piscataway church and during his latter years, his son, Isaac, acted as his assistant and then became minister of the church when Benjamin died in 1759. Isaac served for a term of twenty-three years until he died in 1781. Benjamin was born in 1741. Completing his studies at Hopewell, he went to Princeton College and graduated in 1766, after which his life work centered about Providence, Rhode Island. That phase of his life is described in a later chapter.

Jehu Stout and Nathan Stout, who were distant relatives, attended the Academy undoubtedly because of its proximity to their homes and also because of the close relationship of

the Stouts with the Baptist church. While the names, Jehu and Nathan, appear with great frequency in the Stout family genealogies, it appears that Jehu (the Academy student) was a son of John and Catherine Stout, the latter a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Stout, the Hopewell pioneer. Jehu studied to enter the medical profession and records indicate that he moved to Carolina. He had no children.

Of Nathan Stout, it is not possible to speak with certainty, for there appears to have been two Nathan Stouts who lived in the vicinity of Hopewell about the time that the Hopewell Academy existed. One Nathan Stout, born in 1748, was the fifth son of John and Rachel (Merrill) Stout, John being a grandson of David Stout (brother of Jonathan). Nathan married Esther Ketcham, of Middletown, New Jersey, the settlement from which David Stout had come about 1725 to Amwell. Nathan and Esther had six sons and five daughters. Another Nathan Stout also was descended from David Stout, through Jacob Stout (brother of John)), whose son, Samuel, was father of this second Nathan Stout. The Nathan Stout who attended the Academy became a lawyer, was appointed to the bench in Hunterdon county, New Jersey, and served in the years 1795 and 1800.

John Sutton and David Sutton were two of five brothers who became Baptist ministers. They were sons of William and Damaris Sutton, of Basking Ridge, New Jersey, who had been early settlers of Piscataqua (Piscataway), Middlesex County of the

present day. The brothers were Isaac, David, John, James and Abner. John was born February 12th, 1733, and David probably a year or so later. Both were baptized in 1747. John, following studies at the Academy, entered upon a ministerial career that carried him to Nova Scotia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, while David was a leader in organizing the Kingwood church in Hunterdon County as an offshoot of the Hopewell church.

David Thomas, who was to know what it meant to face angry mobs vowing to drive this "Baptist dissenter" out of Virginia, came to Hopewell Academy from London Tract, Pennsylvania. He was in attendance in 1758, according to the records, hence he was one of the "older" students, being 26 years of age at that time, having been born on August 16th, 1732. A biographer, Sprague, described Thomas as having in later life ". . . a vigorous mind, . . . a melodious and piercing voice, a pathetic address, expressive action, and, above all, a heart filled with love to God and his fellowmen." These qualifications enabled him to do effective work as a missionary and founder of Baptist churches chiefly in Virginia, but also in Kentucky.

Charles Thompson, another "local boy" who attended Eaton's school, was born in nearby Anwell and was a member of the Hopewell church. His birthdate was April 14th, 1748. Indications are that he was an Academy student near the close of its

activities, since he entered Rhode Island College in June, 1766, there to prepare for his life work that included duties as minister and teacher in Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts, in addition to service as a chaplain with the Revolutionary troops. More will be told of these activities in a later chapter.

Benjamin Vankirk came to the Hopewell Academy in 1758 while in his eleventh year. He was born November 5th, 1747. He prepared himself for the medical profession and devoted his life to practise in Hopewell and vicinity. He was the son of Henry Vankirk. His arithmetic book is one of the last remaining records of the Hopewell Academy and accordingly is of considerable value, with his name written therein at several points. In one place, it reads "Benjamin Vankirk, His Book Anno Domini 1758." Again it is similarly written with the year "1760" attached. On another page, an entry reads "Benjamin Vankirk Reuben Ba (Van?) kirk his hand and pen Black Cherry juice I wrote with then." Other entries concern "Jonathan Howell his hand and pen" and "Jonathan Howell his book" and "Jonathan Howell his hand and pen God bless the Congress and all their men," creating a question as to whether a Jonathan Howell may not have been another student who is not mentioned elsewhere in any account concerning Eaton's school. In any event, there is no mistaking the fact that Benjamin Vankirk used the arithmetic book while a student and later for entries concerning his medical practice. The

manner of teaching arithmetic is typified by page one which reads "Addition--Teacheth To bring several Numbers into one Sum." Figures, presented in seven columns, are to be added, and eight sets or problems appear on the same page. Elsewhere in the book, pages bear such headings as "Mony, The Pence Tables," "Troy Weight," "Avoirdupois," and "Land Measures."

Vankirk possessed another book while he was a student, this being a volume written by Baron Emanuel Swedenborg, a mystic whose doctrines would have been baffling to the average adult. Perhaps Benjamin, at the age of eleven, did not understand much of it, but he knew enough to perplex some of the other students. Samuel Jones tells in his diary how Benjamin sought to convince other students that he had visions and spoke paradoxically about some of the principles of existence. One evening, amid a group of students, he exclaimed that his grandmother was there in the room. One of his companions, a believer in ghosts, shouted: "Where is she?" Benjamin replied, "Sitting at the table," whereupon everyone except the youth who feared ghosts, laughed heartily for there was no empty chair in the room. In later chapters, more will be told concerning Vankirk as an active medical practitioner.

John Walton probably was one of the last group of students to attend Hopewell Academy. This is suggested by the fact that he was ordained on June 17th 1767, as a Baptist minister. Simultaneously, he became the pastor of the First

Baptist church at Morristown. His career was cut short during this pastorate. He died on October 1st, 1770, at the age of thirty-five, as recorded on a tombstone in the Presbyterian church cemetery at Morristown. Of his family background and place of birth, information is lacking.

William Worth, another student from North Jersey, was born at Basking Ridge on April 21st, 1745. His home church was at Mount Bethel, also in Somerset County, and it licensed him to preach in 1770. Shortly thereafter, he took charge of a church at Daretown in lower New Jersey, then known as the Pittsgrove Church because it was situated in a township bearing that name. Of his changing beliefs and the troubles they created, more will be told later.

William Williams, of Welsh parentage, came to the Academy from a farm near Hilltown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. His father, John, with typical Welsh thrift, had prospered after serving as a sailor to pay for his passage across the Atlantic. William was born in 1752 and was one of the group of students who attended Eaton's school in the mid-1760s, when William probably was about fourteen years old. For him, higher education was a challenge and he transferred to Rhode Island College. After graduating, he founded his own Academy at Wrentham, Massachusetts, where he distinguished himself as an educator and pastor.

In addition to the aforementioned students, a number remain about whom little can be ascertained, despite diligent efforts to ascertain salient facts about their lives. Morgan Edwards, in writing his "Materials" only two decades after the Academy had gone out of existence, apparently was confronted with the same difficulty. However, since he was treating of church history and Baptist ministers in particular, Edwards felt no obligation to make an exhaustive search concerning the Academy's student body. With considerable care, nevertheless, he did list "the names of the divines who received the first rudiments of learning at this academy," but he confined to a footnote the names of others who "did not prefer the church." Suspecting that this list might be inaccurate, Edwards felt obliged to add this comment: "If I have mistaken the address of any of the above gentlemen, or left out any that should have place in the list of worthies, they will be pleased to attribute the mistake or omission, to a want of better information."

It will be observed that Morgan Edwards refers to several of those listed as "dead." Their deaths undoubtedly antedated the publication of his "Materials" relative to New Jersey in 1792. He also uses "Esq." after several names, prompting the presumption that he intended this to refer to persons who had become attorneys.

Those on the list, other than the group about whom more detailed information appears earlier in this chapter, were as

follows:

David Bowen, Esq.

Joseph Burt (dead)

Thomas Byles (dead)

Thomas Curtis, esq. (attorney in Maryland)

Thomas Dungan, esq.

Levi Heaton, esq.

Matthew Keasbey, phys. (dead)

Robert Keith, A. M.

William Matteson

Edward Praul, esq. (now in the staff department)

Dickinson Sheppard (dead)

Joseph Talman, phys.

Joseph Taylor, esq.

Mr. (first name not given--author) Wallin, (dead).

In passing, it is noteworthy that even a mere list, such as this, lacking in detail, demonstrates Isaac Eaton's influence, inasmuch as at least two of this group evidently became physicians. "Local" boys, in all likelihood, also are included in the list, and it is reasonable to conclude that some may have been content to devote themselves to farm pursuits, never destined to acquire any special fame but commanding the respect of their neighbors and the community for their more advanced studies.

Chapter X

Finances

If Reverend Isaac Eaton had been an opportunist, he might have avoided all financial worries in connection with Hopewell Academy. There was "easy money" obtainable in the Province through the operation of a lottery. To be sure, an Act passed in 1748 prescribed penalties for conducting such a scheme or participating through the sale or purchase of tickets. Lottery promoters, however, knew that enforcement of the law was unlikely if they merely took the precaution of cloaking their ventures with fine phrases to lend an air of respectability to the cause. The popularity of lotteries did the rest.

Aside from his personal convictions on the subject, Isaac Eaton would have alienated himself from many of his friends as well as from the Philadelphia Baptist Association if he had resorted to a lottery to raise much needed funds. In fact, a scheme of that sort was so alien to the principles that guided Isaac Eaton's life that the linking of his name with an actual venture of that sort was unthinkable, even though the Hopewell Academy might be the beneficiary.

Churches of other denominations might provide themselves with new places of worship by that means but such appeals to

the public by Isaac Eaton, his church and his school were out of the question. They just did not do things that way. It might be added that the official records and the newspapers of that day yield only a single instance of a Baptist congregation in New Jersey that resorted to the sale of lottery chances in order to enrich itself. That was the church at Piscataway which held a lottery in 1793.

Yet one of Isaac Eaton's students, Samuel Jones, had been twice a winner on tickets he had purchased in lotteries conducted in Philadelphia and Reading, Pennsylvania. The winnings enabled Samuel to underwrite the cost of his education in the Hopewell Academy and the College of Philadelphia. It is not known whether Isaac Eaton ever learned of this or discussed it with Samuel, though the latter had misgivings that gave him considerable mental anxiety.

Exact details concerning the financial arrangements with students during the operation of Hopewell Academy remain obscure. Undoubtedly, Eaton set a definite figure to cover the expense incurred in providing instruction as well as room and board for his students. A different understanding prevailed necessarily in respect to his day-students, the sons of farmers who returned to their homes each afternoon at the close of classes. Every promising youth who expressed a desire to attend Eaton's school did not possess the means, and that probably accounts in part for the special interest that the Philadelphia Baptist Association displayed.

At its meeting in 1756, the Association voted "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." This meant that the pastors of the churches would endeavor to develop interest and a charitable feeling among their parishioners in behalf of the educational venture. Undoubtedly, the congregation of the Hopewell church, because its pastor was the sponsor and the school was local, did its full share and more, but contributions would have been made on an individual basis.

In 1757, the Philadelphia Association again considered the needs of the Latin Grammar School and "concluded to request the churches to contribute their mite toward its support." Some of the churches, either through lack of vision, indifference or hostility to the undertaking, saw to it that their contribution was a "mite." The following year, the Association expressed the same attitude, resolving "to desire our churches to continue a contribution toward a Grammar School." The resolution added that "what has been done hitherto in that way, appears to have been well laid out, there being a number of well inclined youths applying themselves to learning therein."

A letter dispatched in 1761 by the Association to the Board of Particular Baptist Ministers in London discloses that Eaton's Academy "is yet weak, having no more than twenty-four pounds a year toward its support." The language employed leaves some doubt as to whether this was the yearly average

of donations from the churches in the Philadelphia Association or represented the income from students or from money invested. There is scant likelihood that there was any invested capital drawing income. Years later, Morgan Edwards summarized the general giving as far as Pennsylvania Baptists were concerned by stating that they "raised a fund of about four hundred pounds"; however, he may have been referring to the Philadelphia Association generally, which embraced several churches in New Jersey as well as Pennsylvania.

The basis for the letter dispatched to the London ministers went deeper than the avowed purpose to "revive and maintain an annual correspondence." After alluding to the lack of ministers to care for some of the twenty-eight churches then belonging to the Association, the letter accomplishes a rapid turn to the interests of the Hopewell Academy and its finances. It states:

". . . . We have a prospect of supplies (ministers), partly by means of a Baptist academy lately set up. . . . Should it be in your power to favor this school any way, we presume you will be pleased to know how. A few books proper for such a school, or a small apparatus, or some pieces of apparatus, are more immediately wanted, and not to be had easily in these parts." Linked with this appeal was a suggestion that books also would be welcomed for a library set up in Philadelphia for the use of Baptist ministers not able to purchase books.

These appeals probably met with some response. A close bond of friendship prevailed because of the Baptist beliefs

they shared, evidenced a little later when solicitations of money for the assistance of Rhode Island College were sympathetically received abroad. At best, any aid given through the ministers in London probably would have been confined chiefly to textbooks or religious works that might have been spared from personal libraries as a token of continued interest.

Even though Reverend Isaac Eaton spurned lotteries as devices of the Devil to ensnare the unwary, they could not have escaped his attention. The Presbyterian-sponsored college nearby at Princetown resorted more than once to this method of raising money, while other lottery schemes originated in Trenton, Elizabethtown, New Brunswick, Burlington and Bordentown, as well as in Philadelphia and New York. At Amwell, Hunterdon County, the sum of 630 pounds was sought in 1748 through a lottery to provide a Presbyterian meeting house and parsonage. In that lottery, 5,600 tickets were offered at fifteen shillings each, with 1,430 prizes topped by an award of one hundred pounds.

The Amwell lottery was one of several permitted to run to its conclusion in May, 1749, despite the Act passed late in 1748 by the Provincial Assembly banning lotteries. The lotteries had become so numerous and competitive that the "New York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy," commented in its issue of February 20th, 1749, that the lotteries were "like cabbages too thick-planted, which never suffer one another to come to a head." The newspaper urged that the

lottery promoters "give place to one another a while" so that each might run its course and all be satisfied. Again and again, the managers of lotteries were compelled to postpone the final drawings of the names of the winning "adventurers." The sale of tickets often lagged and the delays ran for a year or more in some cases. The winners occasionally had to be notified through the public prints, after the drawing finally had been staged, that they should not be in a hurry in demanding their prizes. The explanation given was that a lapse of a few weeks would enable the managers to receive remittances for all the tickets sent to distant places.

While public opinion was divided concerning the wisdom of permitting lotteries, they enjoyed a vogue that cannot be denied. "Adventurers" were numerous. Big winnings, made possible by a small expenditure, had a tremendous appeal.

Meanwhile, debates on the subject continued in the columns of the weekly newspapers. The arguments for and against lotteries repeat themselves in every generation. The views expressed in the Pennsylvania Journal in February, 1759, for example, ring true with present-day disputes on the same question. "Pennsylvanicus" declared that lotteries will "ruin the credit of the province, weaken its power of defence, and involve you in inexpressible miseries." He added that the government in New Jersey had branded lotteries as ruinous "to the credit of the colony, a hindrance to trade and industry,

a great temptation to idleness and immorality, and consequently against the common good, welfare and peace of His Majesty's government." A contrary opinion was aired, however, by his critic who asked: "Is the use of lots forbidden by God in Scripture? By no means, he ordered his chosen tribes to use them in the division of their inheritance. Are they contrary to the Christian revelation? So far from it, that we know they were used by the apostles themselves."

Although history reveals countless lottery promotions of one sort or another, Eaton had thought it through for himself and taken his stand. No doubt he had read that during the Roman feast of Saturn held in mid-December, lots were drawn in awarding prizes. Wealthy Romans amused their guests by similar plans. Some of the Emperors used houses and slaves as prizes. Venice operated a lottery as a monopoly to provide revenue. Before long, religious communities in France turned to the same method to the end that charity might be aided. England gave governmental approval to various lotteries in order that harbors might be kept navigable, or funds raised by the Virginia Company as in 1612. However, England banned lotteries in 1696 on the ground that they were a "common nuisance, by which children, servants and other unwary persons had been ruined." Yet in 1709, the government itself turned to a lottery to garner the wherewithal to maintain itself, with the practice continuing for the next hundred years.

In the colonies, the spirit of adventure undoubtedly

outweighed the spirit of charity as far as the buyers of lottery tickets were concerned. The chief prize frequently was five hundred pounds, although once in a while as low as one hundred pounds. The average lottery provided from five hundred to three thousand prizes, with tickets usually selling at twelve to fifteen shillings each. Nevertheless, the promoters in voicing a pious appeal as a basis for their activity, always gave great stress to the charity angle, and even more heavily after the General Assembly in 1748 had banned lotteries. But infringements of the law began to arise immediately and various stratagems were employed to surround the enterprises with an air of sanctity.

The Act adopted by the General Assembly in session at Perth Amboy on December 16, 1748, was clear-cut as far as its intent was concerned, and the fact that it was approved would indicate that there was a considerable body of sentiment influencing the legislative body. The preamble reads:

"Whereas Lotteries, playing Cards and Dice, and other Gaming for lucre of Gain are becoming of late, frequent and common within this Colony, whereby many Persons have unjustly gained to themselves great Sums of Money from unwary Persons, as well as Children and Servants, tending to the manifest Corruption of Youth, and the ruin and impoverishment of many poor Families.

"And, whereas such pernicious Practices and desire of unlawful Gain, may not only give frequent Opportunities to evil minded Persons, to cheat and defraud divers of

the honest Inhabitants of this Colony, but may in Time (if not prevented) ruin the Credit thereof, and be a hindrance to trade and Industry, and a great Temptation to Vice, Idleness and Immorality, and consequently against the common Good, Welfare and Peace of his Majesty's Government.

"Wherefore We, the House of Representatives, being very desirous to remedy such growing Evils, and to prevent such mischievous Practices, for the future, do pray that it may be enacted."

The Act permitted any person or persons to sue for and recover the penalties of five hundred pounds Proclamation Money for every offense involving the erection or setting up of a lottery, and one hundred pounds for "every person or persons buying or selling tickets in such lottery, or aiding, assisting, or anyways concerned in the management, conducting or carrying on of such Lottery or Lotterig."

The absence of any public official charged with the duty of enforcing the law by suing for the penalties when violations were known to exist may account for the practice of winking at the prohibition. Furthermore, the names of prominent citizens often were associated with the management of a lottery. Thus, in one of the lotteries for the benefit of the New Jersey College, the newspaper notice named the Honorable John Hart, Hopewell's most widely known resident, as one from whom the lottery tickets were available. This was a form of strategy

regularly employed after the 1748 Act was placed on the statute books, for if the best-known men in the Province were closely associated with the design, there was little likelihood that steps would be taken to exact penalties for violations of the law.

Needless to say, a desire to gamble for big or attractive stakes could not be wiped out with a stroke of the pen. That had been evidenced in the years following 1730 when an earlier ban had been attempted through an act aimed at lotteries and raffling. At that time, it also had been contended that lotteries had "given opportunity to ill-minded persons to cheat and defraud divers of the honest inhabitants of the province." Lotteries had been described as disposing of "goods, wares and merchandise." In order to get around the law, it was argued that prize-money lotteries were not included in the prohibitive legislation and therefore they could be operated with impunity.

At least ten lotteries were in progress in the Province in 1748 when Isaac Eaton assumed his pastorate at Hopewell and took up permanent residence in New Jersey. While most of the schemes were designed to raise money to build churches or to assist the College of New Jersey, some were staged to provide funds to settle the debts of persons held in jail in default. Occasionally, an individual promoted a lottery to dispose of holdings in real estate, or articles imported from Britain.

In addition to the Amwell Lottery initiated in September, 1748, others offered an "adventurer" a wide choice. He could,

if he wished, assist those who were raising 225 pounds to provide a brick steeple to "the church" at Burlington (now St. Mary's Episcopal Church), tickets being available at twelve shillings each with a chance at one of 617 prizes out of 2,500 tickets placed on sale. Then there was the "Elizabeth-town Lottery," begun in April, 1748, to build a parsonage house, as well as the Elizabeth-Town Raway (Rahway) Lottery, drawn in August, 1748, to build a parsonage-house at the latter place.

Still another having its origin in the Elizabeth-town area was begun in August, 1748, to build a parsonage-house at Turkey, now New Providence. Because of the over-abundance of lotteries, the drawing was deferred from November 1st, 1748, until the same date in the following year. The managers "had thought of dropping it," but decided to proceed, "it being the last likely to be in these parts." The drawing was next put over to January 1st, 1750, then to February 13th. The printer of the New York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy admitted in his issue of February 12th that even he was baffled. On the 12th he had word from some of the managers that the drawing should be laid over to the 15th, which he did by giving public notice. However, others in the group of managers decided it should be drawn on the 13th and sent an order countermanding the postponement, and they went ahead.

Other lotteries included one at Hanover (New Jersey) in 1748-49 to buy a parsonage house and land, in which a year's delay occurred "by reason of the several other lotteries."

Winners, announced in November, 1749, were informed that "As many of the tickets have been trusted out, the managers desire those who are fortunate not to call for their money till the beginning of January." An individual, Johannes Ten Brook, sponsored a Raritan Landing Lottery (in Piscataway) in October, 1748, with a lot, one hundred feet square, and a house and storehouse as first prize; a dwelling house and garden as second prize, a new storehouse and barn and ground for a dwelling as third prize, and with 397 additional prizes of cash. Ten Brook also had to postpone the drawing of winners, "by reason of several other lotteries on foot before that." Awards were announced in June, 1749. He pleaded with the "possessors of the benefit tickets . . . not to call for their money before the 25th day of July by reason of one of the managers is under a necessity to leave home, and the others busy in harvest, and the money not yet collected."

Peter Bodine, also a land-owner, set in motion another lottery at Raritan Landing, advertising it in November, 1748. He asserted that it "must be at least as advantageous as any that has yet appeared; first, because the lowest prize will be worth at least four pounds, and so gradually ascend to 250 pounds"; and "because lots must increase in value very fast, as being situate in the most flourishing part of the Province, and surrounded by a very fruitful, well-settled and fast-growing country, to which the land is the most natural, easy and best market." Bodine offered numerous lots,

about three-quarters of an acre in each, on a main road, two having improvements "such as houses, storehouses, gardens and other out houses." He offered 930 tickets with 195 winners, the chances costing twenty-eight shillings each. When the winners were named in August, 1749, they learned that they were expected to pay for their deeds "at a reasonable rate."

Two New Brunswick lotteries fell into competition during 1748-49, one being public in character and the other private. In order to complete a church and build a parsonage, lottery tickets were printed with 100 pounds offered to the winner of first prize. It was advertised on August 4th but a lottery to aid Peter Cochran, who had been held in jail for five years in default of the payment of his debts, was announced about the same time. The final drawing of the church lottery was "postponed a little" as a result and was held in April, 1749, instead of October, 1748. The Peter Cochran lottery did not have smooth sailing either. It was launched with high hopes. Stating that Cochran had a growing family and no probable relief from his indebtedness, his friends made 3,000 tickets available at fifteen shillings each. There were to be 610 prizes, with 100 pounds as the highest award. The sponsors planned to deduct fifteen percent. from the expected income of 2,250 pounds to satisfy Cochran's creditors. The public was informed that the drawing would be held September 26, 1748. Delays occurred, however, and it was February, 1749, before the winners were declared. Meanwhile, the sponsors had

been obliged to make public refutation of certain accusations. "Some enemies of the Lottery scheme," it appears, were "industrious to propagate and spread a report far and near . . . to the great prejudice of said Lottery, as if he had sufficient means within himself wherewith to satisfy his creditors, if he was so minded; and that even his creditors offered him, to take up with all he had." To counteract this assertion, a deposition was published stating that Cochran's creditors, residing in New York, had refused to accept his effects, although offering to take the sum in cash at which he valued his effects.

After the 1748 ban on lotteries was placed upon the statute books, new devices had to be employed. The public still liked the speculation as an outlet for some of its gambling fever. Direct appeals for donations for any cause could not hope to accomplish in the way of returns what a well-managed lottery would yield. So it remained to find a convenient loophole in the 1748 statute.

It appears that the New Jersey College at Princeton was the first to hit upon a plan. It was simple enough. The lottery would be drawn in Philadelphia, outside the borders of the Province of New Jersey. It was termed the "Philadelphia Lottery" from the outset. Announcements concerning it appeared on December 12th, 1749, stating that the grand prize would be five hundred pounds; a total of 2,152 prizes were to be available out of 8,000 tickets marketed at thirty shillings each. The sponsors cloaked their efforts with a high-sounding call

to all "who wish well to the education of the rising generation which is to furnish the Youth with all useful learning, and at the same time to instil into their minds, the principles of morality and piety." Benjamin Franklin's shop printed the tickets and they soon appeared for sale not only in Philadelphia and New Jersey but in Massachusetts and Virginia. Apparently the college trustees saw no conflict between the lottery plan and the rules of the College forbidding students from participating in "cards or dice or any other unlawful games." However, the "Old Side" Presbyterians carried a protest to the Governor of Pennsylvania. They insisted that the managers of the lottery be sued. As a result of the charge that the lottery was illegal, the sale of tickets fell off somewhat. The managers were fined one hundred pounds. The drawing of winning numbers was held May 28th, 1750, with a considerable income netted for the College.

Others seized upon the scheme to shift the locale of the sponsorship geographically. A so-called "Trenton Lottery" to complete what is now St. Michael's Episcopal Church on North Warren Street was to be drawn in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, across the Delaware River from the "Falls of the Delaware" (Trenton). This was announced in June, 1751, with September 2nd as the date for the final drawing. However, sales must have been desultory as it was deferred to February, 1752, and again to April 27th. In February, the explanation given was that the winners could not be selected at the place indicated

due to the severity of the season," and the "fluctuating condition the ice was in," making it impracticable to cross the river to the Pennsylvania side, and due to the failure to "get account of the tickets sold."

Suddenly, small islands in the Delaware adjacent to the "Falls" and Bordentown came into the limelight for the same reason. In 1753, despite the law to the contrary, a "Delaware Island Lottery" was undertaken, to provide an English Grammar School in Trenton, and to pay "a master to teach such children whose parents are unable to pay for schooling." Subsequently it was erected on a portion of the present-day site of the First Presbyterian Church on East State Street. It was stressed that it was being sponsored by "some of the principal families in and about Trenton," who apparently had no qualms about it as long as the drawing was held on Fish Island, in the Delaware.

The trustees of New Jersey College looked to the Colony of Connecticut and its General Court or Assembly for legal backing of a lottery for the school's benefit in 1753. They requested and obtained a legislative act to permit a lottery. The final drawing was to be held at Stamford, Connecticut, in June, 1754, although it was deferred until September 2nd. Tickets flooded the Province of New Jersey. They were cut on the left side in such a manner that any unauthorized printing of tickets would be detected when the indenture of the ticket was matched against the uneven pattern of the ticket stub

retained by the seller. A total of 8,888 tickets were available, with 3,088 prizes starting at 501 pounds, with two others at 250 pounds each. Tickets sold at thirty shillings each, having a total value of 13,932 pounds, from which fifteen per cent. was to be deducted to cover expenses and yield a profit for the cause.

Few lotteries were described more effusively. The newspaper notices stated that "as publick seminaries of learning not only tend to promote the private welfare of the communities in which they are founded, but to advance the honor, the reputation, and the happiness of a country in general," it was hoped that all those who would encourage the progress of the liberal sciences, and are well-wishers to the propagation of Christianity in these parts of the world, will cheerfully become adventurers here; and the more freely, considering the above scheme is so well calculated for the benefit of the proprietors of tickets, as not to have two blanks to a prize." Named to handle tickets were residents of Elizabeth-town, Trenton, New Brunswick, Prince-town, Kingwood, Bordentown, as well as the Treasurer of the College, then located in Newark.

Biles Island, in the Delaware near Bordentown, also was favored for lottery drawings--if sponsors actually did go to the trouble of completing their activity there. The Bordentown Church set out in June, 1754, to raise funds to complete a church edifice, after "well-meaning inhabitants" had undertaken to build it, only to "become considerably in debt." "For their relief and finishing the said building," four thousand tickets were placed at public disposal with the first prize

to be 250 pieces-of-eight. It was to be drawn in August, 1754, but newspaper accounts indicate that it was deferred and the plan altered to include ten additional prizes, with new managers named. A notice appearing on March 10th, 1755, restated the designs, the site for the drawing and gave the second Tuesday in April for the drawing. Actually, it was completed on May 12th.

The lawmakers of the Province undermined the ban on lotteries completely in 1759 when they resorted to a lottery to make cash available for the purchase of certain lands from the Indians. Tickets moved slowly, however. Then one of the managers died and the plan was halted. The General Assembly set it in motion anew in 1761, exchanging tickets from the old lottery for the new. They urged citizens to buy "when it is rightly considered how much Christian blood this purchase (of land from the Indians) probably saved, as the massacres so frequent till that time." There were 740 prizes among the 3,200 tickets, two first prizes of 800 pounds each. This drawing was held in August, 1761.

With a "hands-off" policy thus publicly avowed in 1759, lotteries began to crop up almost as persistently as during the lush period of 1748-49. Churches in Elizabeth-town, Newark, New Brunswick, Parsippany and Bound Brook had plans afoot. At the first-named place, there were tickets "to be had of Rev. Mr. Chandler," the newspaper announced. The New Brunswick plan, evidently to make certain that complications were avoided, specified "Biles Island, off Trenton," for the drawing. The

notices stated that the solicitation was "in emulation of many of their pious neighbors in this and the adjacent provinces." It was also emphasized that the attempt by the managers "will not be thought singular," the managers hoping that "as it is wholly for the promotion and honor of religion that it will meet with such encouragement as will enable them to effect their purpose."

New legislation to tighten up on lotteries--ostensibly--was enacted in 1760. It was aimed at the sale of tickets in lotteries erected outside the Province. However, it contained conflicting provisions as to general policy, for it revived three public lotteries at the same time that this law was enacted "to prevent the sale of tickets in lotteries . . . and more effectually to prevent gaming."

On the heels of this legislation, the Sandy Hook lottery to erect a lighthouse was authorized--but by the Colony of New York. Since the safety of New York harbor would be enhanced by this project, New York had a legitimate interest even though the lighthouse was to be erected in New Jersey. Three thousand pounds was to be raised, tickets selling at forty shillings each. The sale was brisk and instead of waiting until November 2nd for the final drawing, it was staged on September 21st. Thus encouraged, another lottery with the same purpose in mind was held in 1763.

Again, the College of New Jersey was in the forefront with a lottery, but this one had authorization from the

Provincial Council. It was proposed that 3,000 pounds be raised in 1764. The appeal was directed to "all those who wish well to the institution, or who are desirous of promoting useful knowledge in these infant countries, and preparing our own youth to sustain the publick offices in church and State." It provided 13,333 tickets at thirty shillings each, with a first prize of one thousand pounds; another prize of 750 pounds, one of 500 pounds, as well as lesser sums. It was to be drawn at Nassau-Hall, in Princeton, on April 4th, 1764, but was delayed to May 7th. The managers then asked the winners to "forebear calling on them for a few weeks, as the most considerable part of the tickets were disposed of upon credit."

Nine years later, the College again netted a considerable sum through a lottery designed to raise 5,626 pounds. The Presbyterian congregations in Princeton, as well as New Castle and Christian Bridge, Delaware, were associated in the design.

The government sought again in March, 1774, to tighten up the lottery laws and still further in February, 1797.

Thus it was demonstrated that the public mind was tolerant, even cordial, toward lotteries during the years when Isaac Eaton was promoting his Academy. If he had desired rapid expansion or sudden success, the means lay at hand. But Eaton left lotteries frigidly alone. It may be that Samuel Jones, as a youthful investor in the Philadelphia and Reading lotteries, wished he had done the same.

Samuel's opportunity to purchase lottery tickets occurred during a visit to Philadelphia in March, 1757, prior to his admission to Hopewell Academy as a student. His father had a quantity of possum and coon skins to deliver to the currier in Philadelphia, and Mrs. Jones wanted to dispose of a bag of linen rags. The pair crossed the ice-locked Schuylkill River upon their sledge, loaded with the skins and rags. Reaching Philadelphia, they obtained lodging at a tavern near Fourth and Market Streets, where Samuel heard a conversation about "a Lottery for the College," meaning, of course, the recently-organized College of Philadelphia. He probably discussed the lottery further when they visited the "New Printing Office" and sold the rags, as lottery tickets were procurable at the newspaper offices. It may be that his interest was further aroused by the keen desire to attend school or college, this being accentuated by visits at the home of Benjamin Franklin, Ebenezer Kinnersley as well as the Rev. William Smith, D.D., Provost of the College of Philadelphia.

While at tea in Kinnersley's home, Samuel found occasion to ask a question or two concerning the proposed College lottery. He was informed that the funds would be used to recondition the buildings and the fence. Samuel quickly came to a decision. At the New Printing Office, he made inquiry about tickets. He was informed that they were not ready. Thereupon, he arranged with a Mr. Hall to have two tickets

purchased in Samuel's name. He paid for them, indicating that he wanted tickets numbered 1417 and 1137. Samuel stipulated that his purchase must not be mentioned to his father, if the latter should drop into the office again.

Sam had to tell someone about his gamble. The venture was not the sort of thing that one could remain silent about indefinitely. When he reached home, he confided to his brothers, Griff and Tom. He offered to take them in as co-investors. They told him bluntly that they were afraid of the consequences when their Father learned about it.

His own misgivings growing stronger, Samuel wrote in his diary that he felt "uneasy" and "am afraid I did wrong. I ought to have consulted Father." But within a week he had a complete reversal of attitude. For the comment he obtained from his Father relieved his own feelings somewhat. In the Pennsylvania Gazette there appeared a notice that a lottery for a Free School at Reading was to be undertaken. With some hesitation, Samuel spoke to his Father about it. The elder Jones thought that Sam's question concerned chiefly the need for the school and he agreed that it was a step in the right direction. As for the lottery, he commented that "there were many worse ways than that to raise money."

Samuel accepted that statement as implying consent to a further investment in lottery tickets. With his brothers, he discussed it pro and con, but regardless of the views expressed, Samuel was determined to see what Fate had in store

for him. When qualms of conscience arose, he sought to quiet them by reminding himself that he was merely seeking sufficient funds to obtain an education.

Borrowing money from Freddy, a Dutch boy hired by the Jones' family to do odd jobs about the house and farm, Samuel set out for Reading with Tom and Griff as companions. There on March 25th, Samuel obtained two lottery tickets. One was numbered 15, the other 1427. Like most gamblers, he had a "system" which he felt would pay off. He preferred--as tickets numbered 15 and 1427 showed--two numbers that, added together, always have the last figures double the first, or higher. Thus the addition of 15 and 1427 totaled 1442, with the 42 more than double the 14. Likewise, his College lottery tickets, 1137 and 1417, totaled 2554, giving 54 as the last two figures which more than doubled the first two figures, 25. In both instances, the middle numbers, 55 and 44, were repeaters, and that also was presumed to exert a special influence.

The weeks went by and early in July Mr. Kinnersley came from Philadelphia to visit the Jones household. Through him, Samuel learned that the drawing of the College Lottery had been postponed to September. By this time, Sam was feeling more at ease. Two weeks later he had an opportunity to check up on the Reading Lottery. Carrying a letter from his father to Conrad Weiser, noted Indian trader and interpreter, Samuel made on-the-scene inquiries. Mr. Weiser, somewhat surprised

when Samuel mentioned that he had tickets in the College Lottery--evidently Samuel thought it prudent to be non-committal about the Reading Lottery--cautioned that lotteries were a hazard and it would be foolhardy to "give way" to the buying of tickets. Again, Samuel was perplexed. "It is the first time I have ever indulged in such a venture and it shall be the last," he promised in his diary, adding that "there is a fascination about it which fills my thoughts when asleep." He added that it had grown upon him and preyed upon his thoughts to such an extent that when he attended services in the Meeting House, he often saw the figures of his College Lottery tickets--1137 and 1417--written on the wall behind his Father while the latter was preaching.

That thought molested him day after day--had he done wrong, or was it a mere diversion with no serious consequences? Then on August 7th his Father preached from the text, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Searching for the true meaning of the words from the sixth chapter of Matthews, 24th verse, the elder Jones portrayed the horrible perplexity of a man who found himself enmeshed with the pleasures and riches of the world when he wished to serve God wholeheartedly. That set Samuel to thinking about his Reading Lottery tickets. In his diary, he wrote: "I now see how my heart wanders and I greatly dread lest I may become a castaway. O Lord help me, or I perish." At the dinner table, after church, he could not eat and wandered to the meadow where he remained in deep thought for some time.

Another errand took Samuel and his brothers to Reading on August 11th. They visited Mr. Weiser's home again. Samuel phrased a question about the progress of the Free School Lottery. Immediately, young Fred Weiser produced the previous week's issue of the Pennsylvania Gazette and pointed to the list of prize winners. Samuel gazed at the list, searching for 1137 and 1417. Numbers fairly danced in and out of their places under the stress of the moment.

"There it is--there's 1137," Samuel exclaimed, pointing to a line in the newspaper.

"You win a prize?" Fred shouted.

"I sure do--and there's 1417, too," Samuel replied.

"Both tickets were lucky numbers! Now I'll have money to go to school for sure!"

Mr. Weiser showed only mild interest. He commented that "buying lottery tickets is like drinking rum, it only makes you want more." But Samuel felt that he was an exception to the rule, "for I know there is a risk and I may lose all I put in." Anxiously, he nursed the hope that his tickets in the College of Philadelphia gamble would work out equally well.

Affairs remained in that status when he went to Reading again on September 5th to obtain a saddle-bag for his trip by horseback to the Hopewell Academy. Mr. Weiser greeted him with a hearty handshake, then reached for the Gazette of September 1st. Apparently Fred Weiser had told of Samuel's tickets and had remembered the numbers, for Mr. Weiser had marked the numbers in the paper. The ticket numbered 1417

was drawn for a prize of ten pieces-of-eight (a Spanish coin then valued in English currency at four shillings, three pence). But there was more than that! His other ticket, bearing the number 1137, had drawn a prize of two hundred pieces-of-eight, equal to sixty-three pounds, fifteen shillings!

Overcome with joy, Sam sank down weakly. Amidst the excitement, there came racing this thought:

"What will Father say when I tell him this news?"

Yet there was the satisfaction that the prizes would clear the way for a regular college course in the College of Philadelphia, as well as the schooling at Isaac Eaton's Academy. Upon reaching home, Samuel told his mother first about his good luck. His Father came upon the scene and Samuel immediately revealed all that had happened. Anxiously he waited for his Father's reaction. Samuel stressed that he was motivated solely by the desire to pay his own way, if possible, while in school. The mental storm through which Mr. Jones passed was apparent from the way he closed and opened his hands, as well as from the darkened furrows on his brow, suddenly compressed. Finally, in a voice that trembled, he said:

"Son, let this be the last time you try to make money in a lottery."

Samuel assured him that these tickets definitely were his last.

Chapter XI

Students of Hopewell Academy were always eager to inspect the campus of the College at Princetown (Princeton), where the Presbyterian venture into the realm of higher education was challenging wide attention. Known at that time as the College of New Jersey, the institution had been moved down from Newark in 1756. Then only nine years old, the College had moved its meagre equipment, faculty and student body to a new site in the hope that the dream of the New Side group in the Presbyterian denomination for a powerful institution of higher learning might be realized.

Soon after the Hopewell Academy students arrived in Hopewell each Fall to begin or renew their studies with Reverend Isaac Eaton, plans would be made for a journey on foot across the rolling countryside in order to view the Presbyterian institution at first hand. Perhaps it was sheer curiosity that prompted some of Eaton's students to participate in such a trip, or it may have been a spirit of rivalry or jealousy. In some instances, students of the Academy were eager to survey what the College had to offer with a view to enrollment later in order to qualify for a college degree. An element of school rivalry also prevailed, however, as in every

generation when students bodies are not far separated.

The College of New Jersey had excited interest that far transcended the curiosity of the Hopewell Academy students, however. From the standpoint of architecture alone, the new college prompted numerous travelers between New York and Philadelphia to interrupt their journey in order to observe and inspect the new structure. This building, already named "Nassau Hall," was regarded as a jewel among college buildings and colonial structures in general. It was accepted as eclipsing the best that Harvard, Yale, the College of William and Mary, as well as the new College of Philadelphia (the beginnings of the University of Pennsylvania) had to offer.

As a college, the new institution at Princetown also commanded respect because numerous men of prominence in the civil and religious life of the colonies were active in furthering its interests. Born out of a controversy that had existed for more than a decade within the unhappy Presbyterian denomination, the College represented the major achievement of the "New Side" faction who were intent upon providing adequate schooling for ministerial candidates under favorable conditions. Hence it was a college supported by a strong faction, opposed by other powerful groups, while captivating the interest of those who were not a party to the dispute.

An understanding of the make-up of the Presbyterian denomination at this period is essential if the genesis of the College of New Jersey is to be understood and placed in its

proper historic position. The Presbyterian fold was comprised of two groups, the Scotch-Irish and the New England Congregational. From the north of Ireland, a continuous stream of Presbyterians had been flowing into the Middle Colonies. They far outnumbered the former Congregationalists from Massachusetts and Connecticut who were moving into Northern New Jersey. These two groups represented different schools of thought in respect to ecclesiastical authority, standards as to candidates for the ministry, as well as in their attitude toward evangelical, crusading religion as exemplified by George Whitefield. Those who came from the New England area had been accustomed to regarding their church-congregation as a political and religious power in itself, and while swinging over to the Westminster Confession, they did not give up their claim to a measure of congregational independence. They anticipated that the more liberal policy adopted in 1706 would continue to prevail in the denomination, and that they could get along satisfactorily with the Scotch-Irish group. The latter body had marked strength in the Synod of Philadelphia. The Scotch-Irish clung to the belief that "the individual be obedient to the congregation, the congregation to the presbytery, the presbytery to the synod, and the synod to the church general assembly." (Wertebaker)

A dispute developed that went deep into the roots of Presbyterian belief in respect to the standards to be enforced in licensing and ordaining ministerial candidates.

Generally, the Presbyterians had a high regard for education and believed in a trained ministry. Most of their ministers had been educated in European universities, or at Harvard or Yale. Both of these New England institutions were Congregational, and had come to be regarded with suspicion by some leading figures among the Presbyterians who declared that liberal views were in the ascendancy and were undermining earlier standards.

The Scotch-Irish conservatives believed that adequate protection could be assured by compelling each ministerial candidate to pledge adherence to the Westminster Confession. This would place control to a considerable extent within each presbytery. However, it was a departure in some degree from the liberalizing view taken in 1706. Consequently, the New England group which now looked to Jonathan Dickinson for leadership, succeeded in forcing approval of a compromise, known as the Adopting Act of 1729. While each candidate for the ministry must declare that he accepted the Westminster Confession "in all the essential and necessary articles," a loophole was provided if he found he was not in accord with any article therein. His exceptions were to be reported to his presbytery by whom it would be determined whether an essential point was involved. It remained for time to reveal whether this procedure would provide a sufficient measure of supervision to keep out those who might bring ill-repute to the ministry, while satisfying the views of the two factions.

Where was a young man to be trained for the ministry, if Harvard and Yale were too liberal and the College of William and Mary unacceptable to Presbyterians because of its Anglican position? A partial answer soon was forthcoming from a little school established by William Tennent, Sr. about 1735 at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania. He had four sons of his own that he wishes to prepare for the ministry. Because of their needs, he organized a school that attracted others. In derision of its humbleness and plainness, its critics labeled it the "Log College," yet its influence became so far-reaching that it figured prominently in the schism that cleft the Presbyterian denomination in 1741 and left it divided for the next seventeen years.

What did Tennent have to offer to his growing student body, now attracting not only the promising sons of his neighbors but others from considerable distances? Before coming to America about 1716, Tennent had studied at Trinity College in Dublin and had received holy orders as a priest of the Episcopal Church of Ireland in 1706. His wife, Catherine Kennedy, was the daughter of a Presbyterian minister. Under her persuasive influence, Tennent decided to abandon the Episcopal faith. He was accepted by the Synod of Philadelphia as satisfying the requirements to serve as a Presbyterian minister. In 1721, he took a church at Bensalem, Pennsylvania, and five years later assumed similar duties at Neshaminy where he remained until his death in 1746.

Tennent loved to teach as well as preach. He spoke and wrote Latin with ease. But he was virtually unassisted in his school venture, and lacked an adequate library as well as instruments needed if any scientific training was to be provided. Under such circumstances, would the Presbyterian denomination, expressing itself through the acts of its four presbyteries, yield sufficiently to accept students who had completed the courses that Tennent had to offer? Were these students equally qualified with graduates of long-established universities? Undoubtedly not, for the "Log College" at best could only offer pre-college studies. Yet a considerable party had developed within the Presbyterian denomination comprised of those who argued that inspired preaching, based on deep, personal religious experience, when coupled with right living and zeal in the spreading of the gospel message, had equal or greater weight than some of the training offered in the long-established colleges. And if a young man had limited means to pay for college tuition and the cost of traveling to these institutions, was he to be barred completely from carrying out his aspirations if he chose to take advantage of what William Tennent and the "Log College" had to offer?

The Great Awakening kindled fresh fires of controversy in the Presbyterian as well as other denominations. The doctrines preached by George Whitefield were hotly debated. Beyond that, his practice of being constantly on the move to reach thousands of eager listeners was being duplicated by

other traveling ministers and existing churches resented such intrusions. Audiences did not stop to ask a man to produce his educational credentials. If he had a vital message, as they understood it, they were ready to hear him expound. Under such circumstances, events moved rapidly toward a showdown on the matter of an educated ministry and the standards to be followed.

William Tennent's school and its graduates became the target for those who said that ministerial candidates must come fully prepared through education at a recognized college. To curb Tennent's "upstarts," a majority in the Synod of Philadelphia adopted a regulation in 1738 providing that if a man lacked a diploma from a recognized college (Harvard, Yale or an European university), he might obtain a certificate of approval from the Synod--if and when he satisfied its committee of inquiry. This certificate could then be presented to his presbytery, who in turn could question a candidate and proceed to ordain in the usual manner. There was no mistaking the effect of this regulation. The "Log College" graduates could not hope to win approval. They were to be held off as effectively as if Tennent's school never existed.

John ("Hell-fire") Rowland became a key figure in the controversy. He had studied at the "Log College" and sought a license to preach from the New Brunswick Presbytery at its first session on September 7th, 1738. His services were being sought by the evangelical faction into two small Presbyterian

churches located at Queenstown (later known as Pennington) and Maidenhead (present-day Lawrenceville) in the central part of New Jersey. Rowland was duly licensed and urged to accept the call from these two churches.

Since the churches, referred to at the time as the "churches of Hopewell and Maidenhead," were a part of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the latter issued a call for a special meeting to ascertain why these churches were seeking a minister who had not obtained a certificate of approval from the higher body, the Synod of Philadelphia. The meeting was held on September 19th, 1738. A split had occurred in these two churches of Hopewell and Maidenhead, with conservatives ranked against the liberal, evangelical group. Unfortunately, the former pastor, Reverend Joseph Morgan, was not as conservative in respect to drinking as he was in matters of religion, and he had been suspended by the Synod. The conservative group called Reverend John Guild in 1739 to be their settled pastor after he had acted as minister there for two years. He delayed his acceptance, hoping the factions could be drawn together. While his hopes in that respect were in vain, he was ordained on November 11th, 1741, and continued as pastor to 1785, giving assistance to the group at Maidenhead for many years.

In due course, the Philadelphia Presbytery held in respect to Rowland that "they can't accept of Mr. Rowland as an orderly licensed preacher, nor approve of his preaching any more among said people of Hopewell and Maidenhead, or

in any other of the vacancies within our bounds." "Hell-fire" Rowland went right on preaching on "heart religion" for his groups in the two churches and earned the nickname with which his opponents labeled him. Although these groups met in barns for a time, Rowland exerted wide influence and the churches experienced remarkable growth during his four-year stay, despite a series of incidents that would have undermined and destroyed the usefulness of the average man. Eventually, his group obtained the use of the Maidenhead meeting-house, while another was built at Hopewell (Pennington) some time shortly before 1744.

The Philadelphia Synod could not ignore the defiant attitude assumed by the two congregations as well as the New Brunswick Presbytery in licensing Rowland. It criticized the Presbytery in blunt fashion.

Serious charges involving alleged horse-stealing and robbery developed against Rowland about this time. Whether the complaints were inspired through vindictiveness connected with his part in the denominational controversy remains undetermined but it would be easy to draw that conclusion. Rowland had gone to Maryland to preach. In his absence, a man of easy conscience, Tom Bell, was in New Jersey. He was surprised to hear himself being greeted as "Mr. Rowland." That gave Bell an idea. He impersonated Rowland. When ready to depart for places unknown, he stole a horse and other valuables. The crimes were attributed to the Presbyterian preacher and he was compelled to stand trial. At the hearing,

Rowland explained that he had been in Maryland at the time. Reverend William Tennent and two other witnesses gave supporting testimony and the minister was cleared of the charge. But his difficulties were not over. New accusations were pressed, this time against Tennent and the other witnesses. When these cases were heard, one of the witnesses so charged was held to be guilty and penalized.

The final breach between the factions within the denomination came in 1741 when Rowland applied to the Presbytery of New Brunswick for ordination. If the rule of the Synod of Philadelphia was to be respected and obeyed, he owed a duty to appear before its authorized committee and satisfy its requirements. The New Brunswick Presbytery, guided by Samuel Blair and Gilbert Tennent, the latter one of the sons of the founder of the "Log College," maintained that the Presbytery had never surrendered the constitutional right to decide who should be ordained. If the Synod contended that it was superior in this matter, the opponents insisted that it was guilty of an usurpation of power. Rowland was examined by the New Brunswick Presbytery, then consisting of less than half a dozen ministerial members, and ordained. He never became the settled pastor of the New Side church at Maidenhead and Hopewell (Pennington), although remaining there for a considerable time.

The Synod took up this challenge of its authority in June, 1741. It branded the New Brunswick Presbytery as "contumacious." A test question followed and the adherents

of the New Brunswick Presbytery, finding themselves outnumbered and outvoted, left the Synod session. The Presbytery was considered expelled although no formal vote was taken because of the disorder prevailing among delegates and spectators at this history-making session. But the Presbytery, while unattached, had its friends. The Presbytery of New York lodged a protest, but this went for naught, whereupon this Presbytery voted itself out of the Synod. Before long, the Synod of New York was created under "New Side" leadership and took in the newly formed New Castle, Delaware, Presbytery, along with those of New Brunswick and New York. The breach had developed into a complete break. Thereafter, the Philadelphia group was known as the "Old Side" adherents, while the New York Synod, along with leaders such as the Tennents, Rowland and others were the "New Siders."

While the "New Siders" declared that the "Log College" had done an excellent pioneering job as a theological seminary, it was obvious that something more must be done to meet the greater educational demands of the future. The elder Tennent was nearly eighty years of age and his "Log College" had neither the physical layout or the teaching staff to carry on. Shortly before his death in 1746 at the age of eighty-three, his school had passed out of existence.

Obviously, the "New Side" group must find a way to develop worthy men to fill the repeated calls for qualified ministers. A new college in which their party would have the dominant voice was the only logical step. Hence, Jonathan

Dickinson, Aaron Burr, Ebenezer Pemberton and John Pierson, together with three laymen, began to shape plans. Dickinson was pastor of the Presbyterian church at Elizabethtown. Burr held a like position in Newark. Despite the fact that both were graduates of Yale College, they were completely dissatisfied with their alma mater, the only institution toward which they might have leaned. This was due to a series of unfortunate events involving one of Yale's outstanding students, David Brainerd, in whom Dickinson and Burr held a special interest.

Brainerd was in his third year at Yale when a casual remark by him gave rise to difficulties that were to have far-reaching importance. The college was under the domination of a new Rector, Reverend Thomas Clap, who has been described as "rigid" in his religious views and particularly lacking in tolerance toward the "Great Awakening," its exponents and followers. He had given orders that no student was to attend any of the non-conformist meetings. Despite his warnings, some students attended such meetings in New Haven and others were known to have gone as far as Milford to hear Tennent preach. Brainerd was allied with the group of students who had displayed an uncommon interest in the "Great Awakening."

A question was directed at Brainerd one day in a college hall while two or three students were conversing following prayers conducted by Chauncey Whittelsey, a tutor. The query concerned Brainerd's opinion of Whittelsey's prayers. Brainerd replied frankly. He commented: "I believe he has no more grace

than this chair." A freshman passing by the door of the hall heard the comment and wasted no time in repeating it to others, although he did not know the identity of the person to whom Brainerd had referred. The remarks reached the ears of a woman living in New Haven who saw to it that Rector Clap was informed. That was all that Clap needed to launch a crusade for which he had been itching.

The Rector ordered Brainerd to appear, along with those who had been his companions when the remark was uttered. Clap wheedled the full story out of them and having learned that Whittelsey was the target for the casual remark, demanded that Brainerd make a public apology in the hall before the entire student body. Brainerd refused. At the same time, as if to add weight to the accusations, Brainerd was singled out, despite the absence of direct proof, as being the one who had said that he "wondered he (Rector Clap) did not expect to drop dead for fining the students who followed Mr. Tennent to Milford." The board of governors acted on Clap's advice and expelled Brainerd from the college. This was in February, 1742.

Brainerd had successfully applied to the Presbytery of New York to be taken under its care in furtherance of his desire to become a preacher and work among the American Indians. That plan had developed to the point where the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Scotland, through its Commissioners, had named him as its missionary. Upon learning

of these developments, Rector Clap, without mentioning Brainerd by name, chided the Presbytery of New York for giving such encouragement to a college student who had left the institution while in disgrace.

Obviously, Brainerd's future might be blighted if this censure was not removed. His friends set to work in his behalf. They were convinced that the black mark might be erased if an appeal was made immediately prior to the commencement exercises for the class with whom Brainerd should be graduating. The Commissioners arranged for Reverend Aaron Burr, a member of the Commission and father of the celebrated Aaron Burr, who was born in 1756, to carry an appeal to the college authorities.

Brainerd personally returned to the Yale campus for the class graduation on September 13th, 1743. While there, he wrote an apology directed to the governors of the college and to Whittelsey. He insisted that he had never made any improper remark about the Rector but added that if he had, he "utterly condemned it" as insubordination on the part of an undergraduate. He also asked forgiveness for attending one Separatist meeting. The college authorities, however, were not inclined to retreat to any appreciable extent from their earlier position. They concluded that Brainerd might be permitted to return to the college, now that more than a year had elapsed, and if he conducted himself properly while taking a full year's work, he might earn his degree. Brainerd's missionary commitments did not lend themselves to such a plan

and the commissioners for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, his employers, advised against such an arrangement. Brainerd turned down the college's proposal and resumed his work among the Indians. Ordained by the New York Presbytery in June, 1744, he made a notable record by his work among the Indian tribes and although he died three years later, in October, 1747, his name stands revered to the present day. Yale University, mellowed by time and more forgiving, has included the "David Brainerd House" as one of its dormitories for men in the Sterling Divinity Quadrangle of the Yale Divinity School. Upon it appears the inscription, "David Brainerd, Class of 1743."

The college's rejection of the special appeal in Brainerd's behalf in the Fall of 1743 left only one course open insofar as the members of the New York Presbytery, chiefly Yale graduates, were concerned in respect to training men for the ministry. A college must be set up that would attract and cooperate in the furtherance of such ambitions.

Jonathan Dickinson had been conducting a school on a restricted basis in his own home at Elizabethtown. He agreed to turn it into a college. Eight students enrolled when instruction began in the college in May, 1747. The charter for the college was obtained from Governor John Hamilton in 1746, after his predecessor, Governor Lewis Morris, had declined to grant such authorization. An expanded charter was obtained in 1748 from Governor Jonathan Belcher and this document held out the promise that youth would be instructed

"in the learned languages and in the liberal arts and sciences." It also stressed that "those of every religious denomination may have free and equal liberty and advantages of education in the said college, any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding." Despite this broad appeal, the "New Siders" were expecting few if any of the "Old Side" adherents to enroll in the student body in the immediate future.

Dickinson died five months after the college came into existence. Classes halted abruptly. If the school was to continue, it would be necessary to transfer the students to such place as Dickinson's successor might be available. Leadership was conferred upon Reverend Aaron Burr who was conducting classical studies as a part of his church work at Newark. So the College was transferred to Newark where it remained until plans for a more centralized location had matured.

Governor Belcher's enthusiasm for a college under Presbyterian auspices appears contradictory at first glance. He was serving as Governor through designation by the King of England and would have been expected to show every preference for the Church of England, even though its exponents had never gone so far as to insist upon it being designated as the church to have preeminence in this Province. Belcher's father had been a member of the Royal Council in Massachusetts where Jonathan was born in 1681. The latter attended Harvard College, thus coming under strong Congregational influence.

Later, he studied in Europe for six years and developed friendships with royalty, including Princess Sophia and her son who was to become King George II. Later, Belcher established himself as a Boston merchant, prospering and gaining prominence. He served eight terms as a member of Council and went to England on Provincial business at the request of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1722. Eight years later, the King named him as Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. But difficulties arose and when superseded in the face of efforts to ruin his reputation, Belcher set out for England to justify his actions. He won his case and was sent to New Jersey as Governor when the position became available in 1747.

Because of a strong liking for George Whitefield, the traveling evangelist, Governor Belcher argued his cause at every opportunity in the face of firmly-rooted church groups that frowned on Whitefield and his methods. Belcher also had become an intimate of Gilbert Tennent and frequently attended the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia where Tennent was the minister. At the same time, Belcher let it be known that he considered Burlington, his place of residence, as degenerate in respect to Sunday observance. In his coach-and-four, the Governor drove to Philadelphia on the Sabbath, until he concluded that his "conscientious scruples" would no longer permit such a trip, which he branded as "an apparent desecration of the Sabbath."

In arranging a new charter for the College of New Jersey,

Governor Belcher set out to write into it that the Provincial Governor (himself) and four members of Council should serve as trustees. This device to replace several trustees and concentrate controlⁱⁿ/his grasp caused grave concern for the fate of the College for a time. As a compromise, four Council members were designated as trustees but as individual citizens, not as Provincial representatives. Governor William Franklin, successor to Belcher, and a son of Benjamin Franklin, tried to force home a similar decision, offering some financial encouragement from the Province in return. Franklin's suggestion was riding along smoothly until Reverend William Tennent, Jr., a late-arriving member of the Board of Trustees, heard a fragment of the discussion. Aroused, he exclaimed: "Brethren, are you mad? . . . Rather than accept the offer of the president, I would set fire to the College edifice at its four corners, and run away in the light of the flames." Tennent's opinions were highly respected. As a result of his outburst, the proposal was dropped and never renewed.

The extent to which Governor Belcher was willing to go to encourage the new College can be realized when his action in that respect is contrasted with the stand taken by Governor Morris in 1745. The latter previously had received a request from the First Presbyterian Church of New York for a charter, but the Governor replied that he knew of no basis on which a group of dissenters could be accorded that privilege, being out of communion with the Church of England. Even twenty years after Belcher's death, there was to be criticism of his

act in behalf of the College of New Jersey. A writer obtained publication in a Philadelphia newspaper in 1768 of a statement which read:

"During a late administration, the Province of New Jersey saw and felt the effects of Presbyterian power. . . . Commissions of the Peace were preferably conferred upon them; their meeting houses, which now they affect to call churches, were everywhere incorporated, while charters were denied, not only to Churches (this reference being to the Church of England) as by law established but to other dissenters, who had equal rights with Presbyterians."

The College received far more than a charter and lip-service from Governor Belcher. After inducing the trustees to select Princetown (Princeton) as its permanent site, he gave his valuable library, consisting of 474 volumes, to the College. Accepting the gift, the trustees declared that they viewed him as "its founder, patron and benefactor." He also made substantial gifts of money to further the College. If he had not frowned upon the suggestion that the main building be named Belcher Hall in his honor, it would have been so designated. Instead, it became Nassau Hall, named in honor of the ruling family in England. Belcher, in urging this choice, said that it expressed "the honour we retain, in this remote part of the globe to the immortal memory of the glorious King William the Third, who was a branch of the illustrious house of Nassau." Belcher, as a Royal appointee, may

have been mindful of his personal political fortunes. The trustees voted their approval on September 26th, 1756, but Belcher was to live less than two years thereafter. He did witness the removal of the College from Newark in November, 1756, but it was in that year that he suffered a paralytic stroke while attending the College commencement and he never fully recovered, although an electrical device provided by Benjamin Franklin was used to administer treatments. Belcher died August 31st, 1758.

Aside from the pressure exerted by Governor Belcher to have the College located at Prince-town, the "New Side" faction among the Presbyterians took a liking to the little town for several worthy reasons. Geographically, the town was more centrally located in the Province than Elizabethtown or Newark. Again, the trustees were concerned about being further removed from the Congregational influence in the northern end of the Province. Yet they hesitated about being immediately adjacent to Philadelphia where the Scotch-Irish faction had given such harsh treatment to the "New Siders." Also, Philadelphia had its newly-established College where Benjamin Franklin had been influential, and in which strong Episcopalian leanings were manifest. If it could have been done, the founders of the College of New Jersey would have liked to please the followers of William Tennent in the Philadelphia area, but all things considered, Prince-town seemed to be a happier choice of location.

Elizabethtown and Newark made strenuous efforts to regain or hold the College. Yet Prince-town was not alone in being considered. New Brunswick had been favored, in fact, because it was more advanced in development as a community, and included a number of persons possessing considerable means. Residents of New Brunswick made little noticeable progress, however, toward meeting the conditions set up by the college trustees as a prelude to a favorable vote for any spot. Meanwhile, a few Prince-town residents banded together and complied with the terms set by the nimble-witted trustees. Prince-town received the nod.

Governor Belcher took credit to himself for the choice of Prince-town. Writing to a friend, he said: "I have got them to agree to have it built at Prince-town, in the Western Division, being, I apprehend, nearest to the center of the Province." In 1747, he also wrote to Reverend Mr. Bradbury to report that he had found the people of the Province to be "unlearned and impolite" when he arrived to serve as Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New Jersey. . . "and Vice admiral of the same." In greater detail, he conveyed his impressions in a letter to William Belcher, a cousin living in England, written on September 17th, 1747, at Burlington. He had this to say: "The inhabitants are generally rustick and without education. I am therefore attempting the building up of a College in the Province for instructing the youth in the principles of religion, in good

literature and manners, and I have a reasonable view of bringing it to bear." In the following May, Belcher also wrote a letter which states in part: "As to our embryo college, it is a noble design. . . . I have adopted it for a daughter, and hope it may become an alma mater to this and the neighbouring provinces. I am also getting the best advice and assistance I can in the draft of a charter which I intend to give to our infant college. . . ."

It is apparent, then, that it was mere chance that threw the Baptist and Presbyterian experiments looking toward a better-educated ministry so close together. The Hopewell Academy was established in Hopewell because it developed around Reverend Isaac Eaton, without whose enthusiasm and willingness to adjust his household and family life to the accommodation of students, a Baptist school of this type might have been delayed for a considerable number of years. As for the future Princeton University, Princetown seemed ideal and many circumstances, propitious for its development under highly favorable influences, existed.

While the College at Princetown was a magnet that tended to draw Isaac Eaton's students in that direction for on-the-spot inspection, a look-around generally sufficed. But for a group that set out from Hopewell on a Saturday late in September, 1757, the trip proved to be more than an inspection trip or a cross-country hike. In fact, it was an adventure that thereafter was regarded as one of the highlights in the careers of the participants and in the history of Hopewell Academy.

The journey in itself offered an opportunity to be away from Eaton's supervision for a few hours. Plans had been discussed earlier in the week. When Saturday arrived, the weather was favorable and invigorating, and the outdoors had a special appeal. As a change from football in which the students had engaged on the previous Saturday, the Prince-town trip was welcomed. Eaton had sanctioned the trip since class-room work was suspended on Saturdays. With his sermon for the following morning's service on his mind, it might well have been that Pastor Eaton preferred to have quieter surroundings for a few hours.

Soon after breakfast the group started across country, to cover the eight miles to Prince-town. Those included were James Manning and David Howell, both planning to enter the College in the near future and therefore eager to look at the interior of Nassau Hall; David Jones, who had come to Eaton's school from Delaware; Stephen Watts, from Southampton, Pennsylvania; John Stites, of Elizabethtown, and Samuel Jones, the Welsh student from Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania.

Traveling across rolling fields and through the woods, the students occasionally encountered a brook that required a detour upstream or downstream, but in less than three hours, the college town was within sight. On closer inspection, they found that Nassau Hall, built of uncut native stone, dominated the scene. It was a three-story building, topped with a cupola. Three stairways provided approaches to the

front entrances. The building had a frontage of 190 feet and a depth of fifty feet. The stonework made it appear as if Nassau Hall had been standing for a decade or more. Over the doorways, stone quoins decorated the flat arches. In every respect, the structure lived up to the lavish praise that had been bestowed upon it.

The student body, consisting of seventy-five at that time, had found accommodations available for double that number when the College moved from Newark in the previous November. The transfer occurred during the Fall vacation period. Most of the students made the journey by horseback, carrying their belongings and a few books in their saddle-bags. Upon their arrival, they found the carpenters still in the building, with many odds and ends awaiting attention.

The first floor included a prayer hall and several lecture rooms, the former containing the first organ introduced by the Presbyterians into their worship in America. The College steward, upon learning the identity of the visitors from Hopewell, escorted them to the basement and into the large kitchen and dining hall adjoining his apartment. The dining hall was large enough to accommodate 150, if the day should come when the student body should reach that extravagant figure. The dining hall remained unfinished until 1762.

On the second floor, the visitors found the library with its 1,200 books, donated in part by Governor Belcher and other friends in the colonies and abroad. It was regarded as a

magnificent collection. The students' rooms occupied the wings of the building, being laid out as chambers about twenty feet square. Three students usually were assigned to a chamber, two sections serving as bedrooms and the remainder of the areas as a study.

The hall on the main floor contained a stage for student use and public occasions. A balcony also had been constructed. One of the side walls was decorated with a full-length portrait of the late King William the Third, while opposite it, a portrait of the same extravagant size presented the visage of none other than his Excellency, Governor Jonathan Belcher. The Belcher family coat-of-arms, resplendent in gilt, surmounted the Belcher picture. Both portraits were the gift of Governor Belcher to his "adopted daughter."

Adjacent to Nassau Hall, the newly-erected President's House also was to be seen. It was unoccupied in late September, 1747, as Reverend Aaron Burr had died earlier in the month, four days before the Commencement exercises for a class that had twenty-two members. Both the President's House and Nassau Hall were set back some distance from "the broad street" on the ten acres of cleared land which had been one of the requirements stipulated by the trustees in defining a suitable location. Along with the cleared ground, the residents of Princetown had provided two hundred acres of woodland, as well as a thousand pounds in procurement money. The land occupied by the College buildings had been

a gift of Nathaniel FitzRandolph, whose father was one of the first settlers in that neighborhood.

Their curiosity satisfied, the Hopewell Academy fellows turned homeward about two o'clock. They had proceeded about two miles when they observed another group coming toward them. There appeared to be six to eight fellows, some of whom were carrying fishing equipment. When the two groups came abreast, they paused and exchanged quizzical "hellos." The Hopewell boys learned that the others were students from Prince-town's College. Idle talk turned to joshing and occasional sarcasm or ridicule. Remarks were passed concerning the wearing apparel of Manning, Howell and the others, and one or two of the Prince-town students began to pluck at the clothes of their chance acquaintances.

Believing they had overawed the Hopewell group, the College students tugged sharply upon the lapels of the coats worn by the others, yanking their victims several steps forward. Others laughed and pushed the Hopewell students about. In an instant, Isaac Eaton's students found themselves virtually surrounded and in danger of being overwhelmed.

A blow was hurled at Manning. He checked the fist aimed at his jaw but his hat went rolling on the ground. Another thrust almost caught Samuel Jones but he dodged. Stephen Watts, standing close by, was sent reeling. Meanwhile, another Prince-town student swung at David Jones, cramming the latter's hat down over his eyes. Others yelled and closed in to press the offensive. Manning, however, reacted immediately

to the challenge. Ignoring the loss of his hat, he came in swinging and with powerful blows, drove two of the assailants from the fray. Howell, who had been carrying a cane, lunged it toward another of the attacking force and his victim doubled up, writhing with pain. David Jones, scrappy despite his diminutiveness, sailed into the stoutest of the opponents and the latter fell over backward. Samuel Jones was less fortunate for blood stained his shirt after a blow connected with his nose.

As suddenly as it began, the fistic exchange ceased. The Hopewell group, gratified with their success up to this point and observing the slowness of the recovery of those who had been sent spinning from their feet, began to withdraw rapidly. David Jones tarried long enough to swoop up his hat, then falling behind the others, began to run uphill across an open field in the general direction of Hopewell. The Princetown students were not content to consider the battle ended. They appeared determined to administer a drubbing in exchange for the blows they had taken. A hot pursuit started. The pace was swift but the few seconds' start enjoyed by the Academy fellows was an advantage not too readily overcome. David Jones, however, lagging behind his comrades, became the chief object of pursuit. His legs carried him steadily along to good advantage. When his companions reached the top of the hill, they had a glance backward and then hurried on, losing sight of David and his pursuers, yet counting upon Jones to make his freedom secure.

A short distance beyond, Manning and the others eased up slightly for David Jones had not come over the top of the hill. Soon they slowed to a walk, although using rapid paces to avoid any surprise. But where was David?

Manning and Watts spoke out against abandoning David to his fate. So they and their companions swung about and headed toward the grassy summit, prepared for whatever might develop beyond. To their delight, David came at full tilt toward them, like a charging stallion. He threw one arm upward, displaying his hat. Reassured, his companions turned quickly toward home and resumed their run, but slowing down when all likelihood of pursuit had passed.

Seating himself on a tree stump, David Jones gasped for breath while the others appealed to him to tell what had happened. Panting, he began:

"I thought they had me for sure, and they did, too." He chuckled with delight. "I heard one of them say, 'Now we've got you!' He was stretching out his arms to seize me. I had another burst of speed but two of them were almost upon me again within a few seconds. Down I went upon my hands and knees. They were too close to halt and I humped myself up just high enough to catch them right. They crashed against me and against each other. Head over heels into the bushes they went. It was too good to resist. I landed a swift kick upon the seats of their trousers and here I am! I made my escape from the Philistines after all!"

Jones' portrayal of the up-ended College students

receiving the coup de grace sent his companions into gales of laughter. "We laughed until we cried," Samuel Jones wrote in his diary that night. And looking back upon the battle, the diarist concluded that it might be expedient to follow Howell's example and always carry a cane or "a good, stout hickory" at least, for Howell's victim had "roared like a young bull of Bashan."

During the remainder of the journey, debate arose as to whether Pastor Eaton should be informed of the occurrence. The opinion prevailed that if the facts were present^{ed}/properly the recital would do no harm.

"Jim, you're the one to do it," one of Manning's companions pointed out. "He will accept the story from you without question." Obviously, Pastor Eaton knew that Manning was not one to pick a quarrel and if he revealed that he had been lured into the fisticuffs, then it would surely appear that there must have been some provocation for the others to have engaged in a pitched battle.

Manning told his story to Eaton and it was accepted in good faith. The Hopewell students were somewhat proud of the outcome even though they had left the scene of the scuffle rather precipitously. As they told each other later, what else could be done when outnumbered? But a time was coming, about a month later, when the Prince-town "Philistines" would be encountered anew.

Chapter XII

The "Electric Fire" Man

An announcement that Professor Ebenezer Kinnersley proposed to visit Hopewell caused considerable apprehension to rise in Isaac Eaton's congregation.

"Ebenezer Kinnersley--why, that's the 'electric fire' man," exclaimed the conservative-minded among the worshippers.

As an associate of Benjamin Franklin in experiments with electricity, Kinnersley had won considerable fame and prominence. Previously he had been ordained as a Baptist minister but had devoted most of his energy to the realm of business and science. He also had taken a leading part in the furore concerning the lightning rod and its "interference with God-made laws of nature," an issue that was heatedly debated by numerous church men on one side, and Franklin, Kinnersley and other men of science on the other.

It was a rather daring thing to invite a scientist, who also had gained considerable notoriety and undergone censure by his church, to occupy the pulpit in the Baptist meeting house. However, Isaac Eaton could see no reason why Professor Kinnersley should not be heard at first-hand. It would be a rare experience for his congregation, as well as for the student body of the Academy and as many others in the vicinity as cared to be present. But Eaton might well have been

dismayed when he learned how Deacon Stout and others reacted. In particular, Stout wanted some reassurance from Eaton that Kinnersley's sermon, scheduled for the morning of November 5th, 1757, would be based upon the Scriptures and adhere closely to the text. If the sermon should degenerate to the level of a scientific lecture, the church would be scandalized by such a departure from established practice.

When Samuel Jones revealed to Deacon Stout that he was personally acquainted with Professor Kinnersley and had visited the latter's home in Philadelphia as recently as March, the elderly deacon displayed only mild interest. That puzzled Sam. He decided to expand his comments, saying:

"Professor Kinnersley, you know, is not afraid of lightning! He even uses it to burn iron under water!"

From the depth of the deacon's throat there emerged an unmistakable grumble. Shaking his head in remonstrance against such doings, Deacon Stout turned and walked away, leaving Sam to conclude that the deacon would never rid himself of his old-fashioned notions.

As a matter of fact, Kinnersley and Franklin had been conducting experiments before and large and small groups, and in their own homes, to satisfy popular curiosity concerning electricity. The lightning rod, or the "electrical conductor," as it was termed for many years, bordered on the ridiculous to anyone who lacked an understanding that lightning and electricity were identical, as well as the method by which the electricity could be conducted to the ground and rendered

harmless. A thin pointed rod placed atop a barn or dwelling seemed like a child's toy in contrast to the majestic might and power demonstrated during a storm, punctuated with the crash of thunder and blinding flashes of lightning.

To increase public understanding of the subject of electricity, Franklin and Kinnersley, along with Philip Syng and Thomas Hopkinson, their Philadelphia neighbors, resorted to several feats of "magic." To them, these stunts were nothing more than a demonstration of a scientific fact concerning electricity. To the popular mind, which had permitted imagination to run riot concerning the mysterious sparks and shocks that came from a Leyden jar, the demonstrations were chiefly a form of amusement.

One demonstration arranged by Franklin was an "electrical picnic." The participants assembled on the banks of the Schuylkill River to see him carry out his announced plan of killing a turkey for dinner by "the electrical shock," to roast it on an electrical jack, using a fire that had been kindled by means of "the electrical bottle." In addition, he showed how spirits could be "fired by a spark sent from side to side through the river, without any other conductor than the water." On one occasion when Franklin set out to perform the turkey demonstration, his plans misfired. He planned to have a charge of electricity, drawn from two large jars described as "containing as much electrical fire as forty common phials," transmitted to the turkey to end its life. Franklin was holding an iron

chain attached to the outside of the jars when he touched the wires at the top with his other hand. There was a flash and a snap as from the discharge of a pistol. Franklin was dazed by the jolt that went through his body. When he began to comprehend what had taken place, he said he was not aware of the noise nor brilliant flash. He had experienced a violent tremor in his limbs as he regained his senses. To his companions, he commented: "Well, I meant to kill a turkey, and instead, I nearly killed a goose!"

Another experiment, less pretentious, involved the transmitting of a charge of electricity along the gilt edge of a book, the current stripping away the decoration. Still another trick, which they said proved that electricity was "loyal to the King of England," involved an engraving of the King. When current was applied to the engraving, a spectator would be asked to extend a finger toward a small metallic crown upon the King's head, whereupon an electrical shock was felt. Thus, they said, the King was always safeguarded.

The lightning rod, to the public mind, symbolized electricity. It became the focal point for the wrangling and innumerable debates over the good and evil of electrical experimentation. Franklin, always of an inquiring nature, first became keenly interested in the subject of "electric fire" when he talked in Boston at some length in 1746 with Dr. Spence about the peculiar "fluid." Spence had come from Scotland. Through a friend, Peter Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, Franklin obtained a glass tube to

generate current if the detailed instructions were followed. Franklin acquired additional instruments and aided by his inborn ingenuity, tested his own theories during the months that followed. He conducted various experiments that others, including Musschoenbroek and Wilson, had recorded. Franklin simplified their conclusion about metallic points by calling them "plus" and "minus." That seemed more practical than referring to two types of electricity, "resinous" and "glazed." Franklin had cast aside the belief of earlier experimenters that friction produced a new substance. His studies convinced him that electricity was "really an element diffused among, and attracted by other matter, particularly by water and metals."

While Franklin and his associates were working along these lines, the learned Academy of Bordeaux, France, had concerned itself with the question, "Is there any analogy between electricity and thunder?" Thunder--not lightning. At Marly on May 10th, 1752, sparks were produced in an experiment conducted during a storm. In due course, a report concerning it reached Franklin, but meanwhile, he had conducted his famous kite-flying experiment in June, 1752, captivating the general public's attention because of his conclusions. In advance of that experiment, Franklin had written a report summarizing the basis for his belief that electricity and lightning were synonymous. His first suggestion was that an iron rod be set up on a high building with a man posted nearby who would hold a loop of wire close to the rod, with one end of the wire

fastened to the leads of the roof. Protecting himself by the use of a wax handle, the observer would be able, Franklin contended, to conduct electricity from the rod to the wire loop.

The kite-flying experiment was an alternative method that he decided to employ personally. The kite, fashioned of silk to lighten it as much as possible when buffeted by wind and rain, had a sharp-pointed wire projecting about a foot above the top of the upright stick of the kite. At the end of the kite line, Franklin attached a key, with a silk ribbon extending from the key to his own hands. He explained that the silk ribbon must be kept dry by having the person flying the kite remain in a doorway, in order that the "electric fire" might be retained by the key until one's knuckle was ventured near the key, whereupon a spark could be expected to "stream out plentifully." Franklin was right about what would happen, as all the world soon knew. Eventually it was conceded that his theory was sound. His experiment was termed the "most brilliant discovery of the century."

Although Franklin had been arguing since 1749 that lightning was electrical energy discharged from a cloud, with the rumble of thunder having nothing to do with it, except to disturb the currents of air, it was necessary for him to press on to convince the unbelievers. Further proof was obtained when he placed a lightning rod on the roof of his home, linking to a bell. The bell tinkled when an electrical storm

occurred, ringing at the moment when the lightning flashed rather than when the thunder sounded. Convinced that a wire running to the ground would lessen the risk from lightning, others soon were hastening to safeguard their properties by use of the newfangled "electrical conductors" or rods.

But it was not so with many of the earnest and devout church people. They believed that the scientists were dabbling in a field which they would do well to abandon, if not acting in sheer defiance of God's will. Behind the electrical storms of the Summer months they professed to see a divine purpose. One view, perhaps somewhat more extreme than others, was expressed by the Rev. Th. Prince in 1755 as follows:

"The more points of iron (lightning rods) are erected round the Earth, to draw the electrical substance out of the air, the more the earth must needs be charged with it. And therefore it seems worthy of consideration whether . . . the earth . . . may not be more exposed to more shocking earthquakes. In Boston are more erected than anywhere else in New England; and Boston seems to be more dreadfully shaken."

Franklin found himself assailed, particularly by ministers in New England, who believed that the faith of their congregations would be diminished if lightning was accepted as evidence of man controlling what had been regarded as a manifestation of God. Franklin could not disregard the attacks. His experiments were termed misleading and his conclusions inaccurate. He called upon Ebenezer Kinnersley to help carry out a campaign of education. Kinnersley had

returned in 1753 from the West Indies where he had gone to improve his health. His condition had been attributed to his zeal in scientific matters and Bermuda had been prescribed as a desirable place to rest. He took his scientific equipment with him, however. Upon his return, he was named Chief Master of the English School in the College of Philadelphia, where in 1757 he received the Master of Arts degree. The latter was a distinction then rarely bestowed.

Franklin consulted and advised Kinnersley about the contents of lectures to be given by the latter to answer their critics. Then the professor fared forth, to be heard at various places and to conduct experiments offering visible proof in support of his theories and explanation of electricity. Kinnersley's lecture, "The Lawfulness of Endeavouring To Guard Against Lightning," was given innumerable times. Kinnersley's ties with Franklin were close and most cordial. Yet in later years, when Franklin was in France representing several of the American colonies and being severely criticized, it was declared that he had stolen his scientific discoveries from Kinnersley. The attack was the more telling since it came from William Smith, who had been a friend of Franklin and selected by the latter to be the president of his Academy in Philadelphia. The article appeared in Bradford's American Magazine, and was an accusation that Franklin might well have wished to be spared. Some who professed to know the exact situation when the experiments were in progress through the three winters beginning in 1748-49 consistently maintained

that Kinnersley was the real genius while Franklin, worldly wise, was seizing most of the credit for the progress made. Kinnersley, however, never voiced such an opinion.

Pastor Eaton, as a man of scholarly attainments and familiar with scientific progress, was certain that Kinnersley's visit to Hopewell would be an outstanding occasion. He made sure that his parishioners were well informed about Professor Kinnersley. He reassured them that their guest was a man of sound judgment and that his visit would be an inspiration to the students of the Academy.

Samuel Jones also did his share to publicize Professor Kinnersley. To his classmates he described some of the experiments that Kinnersley had performed when Sam had visited his home. He also repeated, as well as he could remember, snatches of the conversation that had occurred when Sam and his father had discussed similar matters during Kinnersley's visit to the Jones' home in Tulpehocken. Sam said:

"While we were at his house, he took us into his laboratory and he let me 'touch off' his 'Mysterious Jar'--that's what he calls the big bottle that he has filled with electricity." Sam also bragged that "He's the man who really persuaded me to come to Hopewell Academy."

Across the countryside, the invitation to see and hear this unusual man, Kinnersley, was passed along. It also was suggested to members of the faculty of the College of New Jersey that they would be welcome. But despite all that was done to popularize the event, there were points that troubled

those concerned with Kinnersley's religious background. His attitudes had been confusing at best.

In 1743, Kinnersley had let it be known in a spectacular way that he was hostile to the type of preaching being done by the famed evangelist, George Whitefield, in his travels through the colonies. Kinnersley also was critical of the evangelist's methods, but Whitefield's adherents were zealous and aggressive in the latter's behalf.

On July 6th, 1740, Kinnersley made a public protest against Whitefield's preaching. Kinnersley was occupying the pulpit of the church, being an assistant to the Reverend Jenkin Jones. The latter believed deeply in the spiritual force of the revival sweeping the colonies. Kinnersley, however, gravely questioned whether Whitefield's gospel was properly inspired. As far as he was concerned, he said in effect, he would have nothing to do with Whitefield's endeavors. His attack also took in John Rowland, the "New Side" Presbyterian preacher who had preached twice in the Baptist house of worship after the Presbyterian Synod had split over his licensing.

Others in the Baptist church disagreed with Kinnersley's views. Some walked out of the meeting. In the resulting excitement, Kinnersley was barred from taking Communion in his own church. He replied in violent terms through Franklin's newspaper. On Sundays thereafter, he usually could be found among the parishioners in the Episcopal church. Time healed the breach, however, and he was ordained as a Baptist minister in 1743. Three years later, when the Philadelphia Baptist

Church came into existence, no longer being a branch of the church at Pennepek, Kinnersley was one of the first constituents.

Kinnersley's father, William, had been an assistant pastor at Pennepek. The latter died February 13th, 1734, having lived near the church there for twenty years following his arrival from Gloucester, England, where Ebenezer was born on November 30th, 1711. The son was baptized September 6th, 1735.

Isaac Eaton's hopes for clear weather and a hearty response on the day of Professor Kinnersley's visit were fulfilled. The church began to fill considerably before 11 o'clock. People came from all directions. Those who arrived, other than on foot, tied their horses to trees in the vicinity of the church. On few occasions had there been such an array of horses and wagons. The crisp air of early November seemed ideal for the occasion.

"Looks as if we were having Yearly Meeting," one of the women, faithful in her attendance, remarked to a friend in the pew ahead of her. Their heads bobbed in agreement.

Several of the Hopewell Academy boys walked in a group to the church, it requiring only a few minutes to cover the short distance. They took seats where they would be able to see and hear to advantage, then turned to observing the incoming worshipers. David Jones suddenly nudged Samuel Jones in the pew ahead and murmured excitedly:

"Look--the Philistines!"

Samuel and his chums turned partly toward the entrance.

They observed several persons entering. They recognized two or three of scholarly mien as teachers, while three younger fellows--yes, there could be no mistake about it--were members of the group that had engaged in a fistic battle with the Hopewell Academy students during the stroll of the latter group homeward from Prince-town about a month previous.

Glances of recognition were exchanged, but no word was spoken. The College students slipped into a pew with their preceptors, their backs to the Hopewell Academy group. And when the service was over, they ignored Isaac Eaton's "young parsons" completely.

Every place in the meeting house seemed to be taken by the time Pastor Eaton and Professor Kinnersley appeared. The latter, now forty-six years of age, was a large-framed man, commanding in appearance yet without any trace of boastfulness over his acknowledged genius. The hymn singing went better than usual for Deacon Stout, as leader, had inquired of Kinnersley soon after his arrival in town on the previous day about his preference as to the psalms to be sung. The Hopewell Academy boys exulted over the singing, hoping that the Prince-town College fellows were observing that Hopewell Academy was "no common school."

Professor Kinnersley prayed at considerable length. When Samuel Jones wrote in his diary that night of the day's activities he described the prayer as being "as long as a Presbyterian's." To that he added his Father's occasional jibe at the Presbyterians and their prayer habits to the effect that

"the Presbyterians obey, at least in one respect, the apostolic injunction, for they 'pray without ceasing!'"

The sermon dealt with the subject, "The Mystery of Godliness." James Manning, utilizing his knowledge of shorthand, made notes of the sermon. Kinnersley's voice, described as deep and sonorous, added to the impressiveness of the message. Deacon Stout soon became aware that his misgivings had been groundless for the speaker gave a gospel message that reached his audience and affected it deeply. When the service was over, the worshippers crowded about the guest, imploring him to tarry and speak again that evening. The professor agreed and the word quickly passed that the night meeting would be held at the home of Deacon P. Stout. Those who had left immediately after the church service were overtaken, in most instances, in order that they too might know of the plans.

As anticipated, Deacon Stout's home was more than filled for the evening service. The guests found accommodations wherever they could--the younger folks sitting on the stairs, while some of the late-comers occupied places in the kitchen, with the doors thrown open throughout the interior of the house.

Standing beside a table placed in a hall at the foot of the stairs, Professor Kinnersley expanded upon his morning sermon. As he warmed to his subject, his voice carried to every room in the house. His hearers frequently showed that they were touched by his declarations, and when he said in conclusion, "O, my God! can it be that there is a single soul

here tonight destined for eternal misery?" several persons sobbed aloud or gasped in terror. A prayer concluded the service.

It was a day long to be remembered by all who had listened to Professor Kinnersley. For Samuel Jones, the visitor had stirred so many memories of home, aside from the soul-searching prompted by the two sermons, that it was almost impossible for him to get to sleep. Samuel had chatted briefly with the Professor and was pleased to hear a renewal of an offer to take Samuel into his household when the latter was ready to enter the College of Philadelphia, if he so wished. Their talk also brought to mind what Kinnersley had said on the occasion in the Jones' home when this whole question had first been discussed as to whether any of the growing family of children really longed for an education. The Professor had then declared that "the Baptists ought to give their children a good education, for if a young man is well educated, he can readily succeed in life." He had added that "I know of only two Baptist students being at the College of Philadelphia since I've been connected with it, and one of them is my own son." That night, the older Jones had replied that "Sammy seems to be the only one of my sons who cares for learning," citing that Griffith and Thomas appeared to prefer reading Poor Richard's Almanac and such newspapers as were available occasionally. Samuel recalled how he had been sent

for that night and asked if he would like to go to Hopewell for formal studies. His ready reply elicited the pledge from Kinnersley that he would try to be helpful if Samuel attained a level through Academy studies where he would be ready for college work. To that, Kinnersley had added: "Sammy, if you do go, you will never repent of your decision, for learning is a great power, and a mind well cultivated will be able to control the people. If you come by and by to Philadelphia, my house shall be your house."

On that same night several months back, Samuel Jones' father and Kinnersley had discussed electricity at considerable length. Jones was skeptical, finding it difficult to believe that lightning was a discharge of electricity between clouds or from a cloud to some object on the ground. Then the scientist had declared flatly that if a rod of iron should be installed on top of the Jones barn or farmhouse, the danger of lightning doing serious damage would be considerably lessened. At that, Pastor Jones had puffed on his pipe as if the brighter glow in the bowl would burn out such fantastic notions. Finally, he said:

"Brother Kinnersley, don't you think that the efforts of man in that way may look like interfering with the laws of nature, which are ordained of God?"

Kinnersley, having discussed the same point repeatedly with others, immediately replied:

"If that line of reasoning is followed, we should refuse

medical aid when some severe distemper takes hold of our bodies." Turning to his own experimental work, he added: "We merely try to prevent danger from the 'electric fire,' and the doctor tries to prevent death from fever or some other ailment. Is not that so?"

The elder Jones appeared to harbor misgivings, despite such strong testimony from one who spoke from first-hand experience.

Now, lying on his bed with no heaviness in his eyelids and busy with his thoughts after the Professor's visit to Hopewell, Samuel also pondered how his own experiments with a curious glass tube sent to him by Kinnersley had failed. The gift had been brought by Samuel's father in returning from a market journey to Philadelphia. The instructions were to rub the tube with a silk handkerchief to produce electricity. But Sam's vigorous attempts were fruitless, forcing him to conclude that the air was too damp. In fact, he recalled having said to his father, "I believe I could do better if I rubbed our tomcat's back, for I've seen sparks fly from him when he was rubbed at night during cold weather."

Then there had been family worship a few days later when his father had spoken again about the wisdom of his children obtaining higher education. Again, Samuels' father mentioned Hopewell Academy but Samuel's brothers made it plain that they would rather remain on the farm. Samuel, however, reiterated his interest. However, Mrs. Jones had then inquired of her husband, "Thomas, do you not fear that the temptations

of a school life away from home may be too much for Sammy, who has never been away from our influence?" Then Samuel recalled his Father's reply, which was "He is old enough to know the value of time, and he loves study, and I hope great things from Sammy." Then Mother had placed her arm around Sammy and said: "Sammy, my boy, you are my Benjamin. I have often prayed the good Lord to bring you to a knowledge of the precious truth. If you go away from home, will you try to rely on Him and avoid evil company?"

Now curled in his bed at the Academy that had been under discussion at that earlier date, Samuel felt tears well up in his eyes. Yes, he must live up to his Mother's high hopes and to the teachings of this amazing man, Professor Kinnersley.

Chapter XIII

The 'Young Parsons' Take Charge

Because of his deep interest in the affairs of the Philadelphia Baptist Association and the close tie between that body and the Hopewell Academy, Reverend Isaac Eaton always tried to attend the annual session of the Association held each Fall. He regarded the Association as a definite part of his life and the source of considerable inspiration for his preaching and teaching.

When called to the pastorate of the Hopewell church and ordained in 1748, Eaton had looked forward to taking his proper place in the following year among the dozen or more pastors who assembled for the Associational programs. His father, during his own ministry to churches in Pennsylvania, also had close contact with the larger body, founded in 1707 with five churches as a nucleus. In its early days, the Association devoted most of the time at its yearly meetings to sermons and devotions. As problems of the individual churches later began to call for outside advice, it became the practice to bring these matters to the Association in the hope that they might be resolved to the general benefit of all concerned. The delegates were not granted the authority to make rulings binding on those who presented their problems. Yet the exchange of views, along with the attempts to offer solutions, had

definite value. As for the individual ministers and laymen who attended, the Associational meetings produced a fellowship that seemed to enrich the lives of the participants and to lend virility to their preaching during the ensuing months.

Perhaps the family name in itself caused special attention to be directed toward Isaac Eaton from the outset of his connection with the Association. When he attended his first Association meeting on September 19th, 1749, he was singled out as alternate preacher of the Association sermon for the following year. It so happened that Reverend Peter Vanhorn, of the Pennepek Church, who had been first choice for the assignment, was on hand at the appointed time, however, and Isaac's services were not needed. At the session held on September 18th-20th, 1750, Eaton was appointed as the Association preacher for the following year, and in 1751 he carried through in that respect. It was in that year, after the Philadelphia Baptist Association had stood alone as the rallying point for a group of Baptist churches in the colonies for nearly forty-five years, that the Charleston Baptist Association was set up. Nine years later a third Association came into being, this being the Sandy Creek Association in North Carolina where new churches adhering to Baptist principles were forming rapidly with the arrival of settlers in considerable numbers.

Isaac Eaton established a notable record for attendance at the Philadelphia Association. While existing records do

not speak conclusively in regard to some years, it is certain that he was on hand for at least seventeen of the twenty-two sessions between the years 1749 and 1771, covering the period between his ordination and the last meeting prior to his death in 1772. During those twenty-two years, he served as Moderator of the Association five times. That honor was first bestowed upon him in 1763. It was his special privilege to welcome the New York church into the Association in that year. The Reverend John Gano was its pastor--Gano, who had grown up in Hopewell and had been won to the dedication of his life to the Christian ministry with Eaton's assistance, despite difficulties that made it a long struggle before Gano determined the momentous question that decided his life's course.

Re-elected as Moderator, Eaton was the presiding officer October 14-16th, 1764, when the Association agreed to announce to the constituent churches that a Baptist college had been chartered in Rhode Island and that it was worthy of full support. In the following year, Eaton's church at Hopewell established itself as the largest in the Association. Eaton's evangelistic preaching was bearing fruit. The total number of members in Hopewell in 1764 was reported to the Association as 196, compared with 108 for the previous year. Thereafter, the total remained above 200 in the annual Associational reports and the Hopewell church remained the largest in the Association until some time after Eaton's death.

In 1767 and the two following years, Eaton continued in

the Moderator's chair. In 1769, New York was the scene of the Associational meeting for the first time.

In addition to being Moderator and the preacher of the Association sermon at various times, Eaton also had special assignments. In 1760, he was named with Reverend Benjamin Griffith and the Reverend Benjamin Miller to visit the church at Kingwood, located somewhat to the north of the Hopewell meeting house. The Association's minutes noted that the church was dissatisfied with its pastor, Reverend Malakiah Bonham, while Bonham "desires his place and gives not satisfaction." It will be recalled that the Kingwood church had been constituted through the release of a number of Hopewell's members who sought the convenience of having a church closer to their places of residence. The committee of three was designated to adjust the matter.

As Moderator in 1768, Eaton was called upon to select a committee from the Association to lend assistance to the New Mills Church, located in Northampton Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. The minutes recorded a "case of difficulty between them and their minister." Accordingly, a time was set for the delegation to have the dispute talked out in the hope of reaching an accord within this branch of the denomination. Probably the last task for which Eaton was named by the Association came at the October 15-17th, 1771, meeting. Eaton was chosen as one of four trustees to supervise the

handling of the legacy left by Mrs. Elizabeth Hobbs to the Association for the assistance of students desiring the advantages of higher education. More will be told in that regard in a later chapter.

In order to get away for the meetings of the Association, Eaton found it necessary during the years that he maintained the Hopewell Academy to rely upon some of the older students to take charge of classes for three or four days. This he did in 1758, a year in which his absence produced some surprising developments.

Early that September, Pastor Eaton let it be known that he would be gone for four days from Tuesday, October 3rd, to Friday evening, October 6th. From the higher class, he selected James Manning, James Talbot, Joseph Powell, David Jones and Samuel Jones to act as class supervisors. Other students preferred to refer to these more advanced students as "the young parsons" because of their theological studies.

Classes on Monday of that week began in a normal manner, although the Eaton household was astir early. Special guests were expected. The Eaton home, because of its geographical location, made a most convenient stopping-off place for Baptist ministers enroute from the North to the Association meetings in Philadelphia. Since Reverend Abel Morgan, pastor at Middletown, and Reverend Benjamin Miller, of the Scotch Plains Church, were duly-appointed inspectors of the Hopewell Academy in behalf of the Association, a visit by them was in the line of duty as well as convenience.

Reverend Mr. Morgan and Reverend Mr. Miller arrived at the Eaton residence first on this Autumnal day of 1758. Later in the afternoon, three others appeared. They were Reverend Isaac Stelle, of the Piscataway church; Reverend I. Tompkins, of the Morristown church, and John Stites, Esq. The latter was a widely known layman who was serving as a deacon in the Scotch Plains church.

Acting on a suggestion made earlier by Pastor Eaton, the older boys of the Academy appeared in their best clothes and were presented to the newcomers. Manning, Talbot and Hezekiah Smith were quite at ease, because of previous meetings with the visitors. For Samuel Jones and David Jones, it was an introduction to strangers. The Reverend Mr. Morgan singled out David Jones for a private conversation, declaring that they were kinfolk through ties running back four generations.

Reverend Mr. Tompkins informed Hezekiah Smith that he had been named by his home church at Morristown as one of its delegates to the Association meeting. Mr. Tompkins inquired of Eaton whether Hezekiah might be away from school for a few days, it being a signal honor for one of his age to serve as a delegate. Hezekiah had been baptized during the pastorate of Reverend John Gano, who had preceded Mr. Tompkins at Morristown. Eaton sanctioned the plan for Hezekiah to accompany the others to Philadelphia.

Mrs. Eaton, somewhat flustered over the special preparations required in the kitchen, sent her son, Joseph, to summon

Miss Sally Stout to assist with preparations for the evening meal. When the guests had been seated at the sumptuous board, they found that Mrs. Eaton had left nothing to be desired. Learning that the attractive Miss Sally had baked the cakes, the ministers showered her with special praise. Miss Sally, having her turn at being discomfited, blushed. Her blushes seemed to make her all the more becoming.

In customary fashion, a number of neighbors came to the Eaton home to chat with the guests. There was John Hart, Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, Squire Houghton and several members of the Stout family. Once the supper dishes had been cleared away, the men produced their pipes and lit up. The party being rather numerous, the smoke became thick and some of the guests moved outdoors to the low front porch where they continued their talk. In view of the nature of the errand taking them to Philadelphia in the morning, much of the conversation turned upon church affairs and likely developments. Since the group planned to leave early in the morning, an early retirement hour also was in order. Family worship was held, taking in the wider circle of friends. Reverend Mr. Morgan took charge, reading a Psalm and speaking extemporaneously, after which the Reverend Mr. Miller prayed. Then all retired for the night.

Long before daylight, the Eaton household was astir. Everything was hustle and bustle. Mrs. Eaton succeeded in having breakfast ready at 4.30 A.M. The assembled group paused for a brief reading from the Scriptures by the Reverend Mr. Stelle,

followed by prayer. All ate heartily to fortify themselves against the long ride by horseback to Philadelphia. Meanwhile, preparations for the trip itself had preceded the call to the breakfast table, Joseph Eaton assisting the hired man in feeding the horses. Samuel Jones, roused from his bed at four o'clock, had helped by building a fire in the kitchen stove. Jones' younger brother, Tom, had carried in extra kindling.

When the guests departed along with Pastor Eaton and Hezekiah Smith, it seemed as if a great hush had fallen upon the premises for the group had enjoyed a hearty fellowship. In the school itself, the older boys who had been designated to manage the sessions knew that they were now upon their own-- and so did those who were left in their charge for the duration of the Association meetings, scheduled to start that same Tuesday afternoon and to continue for the next two days. The delegation was expected back in Hopewell some time on Friday.

Eaton, in leaving his older students in charge, was relying heavily upon the fact that the farmers' sons who came to the Academy as day-students, appeared to look with some respect upon the older, more advanced students. It had been customary for some of the upper classmen to relieve Mr. Eaton occasionally of classroom routine, for the local boys were being taught chiefly in reading, writing and arithmetic. Samuel Jones, being over twenty-one, could handle a class in reading with success. Hawkins, who took care of a group studying

arithmetic, had acquired a following of boys who were often willing to stay after regular school hours to study further in his room. In this manner, Hawkins obtained a little personal income, at the same time expanding his reputation as one possessing special talents in mathematics.

The gap between the town boys and the full-time boarding students, however, seemed almost unnoticeable most of the time, but occasionally widened to dangerous proportions. When the tenor of school life was unruffled, the youths from the farms even went so far as to offer portions of their lunches to the other students, who welcomed an occasional "extra" or a change from Mrs. Eaton's style of cooking. Perhaps it might be a sample of mince pie or a doughnut, which the younger boy did not fancy but which was a choice morsel to some of the others, living away from home. On the other hand, group spirit cropped out occasionally. During the winter months, it might be a snowball fight that developed during the recess period. Inevitably the farm boys drew together for the defensive. Sooner or later in each school year, Mr. Eaton placed a ban on snowball fights, because someone would resort to making up a plentiful supply of snowballs, then leave them to freeze overnight for use with greater lethal effect in ensuing encounters.

When classes got under way at nine o'clock on the Tuesday of Eaton's departure for the Association meeting, an unusual amount of disorder speedily developed. Some was to be

expected, of course, by Manning, Talbot, Powell and the two Jones--now comprising the faculty of the Academy! Young Tom Jones, seeing that his brother, Samuel, was one of his overseers, injected a few bits of humor when he recited his lessons, setting off frequent laughter in his group. The result was that Sam directed him to leave the room. That cooled off Tom's enthusiasm for the role of prankster to a considerable extent. Manning, who was nearing the end of his Academy days with entrance to the Prince-town College soon to follow, took charge of the older classes to hear their recitations in Latin and Greek.

A rumor circulated that the farmer boys were planning to have some sport with "the young parsons." The story came reliably, Billy Weart having hinted to Joe Eaton what was afoot. Joe, in his father's absence, felt a certain amount of responsibility and had passed the word along to one of the group of temporary supervisors. The latter promptly held a secret meeting in Manning's room to discuss procedure. What turn was the battle of wits most likely to take? That could not be predicted. It was agreed, therefore, that the wisest course was to appear oblivious of any underground agitation, but to be in constant readiness to meet any surprise developments. Samuel Jones, recalling how effectively David Howell had used a cane when an encounter with Prince-town College students had occurred during a hiking trip, obtained a walking stick and kept it handy.

Nine o'clock--ten o'clock--eleven o'clock, and classes continued to move along satisfactorily. But just before the noon-day recess, things began to happen in a classroom where Manning and Samuel Jones were in charge. Manning, standing momentarily with his hands behind his back while facing the class, found himself being rushed by two of the larger farmer boys. They came directly at him but Manning was on the alert. As the attackers lunged toward their "teacher," Manning swung his arms forward, landing strong blows simultaneously upon the aggressors. Manning's fists came with such force that the two fellows went tumbling to the floor, their breath knocked out of them. They lay still, showing no inclination to get up. Meanwhile, Jones stood ready with his cane to join Manning if help was needed. To the amazement of all, the affray never even reached the point of developing into a scuffle. The scheme to give the "young parsons" a bad time seemed to have vanished into thin air as soon as Manning had struck his blows.

Immediately, school was dismissed for the noon-hour. The two ringleaders, still at a loss to figure out how Manning single-handed had fought off their surprise attack, were ordered to remain in the room. Later in the afternoon, they made a public apology and gave assurances that they would not attempt to repeat anything of that sort. As for Manning, he revealed to the other "young parsons" that he had made use of a trick he had learned from a man who had a reputation as a boxer.

When Isaac Eaton returned on Friday afternoon, little time was lost in giving him a full report of what had occurred. David Jones described the attack upon Manning, now treating it in a humorous light in view of the outcome. Pastor Eaton, as well as Hazekiah Smith, relished the story and laughed heartily as they envisioned Manning in action against the pair of lads.

As for the Association meetings, Hezekiah returned enthused. To other students, he described how Pastor Eaton had given a stimulating report about the flourishing condition of the Hopewell Academy. Delegates to the Association showed deep interest in the progress made in the two years since the venture had been undertaken, he said. In fact, they had voted at this session to communicate with all the member churches to urge that money be contributed to aid several young men who needed financial assistance if they were to arrange to attend the Academy.

Reverend Mr. Miller, the Scotch Plains minister, remained over the week-end with the Eatons, but the other out-of-town members of the delegation who had stopped overnight in Hopewell earlier in the week, did not tarry on their homeward journey. At Mr. Eaton's invitation, Mr. Miller preached in the Hopewell meeting house on the following Sunday. His sermon on that occasion is preserved in part in existing records. Mr. Miller chose a strong text, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy, and

eat. He depicted the Biblical scene in such detail that it became a living reality. At the close of his sermon, many in the audience were visibly shaken and seemed unwilling to leave the meeting house. Pastor Miller had depicted "the state of fallen man . . . the sinner on his road to hell," with the "open pit and the flames bursting forth." With a startling cry, he had exclaimed, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters," and gave an invitation to escape from the wrath to come. Mr. Miller's own eyes were tear-filled as he described how he had been "wild and careless, and, but for the everlasting grace of God, would now be in the way to hell." The Academy students, returning to their rooms, sat and talked until a late hour about the significant points of the sermon.

It soon became apparent that Mr. Miller had preached with telling effect. Two weeks later, a group of fourteen persons was baptized. Included were two of the boys who had been in the affray with Manning. One of the lads confided later that he had reached a decision not only because Mr. Miller had shown the error of his ways, but also because in the moment when Manning had thrown him to the floor, he believed that he was about to die and some of his misdeeds had flashed across his mind. Pastor Eaton, concluding the baptismal service in the waters of the brook about a mile east of the meeting house, laid his hands gently upon the converts and gave a prayer that was "like those which the beloved disciples might have offered," according to Samuel Jones' diary.

Chapter XIV

The Tailor Makes Trouble

A pair of breeches and a casual remark concerning them would hardly be expected to prompt a special meeting of a church board of deacons. But that occurred in Isaac Eaton's church during the Winter of 1757. Eaton himself was the author of the remark. The words that he permitted to escape his lips caused a chain of developments that could not be arrested until the deacons had wrestled with the problem.

If "S. L." (that is as far as his identification goes in Samuel Jones' diary) had not been so eccentric, the remark might have passed almost unnoticed. However, he had felt for some time that he had been rebuffed. He believed that he had experienced a call to preach. Furthermore, he was positive that no sound reason existed why he could not be licensed forthwith by the Hopewell church. However, Isaac Eaton, to all appearances, was forever postponing the matter. When the question was raised about the trousers, it appeared to "S.L." as just the opportunity he had been wanting to show the pastor that there was a limit to some things.

As a tailor by trade and a member of the Hopewell church, "S.L." had received an order from Pastor Eaton to make a pair of breeches. The latter may have figured that he would place the order as a friendly gesture and ease "S.L.'s" mind to some extent

as to his patron's attitude. "S.L." made the trousers and delivered them. Eaton was startled to discover that the breeches had been made improperly, the cloth cut in such a fashion that the wearer could only appear grotesque.

"Why, he's made them hind part before!" Eaton exclaimed. And so it appeared. At least, the ill-fitting garment was as broad in the front as in the rear.

The remark reached the tailor's ears and "S.L." was furious. How the word traveled, Eaton never was able to ascertain. "S.L." told his wife, Polly, that he was going to have a showdown, once and for all, with this young fellow Eaton, even though he was the preacher and schoolmaster. Mrs. "L.," affectionately called "Aunt Polly" by most of the townspeople, was a kind hearted soul but she had received little schooling and it seemed to her that her husband's discussions of the Scripture were every bit as satisfactory as the sermons delivered by Pastor Eaton. So she agreed thoroughly with "S.L.'s" plans. The tailor, whose mind seemed to grow hazy at times, started out to settle his grudge.

When Samuel Jones heard about it, he too wondered whether he was going to have difficulties with the tailor. Samuel, while still somewhat new at the Academy, had heard the tailor recommended and accordingly had placed an order for a new Winter suit early in December.

"I hope 'S.L.' doesn't make the same mistake about my breeches, for if there is anything I dislike, it's a pair that doesn't fit," Sam declared.

Like Eaton, he quickly wished that he hadn't said it for John Hawkins, a chum, was standing nearby when Sam spoke and picked up the remark. Hawkins said:

"So you don't trust 'S.L.' either! I have half a notion to tell him so."

The mischievous tone in Hawkins' voice made it difficult for Sam to determine whether he was in earnest or hoped to cause merely a disconcerting moment.

Samuel received his new suit a short time later. To his dismay, he found that the pants were ill-fitting but instead of a surplusage of cloth, the opposite extreme prevailed. While his legs slipped into the trousers readily enough, the material stretched so tightly across his seat that it was more than uncomfortable when he sat down.

"S.L.," intent upon bringing the situation involving Mr. Eaton to a head without delay, called upon the latter at his home. Eaton did not deny having said that the breeches had been "made hind side before." In reply, "S.L." boasted of his skill as a tailor and then almost in the same breath raised the issue concerning his right to preach the gospel. It was apparent that the latter was uppermost in his mind. He declared that Eaton's comment was having a damaging effect upon his character. If Pastor Eaton thought he could use that as an excuse to keep him from reaching his goal, he would quickly prove otherwise.

The harrassed pastor, knowing that "S.L." would not be satisfied regardless of how long they discussed it, told his

guest that if he wished to take up the questions--one or both of them--the board of deacons undoubtedly would give him a hearing. So "S.L." departed.

That was Saturday, December 16th. The following morning, "S.L." was in church. He gave scant attention to the sermon. When the final Amen was pronounced and the congregation began to depart, "S.L." hurried toward two of the deacons who were engaged in conversation. To them he aired his grievance. They motioned for one or two other members of the board to join them. As soon as opportunity offered, they also brought Eaton into the circle where "S.L." was expounding his complaint. It was decided, since it was Sunday, that the inquiry into the whole situation should be conducted later in the week.

The deacons assembled on the following Friday afternoon at the Eaton home. "S.L." appeared shortly thereafter. When Samuel Jones observed the guests arriving, he decided to stay nearby. It soon was apparent that the deacons had asked Mr. Eaton to don the new trousers for inspection. Sam concluded that they also should have an opportunity to see what had happened in his case. Before the Pastor had returned to the big kitchen where the deacons sat in front of the fireplace, Sam stepped in. Mr. Eaton followed only a few seconds later.

All eyes were focussed on the pastor. Sam thought he saw a suggestion of a smile playing around the eyes of two or three of the deacons as they gazed at the trousers being exhibited by Pastor Eaton. The deacons turned to look at one another and started to laugh. As if it was a signal, the others

threw off their restraint and general laughter followed. It seemed infectious. Hearty guffaws accented the disorder. Some of the deacons laughed until tears rolled down their faces, while they bent nearly double as the ludicrous appearance of their minister struck them with devastating force.

"S.L.," who had seemed to be calmer than usual when the group first convened, glared at the church officials. But when they glanced at him and then back at the bulging trousers on Isaac Eaton, they seemed powerless to regain their composure. Then Samuel Jones stepped forward. He stood beside Pastor Eaton, swinging slowly around to present a front and rear view. The deacons broke out into fresh gales of laughter. The fullness of one pair of breeches and the tautness of the cloth in the other pair was all that it took to reduce "S.L.'s" complaint to complete absurdity.

When his voice could be heard above the din, Isaac Eaton spoke. He made it clear that he hoped "S.L." would alter the trousers so the incident might be forgotten. He reassured the tailor that he had meant no personal injury when he commented about the obvious fact that they were over-size. And to emphasize his gesture of good-will, he invited "S.L." to remain as a guest with the deacons for the evening meal. "S.L." was persuaded to stay. Disarming words spoken by members of the board during the supper helped to smooth his ruffled feelings. When "S.L." departed in the darkness of the Winter's night, he carried both pairs of breeches on his arm, promising to make proper alterations.

To all appearances, that was the end of the affair for the trousers were altered and delivered in due course. But "S.L." still was determined to speak concerning the Scriptures as frequently as opportunity offered. To him, the evening meetings held in the homes of members, seemed to offer a proper opening, as he hesitated about breaking into the morning services.

During the latter part of January, 1758, "S.L." was seized with one of his preaching "fits," as the students labeled them. Sam Jones let it be known that he "wished S.L. would attend more to the 'fits' of his breeches." The tailor approached the schoolmaster-preacher to inform him that he wanted to preach to the students. With his customary politeness, Pastor Eaton tried to explain why it could not be done. Again, "S.L." became sharply critical and vowed that this whole question of refusing him the right to preach would be brought before the church. Eaton sighed as "S.L." departed, knowing he was on his way to stir up a new round of trouble. Within two weeks, the matter came to a head in a serious manner.

"S.L." attended a Sunday evening meeting held at "early candle light" in the home of Deacon N. Stout on February 12th, 1758. He paid scant attention to those about him, appearing to be deep in his own thoughts. Opportunity was given for testimony by those present and James Manning as well as James Talbot spoke earnestly, particularly to the younger boys and girls of the Academy and the little community. Samuel Jones

was impressed, particularly when it was brought out that the Bible contained numerous invitations to the young to "give their hearts to the Lord," while the same call apparently was never directed specifically to an older age group. The discussion created an atmosphere of deep solemnity.

Then "S.L." began to sigh and groan. Apparently he was wrestling mentally with statements he had read during the past week in Dr. Owen's work, which he kept handy on a shelf in his tailor shop. Frequently he worked with the book open in front of him, reading a few sentences while his needle remained idle. Now "S.L." rose to his feet. He had ruffled his hair by running both hands through it. In the same nervous fashion, he had been clumsily stroking the sides of his breeches from his waistline to the tops of his shoes. As he drew himself up from his chair, it appeared momentarily that he might fall forward like dead weight, for he held his head low while his shoulders were hunched forward. Finally he pulled himself erect and the far-away look in his eyes left no doubt that he was intent upon launching forth upon one of his rambling, ill-considered harangues.

Pastor Eaton was well aware what effect "S.L." would have upon the meeting, yet he remained silent. A frown on his face betrayed his thoughts, however. "S.L.'s" tongue seemed to be running at breakneck speed, but when he attempted to quote from Dr. Owen's writings concerning the Holy Spirit, he became confused and substituted his improvisations for portions that

slipped his memory. His audience, patient at the outset, began to grow restless. The extemporaneous speech turned into a river of words, with "S.L." permitting his voice to grow more powerful by the minute. Finally, Pastor Eaton gave a signal to B. Stout, who had conducted the song service earlier. Mr. Stout immediately began to sing:

"My Shepherd is the living Lord,
Nothing, therefore, I need;
In pastures fair, near pleasant streams,
He setteth me to feed."

"S.L." stopped short as others in the group began to join in the verse, arranged from the 23rd Psalm. He sat down. Soon he began to sing, keeping his eyes shut and twisting his head about as if he still was in agony of mind or body. His strange behavior set some of the young people to laughing although they tried to keep from an open outbreak. Meanwhile, "S.L.'s" voice, decidedly off key and occasionally stronger than that of anyone else in the group, continued to be a jarring note in the service. Mr. Eaton closed the service without further ado. However, "S.L." had destroyed the effective contributions to the service made by Manning and Talbot, and Pastor Eaton confided to them that the turn of events had disturbed him deeply. When Sam Jones wrote in his diary that night about the service, he added this comment: "Sometimes it seems to me that in Baptist churches too much 'liberty' is given to private members in the way of speaking at meetings."

Naturally, the confusion created by "S.L." at the Sunday evening meeting was discussed during the days that followed.

On the next Saturday night, Mrs. Hobbs mentioned it while Samuel Jones and John Hawkins were visitors at her home.

"I do hope that Mr. Eaton will not be worried too much over him," Mrs. Hobbs commented. She revealed that "S.L." had sought her assistance in his endeavor to obtain official status as a preacher. Aware of his occasional mental disturbances, Mrs. Hobbs had listened patiently while "S.L." told her he felt he had a "call to preach" and that if he failed to obey the summons, he would be in danger of eternal damnation. Mrs. Hobbs, however, was not to be swayed even by such a personal appeal. Instead, she cautioned "S.L." about continuing his exhortations, saying that he would injure the cause of true religion.

Thereafter, at the evening meetings, "S.L." was keenly watched, for it was expected that he might do something similar again. He continued his good behavior for quite some time. But at the Sunday morning meeting on September 24th, 1758, "S.L." sought to speak immediately following Pastor Eaton's sermon. The minister succeeded in quieting him, much to the relief of the more substantial members of the church. While a small group felt that "S.L." was "pious and sincere, and should be encouraged," the deacons lined up with Pastor Eaton who took the position that "pious sincerity, coupled with ignorance, has done the church much harm in past ages, and no one should attempt to preach whose mind is not well balanced."

Chapter XV

The Enthusiastic Hobbs

While the Stout family as a group had been a major factor in the organization and continued cohesion in the Hopewell Baptist church, there was a married couple who ranked equally high in their enthusiasm. They were the elderly John Hobbs and his wife, Elizabeth. Their names should always be preserved in Baptist history because of their hearty support for the Baptist educational cause in particular. If a legacy left by Mrs. Hobbs had not been diverted from the purpose designated, her name would be associated to this day with a special fund that had been designed to assist Baptist youth in obtaining higher education

Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs never seemed to tire of assisting others. Isaac Eaton found that they were always ready to lend encouragement to him in the Hopewell Academy venture whose development they had followed at first-hand. For the Academy students, the Hobbs' home was always "open house." Considering the fact that John Hobbs was almost eighty when the first students arrived at the Academy in 1756, with his wife only slightly younger, the close ties that they maintained with the students is all the more surprising.

Hobbs was widely known as an expert mathematician. This attracted John Hawkins, one of the Academy students. Together,

they spent countless hours discussing Euclid's Elements, and Isaac Newton's "Principia." Hawkins was prompted to study the latter in the original Latin, even though this compelled him to engage in extra language work.

A warmth of friendship pervaded the Hobbs' home. In his diary, Samuel Jones described the aged couple as "so cheerful and happy . . . and so fond of the society of young folks. . . always so glad when young people call at their house." He pictured Mrs. Hobbs as a "sweet, motherly body." It is quite possible that Jones wrote with special ardor inasmuch as he there first met his future wife, Sylvia Spicer. She was an occasional visitor, her home being at Cape May. Mrs. Hobbs conveyed messages between the two young people at times, such as the one in February, 1758, to the effect that "Sylvia desired to be specially remembered to you." In the following October, Sylvia returned to Hopewell for another visit with the Hobbs. After her departure a week later, Jones wrote in his diary as follows: "I have seen her every day since she has been here, and I have learned to know her many excellent qualities. She has a great sense of propriety, as she declined my offer to write to her, for she said she thought it not proper for young folks to indulge in such pleasures without the consent of their parents, and I presume she is right." Under such circumstances, Mrs. Hobbs' friendly interest was a real asset.

As far back as 1738, John and Elizabeth Hobbs had displayed their liking for young people. Having no children of

their own, they bestowed their affections upon Adam Ege, a German boy, one of three brothers who came to America in that year. At that time, Adam was thirteen years old. Each of the brothers was eager to earn his living and to be assured of a reasonable opportunity to get ahead in the new world. One brother, Martin, went to Philadelphia, it is said, while the third, George, settled in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania.

Adam, befriended by Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, became the progenitor of a family line that has extended through two centuries, with many of his descendants remaining in Hopewell and vicinity. His wife was Margaret Hunt, daughter of Thomas Hunt. They had eight children: Samuel, Jacob, Elizabeth, Sarah, Nathaniel, Hannah, George and Andrew.

To Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, Adam was like a son. They advanced his education. After his marriage, they sold their farm to him. This was accomplished on April 14, 1759, the selling price for the extensive acreage being one hundred pounds. The tract was possessed by Ege and his descendants for the next 125 years.

When Hobbs passed away on June 6th, 1761, he was in his 85th year. His brownstone grave marker testifies to the fact that "He was a great historian and mathematician." He also is eulogized as a "pious, meek, humble, and exemplary Christian." His will was dated June 30th, 1758. In this document he designated his wife to receive "all my estate, lands, chattels, money, bonds, bills, debts and whatsoever is my proper right to her." She, along with Reverend Isaac Eaton and

Captain David Stout, were named to settle the estate. An inventory filed in the Hunterdon County Surrogate's office on June 18th, 1761, listed his assets as having a value totaling 388 pounds, seven shillings and seven pence. The chief items were bonds and bills, valued at 314 pounds, nine shillings; cash of thirty-eight pounds, three shillings, one pence, and "parcel of books," estimated to be worth four pounds, ten shillings. The names of John Hart and Joseph Powell appear upon the document as the appraisers of the estate.

Mrs. Hobbs lived until March 26th, 1767, according to her tombstone. However, records in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton show that her will was admitted to probate on February 7th, 1767 by Surrogate Jasper Smith, of Hunterdon County. This will had been signed on February 11th, 1763. The document provided that the Hopewell church should receive the sum of six pounds, five shillings, in "lawful proclamation money," together with two volumes of Poole's Annotations. This bequest was designated "for the use of the minister of the said church successively forever."

Placing great value upon the contents of Cotton Mather's book, The Gospel of Justification, Mrs. Hobbs also stipulated that three hundred copies should be re-printed. Such a proviso must have seemed difficult to execute, and it is doubtful whether her desire was carried out. Cotton Mather, like his noted father, Increase Mather, was held in high respect, being a vigorous campaigner against religious indifference. The elder Mather had stood staunchly for Puritan tenets

originally, with little tolerance for other religious groups, but in 1718 he broadened his outlook and joined with his son, Cotton, in ordaining a Baptist minister in Boston. Mrs. Hobbs' wish was that twenty copies each of the Cotton Mather reprint should be placed in the hands of five Baptist preachers, namely John Gano, of New York; Enoch Green, whose address was not stated; Jonathan Dunham, of Piscataway; Jonathan Davis, of Cohansey, and Benjamin Miller, of Scotch Plains. The executors were instructed to "spread abroad" the remaining copies "for the benefit of the public gratis."

Personal bequests included the gift of her Concordance to Joseph Powell, a former student at the Hopewell Academy; her "Great Bible" and "my book of Mr. Baxter's" to Sarah Gano, wife of Daniel Gano, Senior; a black walnut chest of drawers to Adam Ege's daughter, Elizabeth; and her bed and bedding to Orcha (Archa?) Hill.

The principal legacy, to assist in the education of Baptist youth, was quite unlike anything that the denomination had experienced in the colonies up to that point. As the major clause in Mrs. Hobbs' will, it directed the following:

"It is my will and my order that after all my just debts and funeral charges and the above legacies be levied out of my estate and fully paid, that if any be left that it should go to the education of promising and pious young men of the Baptist Churches, to be disposed of at the discretion of the Baptist Association held yearly in Philadelphia."

The will named Reverend Isaac Eaton and John Hart, Esquire, as executors. The document had been witnessed by Jonathan Smith, John Titus and Hezekiah Bonham. At the probating of the will, the executors presented an inventory dated January 10th, 1767, and prepared by Nehemiah Stout and Samuel Stout, Jr. This estimated the assets at 382 pounds, five shillings. The chief items were: bills and bonds, 353 pounds, two shillings, six pence; one bedstead and bedding, eleven pounds; case of drawers, two pounds, ten shillings; Poole's Annotations, three pounds; large Bible and Concordance and Baxter's book, two pounds, five shillings; and cash owing by Benjamin Stout, fifteen shillings.

By later-day standards, a legacy amounting to three hundred pounds or more for the cause of education might seem piddling, but the estimate placed upon it by the generation in which Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs lived can be gauged by the tombstone inscription over her grave. This reads: "She left a handsome legacy toward the education of pious young men for the ministry of the Baptist denomination." About 1770, a pound was worth approximately two dollars and a half, according to the New Jersey Archives, in which it is also stated that "although its purchasing power in that day was probably five times what it now is" (referring to the early 1900's as "now").

Actually, Mrs. Hobbs' hope that the legacy might be beneficial for many years was thwarted largely because of patriotic fervor during the War of the Revolution. Her plan became operative as early as 1767 when the interest from the legacy

was designated as assistanee in the education of Charles Thompson, by vote of the Philadelphia Baptist Association. He was a former student at the Hopewell Academy. Continuing his studies at the Rhode Island College, he graduated as valedictorian of the first class, consisting of seven students, in 1767. Inasmuch as Thompson had been born in Amwell, adjacent to Hopewell, Mrs. Hobbs would have been happy to know that her benefaction had enabled a promising youth from the neighborhood of Hopewell to broaden his preparation for the ministerial calling.

Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association show that 96 pounds were expended from the interest earnings of Mrs. Hobbs' estate between 1767 and 1775, with an additional sum mentioned but not specified as to amount for one of those years. Those assisted included Thomas Eustick, who was granted fourteen pounds in 1769. Eustick, a New York resident, studied at the Rhode Island College in Warren and Providence, graduating in September, 1771. He taught for a time until licensed in 1774 to preach, then having a church in Grafton, Massachusetts, from 1779 to 1782, when he accepted the pastorate of the Baptist church in Philadelphia. He died in 1803 after a ministry of nearly twenty years in that city.

An undisclosed amount was allotted in 1770 to "Mr. Van-Horn, Jr.," a year in which the Association stipulated that each applicant thereafter must present a recommendation from his church. Fourteen pounds was assigned in 1771 to Ebenezer David to study at Rhode Island College; eighteen pounds in

1774 for Burgess Allison, and a like amount in 1775 to be shared by Allison and Enoch Morgan. In the following year, there were three recipients, dividing an unspecified amount. They were Enoch Morgan, Allison and James Darrah. Special interest attaches to Burgess Allison. He was a native of Bordentown, New Jersey, and studied under Samuel Jones and also at the Rhode Island College. He was licensed to preach by the Pennepek Church in April, 1777. In the following year he started a school of his own at Bordentown that assisted a considerable number of young men to prepare for the ministry. He acted as a supply in the Hopewell Church in 1780 before Oliver Hart became its pastor. In 1796, Allison transferred his school to Reverend William Staughton. Allison became a chaplain of the House of Representatives in Washington.

In 1771, Isaac Eaton was named as one of the trustees in charge of Mrs. Hobbs' donation with authorization to settle the account with the executors. Eaton's death in the following year intervened. In 1779, Samuel Jones reported to the Association that he had received 228 pounds, 15 shillings and two pence of Mrs. Hobbs' donation. The Association thereupon "agreed the same be put in the continental fund." That was a drastic move, requiring the delegates to the Philadelphia Association to close their eyes to the original conditions set forth in Mrs. Hobbs' will. They were days of national peril, however, and the legacy itself was being devaluated by the reduced worth of "continental money." The decision to

place the principal sum of the legacy in the continental fund in the hope of aiding the Revolutionary cause proved fatal to the legacy. It is understandable why the Baptist leaders yielded to the pressure exerted in order that the Hobbs' legacy might provide food, clothing and gunpowder for George Washington's army in the war against Great Britain. The sum of 228 pounds was withdrawn from the Hobbs' legacy for that purpose. In the Association records, there appears only one further notation in respect to the legacy, this being an indication that the sum of twenty-five dollars was allotted in 1789 to Silas Walton for instruction and the purchase of books.

Certainly, the major expenditure of 228 pounds had nothing at all to do with "the education of promising and pious young men" and there was scant hope of its eventual return, but the preservation and independence of the colonies was the paramount concern of the moment. Nevertheless, Mrs. Hobbs had set a precedent which others in later years saw fit to follow. An educational fund began to grow within the Association and this served as a basis for the Pennsylvania Baptist Education Society and its work of later years.

Chapter XVI

Holidays and Recreation

Isaac Eaton had no hesitancy about stating his opinions, even if the subject under discussion was controversial or his views ran counter to popular opinion. As a preacher, he adhered to high moral standards personally and sought to inculcate similar principles into the daily living of his students. Eaton's views were based upon his own knowledge, observations and experience. As a man of scholarly attainments and an inquiring nature, his conclusions were likely to command attention.

It was inevitable that Eaton's opinions would clash sharply at times with popular notions. When circumstances called for a clear-cut statement as to his position, he was forthright and frank in his speech. Having arrived at a conclusion, he stood firm for what he believed to be right.

Thus it was in respect to the observance of Christmas and New Year's Eve, as well as concerning the use of intoxicating liquor.

Eaton's students were amazed when they learned for the first time that he would hold classes on Christmas Day. On Christmas --classes! Yet how could anyone dispute the decision? Those who listened to Eaton's preaching Sunday after Sunday were disinclined to challenge his views on matters having a Scriptural foundation, and his views about Christmas, of course, stemmed

from that source. Yet this did not prevent the Academy students from thinking it was preposterous to conduct classes on Christmas Day. How could Eaton set himself up, they asked each other, as knowing more than the millions throughout the world who accepted the twenty-fifth of December as the memorable date and anniversary of the birth of an infant to Mary in a stable in Bethlehem?

Eaton, however, was not challenging the facts concerning the birth of the Christ-child. That would be heresy of the worst degree, calling for prompt action by his church and leading undoubtedly to his suspension and dismissal. In contending, however, that the accepted date for the observance of Christmas was probable error, Eaton was taking a brave stand contrary to popular belief. The basis for his position, when carefully examined point by point, was simple enough, he maintained. Since positive proof is lacking, how can any man speak with finality and say that December 25th is the precise anniversary of the birth of Christ? Examine the Bible story about the birth of Christ, he told his students. If shepherds were "abiding in the fields," he asked, is it likely that it was the middle of the Winter season, even considering that Palestine has a milder climate? Actually, the Judean shepherds remain at night with their flocks only when the lambs are due to arrive, and this is in the Springtime. Learned men, he pointed out, have never agreed that December 25th or any other date in that month is correct. The Hebrews did not commemorate the event until about

four hundred years after Christ's death and then great controversy arose as to whether the Christian church should stress the date of his baptism (spiritual birth) or his physical birth to Mary, his Mother. The dispute narrowed down to a choice between January 6th and December 25th, the latter being favored by the Hebrews who had accepted Christ's teachings, as it approximated the date of the Hanukkah, the Festival of Lights.

Over the years, numerous errors had crept into Christian thinking and customs had developed, some of which had shaken Christianity almost to its foundations because of the strife engendered. As for himself, Eaton explained, he preferred to let December 25th pass virtually unnoticed in the absence of positive knowledge.

Even the calendar itself had undergone variations that complicated the attempt to pin down the exact date of Christ's birth, Eaton cited. As recently as 1752, the question of calendar reform had been discussed and the Gregorian calendar had been placed in effect in that year in England by an Act of Parliament. The American colonies accepted the same change. Previously, Pope Gregory XIII had altered the calendar, in 1582, because it was so far out of line, setting the date for the equinox, for example, as March 11th instead of March 25th. His calendar was not universally adopted, although approved at that time by Spain, Portugal, Italy and France, with other countries at intervals thereafter. The later decision of Parliament in 1752 to place the Gregorian calendar in effect caused the third day of September, 1752, to be re-dated, making it the fourteenth

day of September instead. This meant a loss of eleven days. The days thereafter took their regular order.

In the days of the early Romans, calendar adjustments were attempted at intervals. For example, during the reign of Numa Pompilius, 715-672 B.C., the ten-month calendar was changed to twelve months, and an extra month was inserted every second year between the 23rd and 24th of February. It was called Mercindinus, and consisted of twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately. The Roman pontiffs, having far-reaching power, were not unwilling to change the calendar to hasten elections and prolong their rule.

Julius Caesar decided that the civil calendar should be set aright, as the civil equinox was three months distant from the actual astronomical event. Hence, Spring was being observed in the Winter months and other seasons accordingly appeared to be off schedule. Julius Caesar called upon the Greek astronomer, Sosigenes, in 46 B.C. to set the calendar in proper adjustment. The Julian Calendar resulted, based on the movements of the sun, with the twelve-months cycle retained by establishing three years of 365 days each, and a fourth year of 366 days, thereby correcting for the extra quarter of a day existing in each year. To get back on schedule, the year was swelled to contain 445 days, and is sometimes referred to as the "last year of confusion." Julius Caesar named one month as Julius, later changed to July, in his own honor. He also wanted the calendar year to begin with the opening of Winter but finally accepted the suggestion that the year begin when the New Moon made its first

appearance after the beginning of Winter.

During the rule of Caesar Augustus, more calendar difficulties arose. The Romans had been adding an extra day every third year, but this was stopped until the correction had fully restored the Julian Calendar. Augustus, in self-esteem, named August for himself, and gave it thirty-one days to match the month named for Julius Caesar, taking one day from February which previously had been shortened to adjust the calendar.

Yet Caesar's calendar, according to the astrologers, was still in error as each year was too long by eleven minutes and fourteen seconds. That amounted to a full day in every 128 years. So in 1582, Pope Gregory XIII ordered a ten-day correction, having October 4th in that year followed by October 15th. Yet his calendar reform went back only as far as the Council of Nicaea, held in 325 A.D. Consequently, the correction of ten days left three days to be inserted in some other manner. To accomplish this, Leap Year was re-arranged. Instead of occurring every fourth year, Leap Year was to be eliminated whenever the year could be divided by 400, thus in 600, the year 2,000, 2,400, etc. Astronomers now hold that if this calendar is not disturbed, the chronology of events will be in time with the revolving of the earth in its orbit about the sun some time after the calendar year 4,900.

With the adoption of the Gregorian calendar by England and the American colonies, the ten-day correction was necessary. So September 3rd, 1752, became September 14th. With such a

checkered history in calendar reform, who could say that the 25th day of December was the true date of the Nativity, Eaton asked with considerable weight of argument on his side.

For the actual numbering of the years was not achieved until a monk, Dionysius Exiguus, fixed the date of the birth of Jesus, basing his conclusion upon his own findings in ancient records. In so doing, he, Dionysius Exiguus, reasoned that he personally was living in the year 533 A.D. and it was so recognized and subsequent years were numbered accordingly. In more recent years, namely 1923, a Roman inscription was found in Turkey citing that the census was taken during the reign of Caesar Augustus in the years we now know as 28 B.C., 8 B.C. and 14 A.D. It is maintained by some authorities that the census and tax collection ordered in 8 B.C. probably was not completed in Judea until the following year. This is supported by astronomers who calculate that Jupiter passed Saturn three times in the year we know as 7 B.C., occurring on May 29th, September 29th and December 24th, the phenomena being attributed to the fact that Jupiter first passed Saturn, then the earth passed both causing them to appear to be receding, after which the planets again were seen moving ahead and Jupiter again passed Saturn. Hence, the Star of Bethlehem may have been this phenomena, which further aids in fixing the year 7 B.C. as the re-calculated date of the Nativity, using the system for numbering years as devised by Dionysius Exiguus.

So, to the discomfiture of his students, Isaac Eaton held classes on December 25th. If it was just an ordinary day, like

those preceding and following, why should regular habits of study be interrupted? Mr. Eaton usually made one concession. At dinner, the students would find that two large turkeys had been roasted and garnished. That lessened the disappointment to some degree. There also was the prospect of an evening to be spent with Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, who, being of English descent, saw to it that the established customs in respect to Christmas Day were followed out.

Thus it was in 1757 that Mrs. Hobbs decided to entertain a number of guests, including several of the Academy students. There was appetizing food and saccharine-like sweetness to the Christmas tidbits provided by Mrs. Hobbs, and these may have inspired Samuel Jones to write these words in his diary: "Notwithstanding Mr. Eaton's homily, I don't see any harm in celebrating some day in commemoration of such a great event." In the well-furnished home of the Hobbs, the guests that night had found a huge Yule log aglow in the fireplace. Mr. Hobbs termed it the "Christmas block." It had been especially selected for the holiday occasion. Mr. Hobbs was in a reminiscent mood and his observations about Christmas customs in England proved fascinating, particularly his account of the manner in which the royal family and nobility spent the holiday season. There also was the detailed story of how the Abbot of Misrule, sometimes referred to as the "Lord of Misrule," took charge of the fun in court circles on this occasion. And in due course, Mrs. Hobbs called attention to her own table loaded with viands, including Christmas pies and cakes, that left nothing to be desired as far as the younger guests were concerned.

Being of a serious turn of mind, Pastor Eaton also felt that the noisy welcome extended to the New Year was foolhardy and the work of the Devil or his servants. Consequently the Academy students were forbidden to take part in any of the "New Year shooting." Eaton's son, Joseph, let it be known when out of his father's hearing, that he would "bet a pie that when Father was a young man, he went out with others to shoot the year out." If Pastor Eaton had heard the remark, Joseph probably would have been thrice rebuked, once for questioning parental authority, secondly for indicating a desire to engage in such pranks, and thirdly for harbouring thoughts concerning wagering with all of the dangers inherent in gambling. However, Joseph might have been mistaken because the custom of going out as a "New Year shooter" prevailed largely among the English and Germans, whereas the Welsh saw no merit in it.

In later years, Isaac Eaton might have cited what occurred near the Academy at the beginning of 1759 as an argument in support of his ban on New Year's celebrations. Aside from his stern orders against the students joining the male portion of the village in giving a noisy welcome to the New Year, the pastor would not have tolerated any breach of the observance of Sunday, which fell on the last day of the old year in 1758. Consequently, the merrymakers who normally visited from house to house to enjoy cider, cake and apples, veered away from Eaton's home. When midnight struck, however, some of the celebrants produced firearms of every description to turn the vast silences

of the countryside into a cacophony of blasts as powder and shot were set off. Groups moved about, re-visiting the several residences, and at each place, the muskets emitted a new outburst. Now that it was Monday morning, they included the Eaton residence in their itinerary.

Billy Weart, who had earned quite a reputation because of his pranks, decided to take advantage of an opportunity to have some fun with Jack, a Negro servant employed by John Hart. Jack had been drinking, it appeared. Billy put three charges, instead of a single charge, in his own gun and then pretended that he couldn't get the weapon to discharge. Jack, unaware of the ruse, declared he could make it fire. Billy put up a show of reluctance about entrusting him with the musket but finally yielded. Jack, with further boasting of his prowess, declared:

"Now, Billy, I'll show you de way dey do over in York."

Saying that, he pulled the trigger. The triple load of powder and shot created a terrific blast and a powerful backfire. Jack went sprawling backward, landing in a snowbank. He roared, uncertain at first whether he was seriously hurt or not. Meanwhile, others who had witnessed the spectacle from nearby, laughed until Jack was dismayed. Rubbing his shoulder, he finally pulled himself to his feet and realized that he had been tricked. His belligerent mood gradually subsided when he was convinced that he was unhurt. After a reasonable interval, the firing of the weapons ceased. The New Year had officially arrived and the noise-makers could retire for their belated sleep.

body
Within the student/ of the Hopewell Academy, drinking gave rise to no serious problems, according to all known records. Nevertheless, at least one instance occurred which may have set gossip tongues to wagging, if the circumstances were ascertained sufficiently soon to make the news a choice morsel. Surely, John Hart's favorite servant, Jack, must have talked freely about what occurred during a sleighing party in January, 1758, if he had a clear recollection when he reached home. Within the student body, the events in question provoked some serious soul-searching, particularly on the part of James Talbot, who was to begin his career as a preacher within a few months. It is quite possible that Isaac Eaton never learned about the occurrence, or if he did, he probably treated it as a subject to be discussed with the individuals alone.

The sleighing party had set out from Hopewell on an extremely cold day. That may have accounted in part for the rise of circumstances that caused the trip to end on a hilarious note, after at least one narrow escape from a serious accident. Jesse Hart, son of John Hart, had arranged to use a sleigh and a team of horses from the Hart farm. Likewise, it was logical that the Hart servant, Jack, should be chosen to handle the reins. Eaton's son, Joseph, as well as Samuel Jones and James Talbot, were invited, while two local girls, Sarah Stout and Katherine Weart, accepted invitations. The excuse for the trip was that Talbot "seldom goes anywhere," so the plan was to take him to Prince-town and possibly beyond.

The members of the party wrapped themselves in deer and bear skins to be shielded from the cutting winds. In addition, two fire-pans radiating considerable heat from the live coals they contained at the outset, were placed advantageously for the benefit of Sarah and Katherine. Leaving Hopewell about three o'clock on a Friday afternoon, January 20th, 1758, the party made rapid progress for the ground was well covered with snow and ice. The horses' hoofs crunched the hard surface and the sleigh runners rasped or sang across the uneven blanket of snow. Because of the wintry weather, the team had been well rested. Now high-spirited, they gave added speed on the first part of the journey.

Jack suggested, upon their approach to Prince-town, that they make a stop at the Red Lion Inn. Everybody would feel better if they warmed themselves within the hostelry, he explained, before they resumed their travels. The suggestion was accepted. The interior of the inn dispelled the chill in the blood of the the sleigh's passengers. Jack, it appeared, had an ulterior motive in suggesting a brief halt. He was observed taking a drink but when asked about it by Samuel Jones, his reply was, "Just apple cider."

Resuming the journey, Jesse Hart proposed a swing in the direction of Brunswick (New Brunswick), sixteen miles further north, with a stop at some convenient point for a good meal. Everyone consented. Jack became quite talkative and was ready to laugh at every triviality. Sam Jones concluded that something

stronger than cider must have been in the glass from which the Negro servant had taken a drink. But he thought little more about it, and upon their arrival at a wayside stopping-place known as the "Three Tuns," it was agreed that appetites should be appeased.

Only those who had been on the road for two or three hours, breathing the invigorating air, could fully appreciate a supper such as was served to the sleighing party. There were buckwheat cakes, browned to match the color of fully ripened grain; roasted oysters, of a size and richness that brought out their full flavor, and hot coffee. The boys made inquiry about the oysters, a treat which they had not anticipated. They were informed that the bivalves had been brought from the salt water bays along Long Island, then kept in the cellar of the inn. Under a thin covering of seaweed and sand, they had kept well for a number of weeks, meanwhile being given bran or cornmeal as well as occasional sprinklings of salt water to nurture them.

When it was time to resume their places in the sleigh, Jack walked with an unsteady gait from the "Three Tuns." He attempted to drive but exercised little control over the horses. Headed for home, they seemed eager to make swift work of it. Samuel Jones finally took the reins out of Jack's hands, fearing a runaway with all its perils, after one runner of the sleigh threatened to plunge into a deep rut at the side of the road. Jack made little protest, being too tipsy to care much what happened. He eased down into the straw where he was well shielded from the wind. For the next five miles, he remained quiet.

The "Bull's Head," another inn, offered another haven when the sleighing party was about five miles from Hopewell. It was debated whether Jack should be disturbed. Jack roused himself, however, and with some little help, was able to walk to the entrance of the inn. But he was kept under strict surveillance in the hope of preventing him from becoming more intoxicated. Jack was denied even so much as a taste of the hot mulled cider that the others ordered to fortify themselves for the remainder of the trip. As a cold-weather concoction, it enjoyed considerable popularity. It was made by mixing ginger, allspice and sugar with cider, and then thrusting a red-hot iron rod into it.

Sam Jones decided that he wanted none of it. Since he was still doing the driving, it was just as well. Talbot, Joseph Eaton and Jesse Hart began to sing and grow boisterous when they had buried themselves beneath the blankets for the final homeward lap.

"My head feels giddy," one of the girls confessed, in response to a question from Samuel. "The trees look as if they were running toward York (New York)," she added. The fellows continued their singing, their voices carrying far on the clear night air. Talbot let it be known that he had a queer feeling in his stomach while Hart and Eaton seemed thick in their speech, as Sam confided later in his diary.

Jones was considerably disturbed over the actions of his companions. He finally gleaned enough information to satisfy

himself as to why the hot mulled cider had caused such unexpected results. One of the fellows said he had observed that the cider at the top of the barrel was found to be frozen when the host at the inn had attempted to draw off a supply. So he had removed the ice, thus leaving a thicker mixture, closely akin to cider brandy. Since cider brandy was just about as potent as ordinary brandy, the imbibers of the hot mulled cider had obtained more than they had bargained for. Thinking back to the first stop at the Red Lion Inn in Prince-town, Jones concluded that perhaps Jack had obtained something similar there. At any rate, the sleighing party concluded as a rather "heady" affair.

On the following morning, Talbot went to Sam Jones' room. He confessed that he felt chagrined over his behavior on the previous night. He vowed that he would keep clear of such possibilities in the future. At the same time, he was concerned over the possible loss of reputation as far as Sam Jones' opinion of him was concerned. But Samuel, aware of Talbot's uneasy conscience, tried to clear up Talbot's anxiety. James Manning, who heard part of the conversation, also discussed the situation, particularly challenging Jones' declaration that "the best of men sometimes are led into a wrong act unintentionally and in such cases God looks not at the act itself so much as the intention." To that, Manning replied: "That doctrine does not contain the whole truth, for God will not approve of one who does a bad act knowingly for a good purpose." Manning, a deep

thinker, expounded at such length that Jones became restless before the discussion ended. As far as he was concerned, it was a closed incident, once all had arrived safely back in town.

Chapter XVII
Dealings With Indians

Isaac Eaton enjoyed friendly relations with his Indian neighbors despite the havoc and terror that outcropped frequently in northern New Jersey and the greater portion of Pennsylvania after the outbreak of hostilities in the French and Indian War in 1754. This was because he dealt on a man-to-man basis with Chief Waaghechaaghe, leader of the tribe of Indians whose camp was on the banks of Stony Brook, adjacent to Hopewell.

Until late in 1758, the menace of savage Indian attacks hovered like a storm-laden cloud with unpredictable consequences above the Province of New Jersey. In the belief, however, that Pennsylvania would serve as a buffer for New Jersey, adequate defense measures were postponed again and again by the New Jersey Provincial Assembly until grave danger prompted precipitous action.

Sussex and Warren counties at the northern end of the State bore the brunt of the Indian depredations. Nevertheless, the possibility of acts of aggression by Indians caused a state of alarm to prevail throughout the central portion of the Province as well. In the minds of the colonists, there constantly lurked the disquieting fear that their homes and families might be the next to be assailed. In such disturbed times, even "friendly" Indians might be seized with a notion to have vengeance for

past grievances involving loss of favored camp or hunting grounds, or for personal grudges resulting from unfair treatment in trading for furs and skins.

It was no easy matter for a settler to banish the thought that a group of Indians--usually three or four--might descend upon his home by night, killing and scalping members of the family, leaving their bodies amid the smoking ruins of a former peaceful fireside. Brave men, to say nothing of their wives and children, quaked with good reason when aroused from their slumbers by the snap of a twig or the eerie whistle of the winds in an adjacent woods.

Despite disquieting conditions not far distant, Reverend Isaac Eaton accepted Chief Waaghechaaghe as he found him. It was apparent that the chief was well-content when left undisturbed. Occasionally the Indian chief appeared at the residence of a white man when special reason dictated, and the Eaton home was included. As in his dealings with all others, Eaton saw to it that his own life was living example of Christian principles at work in an ordinary man, and Chief Waaghechaaghe treated him with respect.

Chief Waaghechaaghe and his little circle of followers belonged to the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, tribe of Indians. Years back, the Delawares had been defeated and scattered by the Iroquois Indians. Now possessing only a remnant of their former strength, the Lenni Lenape dwelt in the central portion of New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania. They were not eager to live any closer to the territory of the Iroquois, who inhabited upper New York

and Ohio, as well as the general region of the Great Lakes.

The Lenni Lenape Indians were of medium build, hard-muscled from outdoor life and evil-smelling from animal oils, mixed with dyes compounded from mineral or vegetable matter. They rubbed the oils on their skin and their crude garments reeked with the odor. A scalplock of black hair added a look of severity to their general appearance.

Unfortunately, the relationship between the English colonists and the Indians in general had deteriorated seriously prior to 1750. Fur traders were to blame in considerable measure, engaging in unscrupulous practices that the Provincial governments were powerless to suppress. The traders, posing as friends of the Indians and carrying to them the liquor that the Indians craved, pushed through swift deals when their victims were in a drunken condition. The Indians frequently were ready for the warpath when, emerging from a stupor, they realized how little they had obtained in their transactions. The authorities passed laws banning the sale of rum as well as its use in barter but means of enforcement were lacking. When violations were reported, the accused generally were gone. Frequently the Indians also protested that the colonists had pledged themselves to provide food for the wives and children of the natives while the braves were acting as scouts for the English, yet found upon their return that the agreements had been violated.

The westward expansion of the colonies, without satisfactory adjustment of land titles, was the crucial issue, however. The Indians were restive because of the land squatters who

despoiled the best hunting grounds but set up homes and leveled timber. This push frequently culminated in the arrival of a group of pioneers who established a new outpost without bothering to discuss treaties of purchase with the Indians. There was only one conclusion that the Indians could reach. These encroachments would never cease. Conferences with government officials yielded gifts, but in Pennsylvania where the pressure on the Indians were severe, the Quaker rulers frowned upon military measures to enforce their laws or to defend the settlers when Indians decided to take the law into their own hands.

From the viewpoint of the French in America, the time was at hand to make a stand and hold the Ohio Valley in Pennsylvania or lose the advantages derived through a string of French settlements extending from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Such outposts furnished a nucleus for a French empire, if the French could support their claim that a foothold at the source of a river established the right to the territory that it drained. Linked together, these outposts would limit British occupancy to the area bordering on the Atlantic coast.

The Indian frame of mind is illustrated in an experience of Conrad Weiser, interpreter and agent to the Indians who had notable success in promoting better understanding with the various tribes, particularly in Pennsylvania and New York State. Weiser traveled extensively of necessity. One day he sat down to rest upon a log. An Indian emerged from the forest and sat down beside him. Conrad moved aside slightly to allow more room for his companion. The Indian moved closer. Puzzled, Weiser

asked what was meant by this strange behavior. The Indian replied:

"Thus the whites did to the Indians. They lighted unbidden on our lands. We moved on; they followed. We still moved, and they still followed. We are moving onward now, and they are following after. I will not push you from the log entirely. But will your people cease their crowding, before we roll into the waters?"

Yet wherever the British pioneers displayed considerable strength the Indians put on a show of cordiality. However, advanced parties of the French were showering the natives with gifts of all sorts--shirts, blankets, flour, tobacco, match-coats and trinkets. By this policy, they further alienated the Indians from the English influence. This type of bribery was sufficient to tip the scales. It united the French and the Indians in defense of the vast territory which the Indians regarded as their own. The French were promising that everything which had been taken from the Indians would be restored--which the Indians interpreted as meaning one thing while the French gave it a twist that was meant to operate largely for the benefit of the maker of the pledge.

While relations with the Indians went from bad to worse and British-French dealings in Europe also assumed a somber hue, high officials in the Province of New Jersey were inclined to treat the French-and-Indian hazard as an issue that chiefly

concerned the other colonies. Not until refugees began to pour into New Jersey with harrowing tales of massacres that had wiped out families and friends was the danger taken to heart.

As far back as January, 1750, Governor George Clinton had invited New Jersey to send delegates to Albany in the hope that a discussion with the Six Nations might improve relations. Governor Jonathan Belcher pointed out to the New Jersey Assembly that "nothing seems to me more reasonable than that all the Colonies, which may be sooner or later annoyed and ravaged by their barbarous incursions, upon their defection to the French, should unite in the intended treaty at Albany." He added that New Jersey should "cheerfully contribute their equitable proportion of the charge." There was the rub. The Assembly soon replied that "as this Colony hath not hitherto been concerned in Indian treaties, beyond its limits, nor been benefitted by their trade, we cannot think it now reasonable to become a party at the said intended interview; but think it highly reasonable for those colonies that have been and still may be benefitted by their trade, to secure them in their fidelity to the English at their own expence." The message blandly added that New Jersey would contribute if an invasion created an emergency.

Governor Robert Dinwiddie, of Virginia, also was keeping a watchful eye upon French activity as the latter colony claimed jurisdiction over a portion of the disputed territory. French designs crystallized in 1753 when the Marquis Duquesne, as governor of Canada, sent troops and fortified the present-day site of Pittsburgh. Dinwiddie thought it was time to ask questions.

He selected George Washington, then a militia officer in his 'teens, to carry a protest to the French commandant, who shrugged off the demand that he withdraw by explaining that any remonstrance should be presented to Duquesne. In due course, the British ministry lodged a complaint with France but the effort proved to be meaningless.

In the Spring of 1754, Governor Dinwiddie asked New Jersey to cooperate in halting the French, now preparing to move down the Ohio River and build forts at every place of consequence. The Provincial Council of New Jersey replied that Virginia had not presented any definite plan of operation nor stated how many men Virginia planned to raise. Dinwiddie soon corrected that. He said that 10,000 pounds had been allotted, supporting a proclamation issued to encourage enlistments in that colony. The New Jersey Assembly, for its inactivity, drew a severe rebuke from Governor Belcher and was dissolved by him on June 21st, 1754.

Using a single Virginia regiment, an attempt was made to wrest Fort Duquesne from the French but a retreat into Virginia became necessary. Meanwhile, a plan of union for the King's colonies was discussed and outlined at Albany in June, July and August, 1754. Benjamin Franklin conceived the proposal and had high hopes for its success when approved by the colonial legislatures. New Jersey failed to send delegates to the Albany congress. When the "Plan of Union" reached New Jersey, the Assembly promptly turned thumbs down on the ground that some of the proposals "would affect our constitution in its very vitals." Other colonies discarded the plan as too visionary, unnecessary or

dangerous in its implications as to the surrender of taxing power to a Continental Congress.

The Albany parley of 1754 was arranged chiefly to permit a conference with the Six Nations' tribes. Few Indians attended, however. Several years earlier, the dominant Iroquois had been bribed into approving the forced removal of the Delawares from Eastern Pennsylvania after the perpetration of a fraud known as the "Walking Purchase of 1737." To define the boundary named in a deed of 1686, walkers were to proceed in a certain direction for a full day and a half. The English engaged the services of the speediest men available who covered sixty miles in one day by following a charted route. The Iroquois, outwitted, released an area more vast than they had anticipated and also pledged that they would compel the French to relinquish advance posts in Western Pennsylvania. All too soon, the Indians found that the treaty meant that they must retire into Ohio territory, but they decided to resist and since their strongest hope rested in joining forces with the French, war was inevitable.

Governor Belcher, addressing the Nineteenth Assembly in October, 1754, declared that the French invasion of the King's territories from South Carolina to Nova Scotia, demanded united action by the neighboring governments. Convinced that the inroads and border alarms would "fire you (and every true English heart) with a becoming indignation," he called for immediate steps. On his own part, he had directed the colonels of the several regiments of militia in the Province to muster their men, furnish them with arms and ammunition and be prepared

"for service upon any sudden occasion." He underscored his declarations by saying "Nor must you, gentlemen, imagine yourselves exempted from these cruelties and barbarities; No. If there be not an effectual stop put to them you may soon expect the enemy on your own borders."

The Assembly felt that the financing of defense measures should first be arranged. Accordingly, it pointed to the scarcity of currency and requested the King to approve bills of credit totaling 70,000 pounds. This attitude countered the suggestion by the Ministry that the colonies set up proper defenses, using British Treasury funds to be repaid by a general parliamentary tax on the colonies. For its own defense, the Province relied upon the militia but the officers complained that the men were not fully responsive to general muster orders. The infrequent musters also left the men ignorant in the exercise of arms, but their infrequency was desirable from the viewpoint of money saving.

The British Ministry decided to send regulars from Ireland to assert the British right to colonial expansion. When the arrival of these troops was imminent in February, 1755, Governor Belcher received commands from the King to provide quarters and food for the officers and men, at the colony's expense. It also was expected that the colony would recruit additional men, with a sum to be contributed into a common fund to care for the general needs of these two thousand men. The Assembly concluded that 500 pounds would be its proper share, claiming that its request for approval of an issue of bills of credit totaling

70,000 pounds had included 10,000 pounds for national use.

The British regulars, commanded by General Braddock and highly trained by a capable English staff, moved against Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers in Western Pennsylvania. They received a decided setback on July 18th, 1755. General Braddock lost his life in the battle. Three hundred Indians, skilled in forest fighting, were a decided asset to the two hundred French soldiers. The British, matching their formalistic battle tactics against the wiles and skills of the experienced Indians, had a sorry day, losing half of their forces. The defeat meant that the western frontier no longer had any fixed location. The victory for the French and Indians also motivated a series of forays and massacres by the Indians that reached far eastward in Pennsylvania. Repeatedly, night skies were reddened with the glare of burning dwellings whose owners had been slain. Governor Belcher warned the New Jersey Assembly that "this matter may produce fatal consequences to this and the neighbouring provinces."

As for sending troops into Pennsylvania, the New Jersey Assembly informed Belcher on November 14th, 1755, that "as we are fully convinced that the exposed Provinces have a force that if properly exerted will be sufficient to repel any attempts against them, we believe there will be no occasion of any assistance from us." Stated more frankly, the Assembly was making sure that it did not outrival its neighbors in military expenditures.

New Jersey's rulers actually were preoccupied with the

campaign to the north. The belief persisted that the major French attack would come from the direction of Canada, since this was their base of operations. Consequently the campaign in 1755 against Crown Point, Lake Champlain and Canada prompted the Assembly to authorize the raising of five hundred volunteers to cooperate with troops from New York and the northern colonies. Colonel Peter Schuyler's leadership caused the quota to be exceeded. Bills of credit in the sum of 15,000 pounds were approved.

The French prepared to meet force with force in that area too. In the ensuing clash, the struggle to seize and hold forts went far from well for the English, particularly at Oswego where setbacks caused the campaign to be abandoned. Colonel Schuyler, appealing for volunteers to replenish his depleted ranks, saw the frontiers of the Province in increased danger "from the merciless depredations and cruelties of the French and Indians," with "no force or hope but what we may expect from the militia."

So serious had the situation become when the Winter of 1755-56 approached that Indians were moving freely across Cumberland, Susquehanna, Berks and Northampton counties in Pennsylvania, and also reaching into Sussex and Warren counties of New Jersey. Widespread alarm prevailed when the French and Indians moved toward Easton. Pennsylvania residents fled before them, believing that New Jersey offered sanctuary. Governor Belcher declared that "the people in general seem resolved by the help of God to give the enemy a warm reception wherever they may come."

Colonel John Anderson took practical steps to stem the tide. He recruited a company of four hundred men who searched Sussex County to make sure that it was clear of hostile Indians and then hastened to Easton. In defense of the frontier of the Province, the Council sent militia detachments to the borders of Warren and Sussex. Hunterdon county furnished a captain, one subaltern and sixty men. The militia were to ascertain where scouting parties of the enemy or large bodies of men might seek to invade, and guard against this menace by establishing and strengthening posts, and maintaining a constant patrol with signals devised so that inhabitants might have advance warning of any invasion. To support the militia guarding the Delaware River boundary, Colonel Schuyler's battalion was recalled from New York State. The Provincial Assembly asked the Crown to approve paper currency to finance the military moves but received another turn-down. The Assembly decided to issue 10,000 pounds in bills regardless.

Even the Indians dwelling in New Jersey were concerned over the situation near the New Jersey boundary. In an address to the Provincial Council on December 2nd, 1755, Governor Belcher cited further "murders and depredations near our borders and also at Minisinks within this Colony or very near the same in the Colony of New York." In the same message, he told of a petition from Indians living at Bethel and Cranbury asking protection. They feared they would be destroyed by the English or by hostile Indians acting in the French interest. It was decided that the friendly natives should be listed on special

roll-books in each county, after which they could apply to a magistrate for a certificate of loyalty to the King and the Colony, to be granted upon satisfactory proof of sincerity. Each Indian thus certified was to be supplied with a red ribbon to be worn upon his head to identify him as a friend of the British. If an Indian sought to travel or live without possessing such a certificate, he was to be taken before any Justice of the Peace and compelled to give security for his good behavior or be committed to jail, unless he could satisfy the magistrate that he was not a spy or hostile.

Governor Belcher appealed to the Assembly on December 16th, 1755, to arrange for the erection of a number of blockhouses along the Delaware River, as well as on Kittatiny Mountain, to be held by three or four hundred men with arms and ammunition "for which charge I believe your constituents are very desirous to be taxed . . . to save the rest together with the lives of themselves, their wives and children." He was being besieged with messages by express and petitions for adequate protection. Residents were abandoning all their possessions in fear for their lives. Within eight days, means were provided to implement the request for blockhouses.

Some further arrangement in respect to Indians living within the Province seemed important. The Governor named Richard Salter, Charles Read and Samuel Smith to treat with the Indians, who were directed to assemble at Crosswicks. A treaty resulted whereby all Indians who appeared to be friends of the English were taken to Crosswicks and maintained there with funds raised by subscription.

In March, 1756, the General Assembly ordered that 250 able-bodied freemen be raised to replace the militia stationed at the frontier. This would release Schuyler's troops also for an attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point. A "secret" plan resulting from General Shirley's council of war in New York and calling for quotas to be filled by the several colonies for the ensuing campaign was presented to the law-makers. Because of further Indian incursions across the border, Governor Belcher urged united action with Pennsylvania and New York. He then made this drastic recommendation: "I think it proper to say to you that for the more effectually intimidating and driving the enemy from our frontiers it would be the wisest and cheapest method to pass an act for giving premiums on Indian scalps and captives, as the Massachusetts Government have done. . . ." The Assembly concluded that since the Province had provided 750 men, of whom 500 continued to be with General Shirley, and that the recruiting for this force had included a number of indentured servants and apprentices, causing distress to their masters, the Province should have some redress, and not be expected to augment the number of men proposed at the council of war.

Money matters were eased when the King allotted a large sum --115,000 pounds--to the several colonies as an acknowledgment of past loyalty and service. New Jersey received 5,000 pounds of that total.

A serious misunderstanding in respect to the Delaware tribe of Indians occurred in June, 1756. Governor Belcher issued a proclamation, by advice of the Provincial Council, declaring

the Delawares to be "enemies, rebels and traitors." He cited that they had made forays upon the Colony, committing shocking murders and capturing some of the residents of Sussex County. For every live Indian above the age of fifteen who was made captive, an award of 150 Spanish dollars was offered. A fee of \$130 was set for the production of the scalp of any male adult Indian who had been put to death. Other rewards were offered for the capture of Indian children under 15 years of age, and the re-capture of Colony inhabitants who had been seized by the Indians. For Provincial officers and soldiers, the fees were offered at half-premium to insure continued and added vigilance. Friendly Indians covered by the Crosswicks treaty were warned to keep within the bounds prescribed. Ferry-men were forbidden to carry Indians across the Delaware or Raritan rivers unless a permit was obtained from a member of His Majesty's Council or two Justices of the Peace. But advice soon came from Pennsylvania to the effect that the Delaware and Shawanese Indians had joined in signing a treaty of peace with the colonists. Barely five weeks had elapsed between the proclamation directed against the Delawares and the declaration of peace by them, but apparently the move clarified the status of these tribes.

About this time, the Provincial Council received official notice from abroad that Great Britain had officially declared war against France on May 17th, 1756. England had allied itself with Prussia against the combined strength of France and

Austria, but in America the strife was strictly between England and France over the issue of colonial expansion. The fall of Oswego, New York, into French hands created new alarm in the Province concerning further raids by the French and Indians. At the same time, the English mourned the loss of Colonel Schuyler who with half of his regiment had been taken as a prisoner-of-war on August 14th, 1756.

In May, 1757, the "melancholy situation of the frontiers of our own Province" compelled Governor Belcher to dispatch 120 men to assure the safety of the inhabitants. He acted after receiving reports that the Indians had killed and scalped several persons on the New Jersey side of the border. The Governor also reminded the Assembly that New Jersey had not raised its quota of 1,000 men for the 1757 campaign, adding that 1,000 should be raised for later operations against the French. Stung by the rebuke, Robert Lawrence, Speaker of the House, declared that the Governor's attitude on money matters had been the hampering factor. He cited that the militia had been placed on a serviceable footing and was ready to march for the defense of neighboring states if they should be attacked.

Belcher directed that 1,000 men be detached from the militia of the Province to proceed to Albany, but upon word that the French siege of Fort William Henry had been successful, he detained the men. Shortly thereafter, General Webb asked that the New Jersey regiment be replaced promptly. The Provincial Council agreed that New Jersey and its neighbors were in new danger in the face of the approach of a "numerous and successful

army." The Governor also directed that an additional 3,000 men be ready to move, if required. The menace diminished in succeeding weeks, but he insisted that the militia laws be amended so he could provide more timely assistance if it became necessary.

Governor Belcher died August 31st, 1757. John Reading, a member of the Provincial Council, was next in line but a month elapsed before he was willing to assume the duties, because of his advanced years and ill health. On October 11th, 1757, he informed the Council that the forces at the border were insufficient, and that he had asked the Earl of Loudoun, commander of His Majesty's forces in America, for men to garrison the blockhouses. He also recommended that the wider use of scouting parties in the same area be arranged.

After William Pitt became Secretary of State for His Majesty, he advised Governor Reading that the Ministry would supply arms, provisions and equipment for the Provincial troops. The colonists had wanted the war conducted on that basis from the outset. Pitt also recommended that His Majesty "grant a proper compensation for the expence of the Colonies" in the war effort. Again, this met with hearty approval in the colonies. At last, the Provincial governments seemed eager to get on with the war and to bring it to a favorable climax.

To provide barracks of a permanent type for troops, an Act was adopted by the Assembly in April, 1758. Meanwhile, new alarms from the northern end of the State prompted the new Governor, Francis Bernard, to send one hundred men from regiments in Hunterdon, Somerset and Morris counties for the relief of the

residents. He told the Assembly in July, 1758, that "you must . . . at all times consider your frontier to be in a state of war."

Governor Bernard busied himself with the question of promoting more friendly relations with the Indians. A conference was arranged and with considerable difficulty, two hundred Indian chiefs and sub-chiefs were induced to attend. A treaty was concluded late in 1758 with the thirteen Indian nations, including the Delawares. With basic differences settled, the tension on the frontier began to diminish.

The war situation generally took a favorable turn in 1758, both in North America and abroad. The French fort at Louisburg on Cape Breton Island was subdued in July and Fort Frontenac fell in August. The French withdrew from Fort Duquesne and the area around the Ohio River, no longer having the Indians to assist in its defense. British forces turned to the invasion of Canada, and with colonial troops assisting, caused the fall of Quebec in September, 1759, dooming French aggression in America.

Governor Bernard in March, 1759, emphasized to the General Assembly that trade with the neighboring Indians should be promoted either by Commissioners or a corporation acting in the public interest. Yet it was not until 1765 that hostilities with the Indians were officially at an end. The Indians were compelled to deliver all their prisoners, including their own children born of white women. Several of the chiefs were produced as hostages until the terms of the peace treaty had been carried out.

But those who had been in close touch with the Indian menace had memories that time could not efface. Whenever Indians were mentioned by fellow students at Hopewell Academy, Samuel Jones spoke bitterly concerning them. The country adjacent to his home at Tulpehocken, east of Reading, Pennsylvania, had been invaded by the Indians in November, 1755. Conrad Weiser, acting as Governor Morris' agent in Indian relations, had reported to the Governor that "upon the whole, there are about fifteen of our people killed, including men, women and children, and the enemy not beat, but scared off. Several houses and barns are burned. I have no true account how many. We are in a dismal situation."

In the home of Reverend Thomas Jones, Samuel's father, guns were made ready after a visitor to their home in February, 1757, predicted more Indian attacks. In his diary under date of July 12th, 1757, Samuel described a parley held at the Jones' home where neighbors came to consult two of Conrad Weiser's sons, Philip and Frederick, who were guests. Sam wrote: "The news is bad. Father thinks they may attack us next. They have killed several women and children at the other end of the county. None of our neighbors ever go from home without arms, and father has taught mother and sister how to shoot a gun. At first they shut their eyes when they pulled the trigger, but they have got over that. About nine o'clock our neighbors went home; we went part of the way with them, and took our guns. Indeed none of us ever venture to the harvest fields without our

arms. The Weisers on our return told us many stories about the savages which they heard from their father. They were so horrible that we scarcely dared to go to bed."

While Weiser continually contended that the whites were guilty of grave injustices in their dealings with the Indians, Sam Jones and his brothers drilled nightly with neighbors who had formed a company for defense purposes. "We hear that the Quakers in the Assembly are opposed to war," the Jones' diary stated. "I wish they would move up here and try to keep the savages quiet in their way." Yet Sam agreed that the story had come reliably concerning two Welshmen who went out hunting game and when they encountered two Indians, deliberately shot them. In explanation, the Welshmen argued that they understood "it was perfectly proper and lawful to shoot an Indian."

After the Summer vacation in 1758, Samuel had a thrilling story to tell his schoolmates as to how it felt to march away from home anticipating a serious encounter with the Indians. In August, travelers had brought reports to Tulpehoken that were ominous. As a precaution, the volunteer company formed in earlier months was notified to be ready to move on short notice. The younger members were eager to fight. When Samuel informed his Mother that he intended to serve in the company, a grave look came over her face but she did not attempt to dissuade him. His sisters busied themselves making haversacks. His brother, Griff, also belonged to the company.

The military company attended services on the following

Sunday in a body. Pastor Jones preached a sermon that combined religion with patriotism, using the text: "Quit yourselves like men." Orders came on Tuesday night to be ready to march at daylight. It was a heart-breaking departure, as fathers and mothers and younger children in the families of the men comprising the company marched by their side for half a mile or more. But tears were wiped away and loud cheers sounded as the two groups separated. The company marched that day as far as Derry, stationed its guards and prepared to rest. About nine o'clock it began to rain and the company took shelter in the meeting house. Sam was detailed as one of the guards and posted behind a large oak tree. Through his mind there raced some of the tales of scalplings by Indians. "I felt weak at the stomach for a while," he admitted. At midnight the guards were changed.

When daybreak came, the company marched toward Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg) where it arrived about 4 o'clock. The men camped on a hill that afforded a view over a wide area, including the course of the Susquehanna river. More men arrived during the night. A conference was held on the next day. John Harris was confident that the alarms were false as several Indian chiefs had told him about a week previous that their tribes would remain quiet unless their hunting grounds were taken from them. It was concluded that there was no immediate threat of renewed Indian outbreaks, so orders were issued for the return march. Harris provided the company from Tulpehocken with a drum and fife. With considerable noise and confusion, they retraced

their steps. After four days afield, they were back at their firesides.

Despite his ingrained dislike for the Indians in general, Samuel was ready to admit later that an Indian had been of great assistance in the treatment of his brother, Cradock. "Crad" had returned to Wales in 1756 because of a bad cough attributed to lung trouble. He returned thin and ashen-faced in August, 1758, landing at Newcastle, Delaware, and proceeding to Philadelphia and up the Schuylkill to Reading on a smaller vessel. At the latter place his father met him with horses. One the day following "Crad's" arrival, a friendly Indian chanced to stop at the houses about midday. Mrs. Jones gave him food. Cradock's cough attracted the Indians' attention. He went to "Crad's" side, listened to his chest and then declared "Me cure him."

The Indian vanished into a nearby swamp, returning a short time later with an assortment of leaves and roots. He was provided with a pan. Then he washed the roots, cut them up and boiled them. The mixture of juices was strained through a cloth and sweetened with sugar. The Indian tasted it, then prescribed that it be given to "Crad" when he coughed. He added, "Will cure him. Bad spirit in throat; not in breast." "Crad" went into a bad spell of coughing and a spoonful of the medicine appeared to ease the distress. The next day, the patient was better and continued to improve thereafter. Yet on Sunday, Sam and his brother, Griff, as well as Cato, their Dutch boy helper, carried their guns when they went to church. As for them, the

day was far off when they would be willing to accept the red-skinned native as a "friendly Indian."

Chapter XVIII

Eaton As a Doctor

In addition to serving as a minister of the gospel and the teaching head of Hopewell Academy, Reverend Isaac Eaton frequently was called upon to render assistance as a medical practitioner. To have lacked a fair knowledge of the healing art would have been considered by many as a serious shortcoming for a member of the clergy of his day. It was taken for granted that a preacher, as one of the more learned men in a settlement, was acquainted with cures for various ailments and the treatment of diseases.

Ministers of other denominations, who had been educated in England in most cases, possessed some knowledge of medicine almost without exception. It had been included in their formal schooling. Few Baptists, however, were included in that group. The latter also lacked the advantage of study at Harvard, Yale or William and Mary where some medical knowledge, along with other training, was acquired by students who hoped to be ordained for the ministry.

Those who had been reared in the colonies generally possessed only such schooling as could be obtained from their parents or the pastor of their church. Nevertheless, a youth who hoped to be licensed later as a Baptist preacher, was expected to learn what remedies should be prescribed for various symptoms

or complaints. Isaac Eaton, quick to learn, undoubtedly absorbed medical wisdom from his Father and Mother, and expanded it through study and acquaintance with others of like leanings.

The preacher-doctors, in many instances, were as well qualified as the occasional individuals who set themselves up to engage in medical practice in the colonies. Frequently the chief asset of the latter was the title of "doctor." This was self-assumed as no medical society existed until 1766 in New Jersey to set professional standards under governmental authority. Prior to that date, the only deterrent against the "faker" was a medical code expressed in broad, general terms. Its purpose was described as a design "to restrain the presumptuous from exercising power contrary to the approved rules, without the advice of those skilled in the art or the consent of the patient." It included a loose system whereby a physician agreed to accept a promising youth as an assistant. At the end of a year or two, the apprentice was considered ready to prescribe for and treat the ailing and the injured. During his training period, he would have gained some insight into the curative properties of the various drugs and herbs that were available, and have observed the administering of treatment for certain illnesses. The physicians relied chiefly upon "bleeding, vomiting, blistering, purging" and the use of pain-soothers. Such an apprentice also might have access to the few books in the library of a physician. However, medical science had not advanced sufficiently to identify and prescribe for many maladies.

The French-and-Indian war has been credited with providing

a liberal education for American physicians. The English troops who were scattered at various outposts to ward off Indian foray parties received medical care from British army surgeons who had accompanied them across the Atlantic. Their fraternization with American doctors enabled the latter to glean knowledge of newer methods of treatment as developed in England or upon the European continent.

When the State medical society was formed in 1766, only a short time elapsed before standards for admission to medical practice were adopted. A legislative act in 1772 required that physicians qualify through an examination conducted by the new medical society as a preliminary to being licensed by judges of the Supreme Court of the colony.

A catalog of the more prevalent ailments treated by the physicians of that era would be quite brief. The ague--"chills and fever"--was quite common and often involved serious complications. A sufferer might have simple fever, yellow fever, malarial fever, smallpox or throat distemper, to name those regarded as most severe. When yellow fever, smallpox or throat distemper developed, hope of recovery was usually rather slight. A number of ailments defied identification. Since chills and fever frequently accompanied such seizures, the deaths attributed to chills and fever were entirely out of proportion to the number that should have been charged against the ague.

When contagious diseases occurred, epidemics frequently raged. In Philadelphia, yellow fever broke out in 1741, for

example. It was believed to have originated with passengers who came ashore from privateers that had seized crews and cargoes of ships in the contest with Spain for the wealth of the West Indies. In that epidemic, a total of 785 persons died in that city. This contrasts sharply with 289 deaths in 1740, regarded as a normal year. Benjamin Franklin, always alert to public needs, inserted in his Poor Richard Almanac for 1742 his "Rules of health and long life, and to preserve from malignant fevers, and sickness in general."

In 1746, another ailment became widespread. It was described at the time as "putrid sore-throat." Apparently it was diphtheria. Deaths were far above normal. However, scientists were beginning to make a proper approach toward mitigating or eradicating diseases of some types, largely through the foresight of Franklin. He had set plans in motion for the sharing of scientific information and discoveries, with scientists in America linked with those abroad in an undertaking supervised by the American Philosophical Society. Starting in May, 1743, the promoters enlisted such learned men as Peter Collinson, London botanist; John Bartram, of Philadelphia, regarded as the outstanding botanist in America at that time, and others with similar interests in the several colonies. The project was to include correspondence relative to "all new-discovered plants, herbs, trees, roots, their virtues, uses, etc.; . . . new methods of curing or preventing diseases," etc.

Progress was slow, of course, and the severe smallpox epidemic that hit Philadelphia in the Summer of 1756 only emphasized

the importance of the joint research. In that year, the danger was so alarming that Governor Charles Hardy, of New York, addressed an appeal to Governor Belcher, of New Jersey, pointing out that the epidemic "rages with great violence" in Philadelphia. Hardy urged that travelers enroute from Philadelphia to New York, who necessarily crossed New Jersey, be required to undergo an inspection of their goods. He suggested that "no goods be suffered to be landed, without they are first opened and aired to cleanse them from all infections." Responding to the plea, the New Jersey Provincial Council directed that all goods from Philadelphia, moved up the Delaware to Burlington or Bordentown, be taken into custody at those points. The goods were to be aired at least ten days. Then a notation was to be placed upon the inventory of the goods stating that they had complied with this regulation. Of necessity, the regulation excepted "such clothing as the passengers have on their bodies," while the travelers themselves were not annoyed by inquiries to determine the state of their own health.

Epidemics simply ran their course, with little that the preacher-doctors or general practitioners could do to check their ravages. After all, they possessed a meager supply of drugs and textbook knowledge was almost non-existent. There usually was a copy of Salmon's Herbal available, a volume published in 1696 that cost fifty pounds per copy. In its 1,300 pages was stored advice and guidance as to the proper method of extracting the valuable properties from roots and herbs. Most of the physicians of colonial days relied upon such a

textbook while compounding their own medicines.

Many physicians found it advisable to plant their own herb garden to assure a supply of medicinal plants and roots. Botanic gardens, of the type developed at Philadelphia by John Bartram beginning about 1730, were serving chiefly to supply European friends and botanists with a supply of the seeds, plants and wild flowers that America had to offer. However, Bartram also prescribed remedies for many of his neighbors, utilizing the knowledge he had acquired as to the curative properties of his various plants.

Roger Parke--more familiarly known as "Old Doctor Parke"--was a medical practitioner who developed his own herbal garden when he settled about two miles west of Hopewell. Dr. Parke had come from Nottingham, England, arriving in 1678 in the "Shield." He was a Friend and settled with others of that faith in Burlington County, belonging to the Friends meeting at Crosswicks. He bought land along the Crosswicks Creek, his deed outlining a tract of two hundred acres sold to him by Edward Byllinge by deed dated May 24-25, 1682. In 1698, Dr. Parke served as a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in his county. As a visitor to the Indian camp that existed at intervals along Stony Brook, adjacent to present-day Hopewell, Dr. Parke became familiar with the area and in April, 1697, acquired a tract of four hundred acres on the north side of the brook. It was at a spot that the Indians had named Wissamenson. There Dr. Parke built his home. In recent years, the Roger Parke farm on Stony Brook has been owned by C. E. Voorhees and Wheeler McMillen.

Dr. Parke consulted the Indians about medicinal plants at every opportunity, the wigwams of the Indians being close by for a considerable number of years after his settlement. He valued their advice as to the use of various barks, leaves and roots, as well as the methods of preparing them as remedies. Whenever possible, Dr. Parke obtained growing plants, bushes or shrubs for his own herbal garden, gathering them as he traveled far and wide to treat his patients. Of necessity, he went on horseback, his saddlebags filled with his remedies, described as including "washes," or liniments; "pukes and purges," and ointments.

A simple tombstone that reads "R. P., 1755, A. 91" (aged 91 years at time of death), marks the last resting place of "Old Doctor Parke" on the old Stony Brook farm that he loved so greatly.

In turn the Indians even looked sometimes to the white man for medical aid. Chief Waaghechaaghe, whose Lenni Lenape group showed a strong preference for sites along the Delaware River near the "Falls of the Delaware" (Trenton), came occasionally to the home of Isaac Eaton to ask for medicine. Such a visit occurred on December 15th, 1757, after a heavy snowfall that had lasted for three days and nights. Waaghechaaghe said that his squaw was quite ill. Eaton questioned him at some length, it being difficult at best to diagnose an ailment in the absence of the patient as well as a well-developed vocabulary understandable to each. Eaton supplied an emenegogue for the Chief's wife and instructed him to see that she was well protected from

cold. The latter was prevailed upon to remain for supper. After fortifying himself for the long trip home, he departed. Those in the Eaton household stared at the deep snow and wondered whether Waaghechaaghe would succeed in returning to his squaw that night.

That same snowfall brought another demand upon Eaton for medical services. Strong winds had accompanied the three-day snowstorm. Between Eaton's home and the meeting house, the drifts were almost fifteen feet high. While the storm continued, the only day scholar who reached school was Jesse Hart. He traveled across the fields with considerable difficulty. Meanwhile, the boarding students kept the paths to the Eaton barn and woodshed shoveled out. As the snow grew deeper and deeper, the landscape leveled off until it seemed as if the smoke coming from the chimney of John Hart's home stood as a symbol of a fireside that prevailed when lesser things of daily life had faded into insignificance. To the east, the road toward Brunswick (now New Brunswick) had been obliterated, to all appearances, even the fences being out of sight.

But with clearing skies, students of the Academy turned out to help open the roads. John Hart's Negro boy, Jack, had appeared with a message for Pastor Eaton. It announced that the neighbors would start out about 10 o'clock to "break the roads." Sledges drawn by horses and oxen would be dragged as far as the huge drifts would permit. Then hand shovels would be brought into play. Eaton agreed to release the students from classes for the day. The students gave a whoop of approval.

Under such circumstances, the work would be sport, for a while at least. But by the end of the day they found that several were in need of special treatment if serious colds were to be averted. "Doctor" Eaton mixed vinegar and red pepper as a gargle, after which sore throats were bound up with stocking-feet, warmed at the fireplace. The preventatives worked.

Other ailments occurred from time to time, such as the rash that a number of the students developed two or three days later. The cause was not clearly established but "Doctor" Eaton relied upon a standard cure-all--sulphur mixed with molasses. He saw to it that it was administered twice a day. In this manner, his pupils warded off whatever had been threatening.

Barely a week passed before another call came for special aid from within the student body. This time the patient was James Manning. He figured in a deer-hunting mishap that occurred on the mountain to the north of the village. Manning, accompanied by John Hawkins, James Talbot, Samuel Jones and Jesse Hart had set out at daybreak. Hart, of course, was familiar with the rough terrain. He had brought his dog along. It soon became apparent that the dog would be useless because the snow remained quite deep. The hunters tramped most of the morning but saw no deer. They passed up several opportunities to fire at pheasants and grouse for the blast of their guns would alarm any deer that might be nearby.

Toward noon, the hunting party sighted a stag and moved within firing range. Samuel Jones had the first chance to fire. In his excitement, he was careless in aiming. When he fired,

to his chagrin, the deer leaped agilely away and in another instant would have vanished. However, Jesse Hart was alert and fired. The second shot found its mark. The shaggy buck, still holding its antlers high, plunged a few yards forward before falling to the snow-covered ground. The gunners hurried forward to view their prize. To their amazement, the stag was still alive. Apparently, sheer momentum had carried it forward in a last frantic effort to escape, for both hind legs were broken.

Manning and Hawkins stepped close to the deer's head. The stag raised up on its forelegs and struck out, like a flash, with its forefeet. The blows knocked Hawkins to the ground and lacerated Manning's leg. While Hawkins was regaining his feet, others in the group seized the deer's antlers. Hawkins fired a shot that dispatched the stag. After examining Manning's leg, his companions assisted him in checking the bleeding from the incision.

As for the deer's carcass, a stout limb and a sling were prepared upon which to carry it home. The prize proved to be tremendously heavy. However, it assured a plentiful supply of venison. Upon their return, Eaton examined Manning's leg and applied salve and a bandage.

Pastor Eaton--as even doctors will--occasionally fell ill. In treating his own attack of the ague, he adopted the same procedure as he prescribed for his patients. To check his discomfort from the "chills and fever," he obtained "life everlasting" and poured hot water upon it. Then he steamed himself

nightly. Soon he began to show improvement. However, pains in his right foot followed. For this, he applied a poultice made of mashed raw onions. This treatment, followed twice a day, soon effected a cure.

Whether Pastor Eaton sought to have as complete an array of supplies as "Old Doctor Parke" is to be doubted, since medicine was not his principal interest. Parke, it has been said, was a traveling apothecary shop. His assortment of healing aids included "salves, ointments, washes (or liniments), plasters and poultices . . . and besides these pills and powders . . . constant companions were lancet and horn cup for bleeding and cupping." -Cere-cloths also were kept in stock, being gummy cloths that might serve as a healing application or as a cover to keep open sores or wounds from becoming infected. But the general practitioner rarely was called to assist with childbirth, unless some serious complication arose. Such care fell to the women folk. Usually, a woman who professed to be expert in midwifery could be located. For a male doctor to assist in an ordinary case would be degrading to his standing as a gentleman, it was then thought.

"Doctor" Eaton may have been influential in the decision made by several of his students to engage in the practice of medicine as their life calling. In addition to his son, Joseph, there were several others, including John Stites, Benjamin VanKirk, Matthew Keasbey, Aaron Forman, Jehu Stout and Joseph Talman. After Eaton's death in 1772, Benjamin VanKirk established

himself as the neighborhood doctor and his record books, still in existence, reveal his extensive practice. In later years, Dr. Jacob Tidd provided medical service. His patients benefited by some of the same remedies that Dr. Parke had relied upon in earlier years.

Eaton's theological students probably acquired some knowledge along medical lines also, in order to answer helpfully whenever individuals were in need of medical treatment. During school days at Hopewell, David Jones gave promise of developing into a physician but despite strong leanings in that direction, he adhered to his resolve to be a preacher. Through friendly overtures made to the Indian chief, Waaghechaaghe, David gradually acquired knowledge of some of the Indian root and herb remedies. These he wrote down, although it required considerable study of the Indian language as a preliminary. David roamed the countryside gathering roots and herbs until his search became an object of curiosity to others attending the Academy.

His trips included visits to the camp of the Indians nearby. Some of the Hopewell students accompanied Jones on a visit there on one occasion and they ate a meal with the Indians. Jones remained overnight on another occasion and became increasingly familiar with the habits and customs of the Indians.

One visit of that nature occurred soon after classes at the Academy had resumed in the Fall of 1757. David, accompanied by James Manning and Samuel Jones, set out for the Indian encampment, David taking along several clay pipes as well as tobacco. These he presented to Waaghechaaghe. The gifts were

well received by this handsome specimen of a man, "with sinews like iron" from outdoor life. Samuel Jones wrote in his diary that Waaghechaaghe's squaw was "very pretty," and he thought she resembled a Jewess in some of her features. His appraisal squared with the general impression that many of the Indian women were attractive in appearance until subjected to the drudgery and privation that generally fell their lot soon after marriage.

The camp occupied by Chief Waaghechaaghe and his followers at this time was situated in a wooded area adjacent to the edge of the Delaware river. Utilizing large strips of bark removed from the trunks of trees, the Indians had fashioned lodges, rather than wigwams. Into such a lodge erected for the Chief's use, the guests were ushered on this occasion. Cakes, made of Indian corn or maize, were prepared. Slabs of deer meat were cooked upon the fire in the center of the lodge. While the meal was being readied, the visitors glanced about, trying to adjust themselves to the uncleanliness and disorder of the interior. The dirt floor was strewn with remnants of food and the ashes of earlier fires. Despite this and the tendency to serve animal meat half-cooked, Indian hospitality made up for other shortcomings.

Manning asked the blessing before the meal began. When he said "Amen," several of the Indians grunted "Ugh!" Later, Sam Jones and Manning asked David if he knew what was meant by "Ugh!" David surmised that in this instance it indicated "Good," although under other conditions, the grunt might take on a wide variety of meanings. At the conclusion of the meal, Chief Waaghechaaghe produced a pipe. He took a few puffs before

starting it around the circle. Each in turn puffed a few times upon the crude stem. Manning, however, began to choke as the smoke went down his throat. Chief Waaghechaaghe's squaw laughed at Manning's expense, for the incident robbed him of much of his dignity for the moment.

During their stay, the students had a brief glimpse of the tribe's "Medicine Man" preparing his trinkets and fetishes. A papoose was sick with a fever, they were informed, and they hoped that the mysterious rites of the "Medicine Man" would prove effective. However, the afternoon was wasting away and the students could not remain longer. They reached the Eaton home before supper time and retired soon after, tired from their long walk.

When the weather permitted in February, 1758, David Jones set out to pay another visit to the Indians. Waaghechaaghe was more than friendly and upon his insistence, David remained overnight in one of the Indian huts. His clothing reeked, upon his return to school, with the odor of the animal skins under which he slept that night. He insisted that he slept well despite his strange surroundings. He exulted over the fact that he had acquired a number of additional words from the Indian dialect. Spelling them according to their sound, he listed them for future reference.

Based upon David's first-hand observations, Samuel Jones wrote in his diary that "their notions of religion are very peculiar." They believed in "Manito" or the "Great Spirit," he wrote, adding that "they are superstitious, but not reverent,

devout or pious." David Jones also pondered whether the Indians might not be descended from the lost tribes of Israel, seeing some similarity in certain customs.

During the ensuing Summer, David concluded that he would return to Hopewell a week early in order to re-visit the Indian camp and learn more of the dialect. He discovered that Chief Waaghechaaghe had shifted his camp further up the river, somewhat more removed from Hopewell. Because of unusual success in obtaining information concerning the proper uses for a number of tubers, fibrous roots, plants and other vegetation, Jones was enthusiastic about this trip. He termed the Indians "natural doctors." Pastor Eaton studied the list of ingredients recommended by the natives for various cures and agreed that they seemed quite proper. There was a remedy for a cough, for instance, that was declared to be very effective.

With his newly-acquired knowledge, David could not be content until he had searched for some of the plants described to him by the Indians. On the following Saturday, he induced Manning, Hezekiah Smith and Samuel Jones to set out with him on a field trip. They went as far as Prince-town and re-visited the college there, as Manning and Smith were planning to enroll later that Winter. For David Jones it was basically a nature hike. True to his own inclinations, he was filling his pockets along the way with materia medicae for later experimentation. He urged his avocation upon his companions, dwelling at length upon the fascination of it. His room contained a sizeable

collection of herbs, flowers, roots and bottled mixtures, each labeled expertly. They gave the place the smell of a doctor's office.

Two weeks later, David was out in the woods again to increase his stock of materials. But the compounding of medicines alone did not satisfy his inclinations. He had no hesitation about attempting minor surgery when Pastor Eaton's dog suffered from a festered spur. The spur had turned inward. Obtaining permission to do what he could to relieve the dog's pain, David muzzled the pet and showed Hawkins how to hold the dog's paws and hind legs. David then took out his sharp-pointed knife and skillfully removed the spur and applied a cleansing wash, after which he tied a cloth about the dog's foot. Released, the dog began to hop around on three legs, barking and jumping upon David again and again as if to express sheer gratitude. Pastor Eaton, who had watched the surgical work, commented that it had been well performed.

Chapter XIX

Students' Careers

The paths followed in later years by the students who attended the Hopewell Academy were varied and divergent. As has been pointed out heretofore, many distinguished themselves through their personal achievements, their wide influence or the places of honor to which they advanced. Of James Manning, David Howell and Hezekiah Smith, more will be told in later chapters because of their work in founding, promoting and building Rhode Island College (Brown University). Yet the life pattern of each former Hopewell Academy student possesses features that distinguish it from all others and intrigue the interest.

The biographies on the following pages are a sequel to the introductory notes about individual students contained in an earlier Chapter.

These are "Isaac Eaton's boys"--the young men that he taught and inspired and then sent on their way, better equipped for their life tasks. An alphabetical arrangement has been followed.

For John Blackwell, "a good plantation and a commodious new house" apparently had a tremendous appeal. While he served as a minister during the latter part of his life, eighteen years elapsed between his ordination by the Hopewell church on July 23rd, 1764, and his acceptance of his first pastorate. During

the interval, he farmed adjacent to Hopewell and also purchased a feed mill along Stony Brook, midway between Hopewell and Pennington. Some years later, this mill, after having at least three other owners, became the property of Captain Ely Moore, of Pennington, in whose family the title to the property remained for more than a century. John Blackwell married Sarah Thomas, sister of David Thomas, a fellow student at the Hopewell Academy. Blackwell became the minister of the Upper Freehold Baptist church located at Imlaystown, Monmouth County, New Jersey, in 1782. During his six-year pastorate there, he baptized thirty-one persons. He conducted a school during his pastorate. He has been described as "a very acceptable pastor . . . a man of fine education and attainments . . . an energetic man of affairs." When he gave up this pastorate, he returned to Hopewell and conducted a general store on a property at the corner now known as Broad Street and Greenwood Avenue. He served as clerk of the Hopewell Baptist church for a number of years and often attended the Philadelphia Association as one of its representatives. The Blackwells had three children, the oldest, John T., holding office as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Hunterdon County for a term beginning in 1804, and as County Clerk or Surrogate from 1810 to 1829. A second son, Lewis, lived in Philadelphia, while a daughter, Elizabeth, their third child, became the wife of Cornelius Stilwell.

Isaac Bonnell, a Presbyterian-turned Baptist, was licensed to preach on July 4th, 1780, at Manahawkin, New Jersey, where he also was ordained. Three years later, on September 17th,

1783, he became pastor of the Baptist church at Tuckahoe, Egg Harbor Township, Gloucester County, whose members originally had been a part of a church at Dividing Creek but organized their own church on July 23rd, 1771. Bonnell married Sarah Prine and had two children, Urban and Benjamin.

John Davis, upon completion of his studies at the Hopewell Academy, enrolled at the College of Philadelphia and graduated in 1763. He underwent the usual trial of his ability to preach and undoubtedly was licensed and ordained by the Welsh Tract Baptist church, situated in the Pencader Hundred, located in the northwestern corner of Delaware. He served as a supply minister for this church after his father's death in 1769. In the previous year, he had been elected as a Fellow of Rhode Island College. In 1770, he was invited to become the minister of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, Massachusetts. Arriving there in May, he was installed as minister on September 9th. It came as a shocking discovery when he learned at first-hand how the Baptists and Quakers in that State were being subjected to harsh treatment because of their religious beliefs. The situation involving Baptists residing at Ashfield particularly concerned him, and as one who had seen religious freedom as it prevailed in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Davis was ready to crusade for the same type of freedom in his adopted State. Soon he was to learn that he would be reviled and made a target for those who believed otherwise. The grievances of the Baptists had mounted because the relief anticipated from an Assembly

enactment in 1757 had been only temporary. Those in control of the government undermined the purpose of that act, and permitted the levying of taxes to support the "religious establishment" of the Congregationalists. To thwart new oppressive efforts, Baptists in 1768 had asked the Assembly to grant complete exemption from taxes supporting a denomination to which they did not belong.

Having refused to pay the taxes levied against them, the Baptists at Ashfield faced the sale of their properties. Although advertised to be sold in May, 1769, the proceedings were stayed because legal defects were pointed out. Again, the lands were advertised for sale, and on April 4th, 1770, the assessors proceeded to dispose of 398 acres. According to the historian, Isaac Backus, the Baptist minister and his father were included among those against whom the campaign was centered. The unpaid tax charged against the Baptist minister was one pound, two shillings. To enforce payment of that sum, ten acres of his home lot were sold. It included an orchard owned by the minister's father and it was considered one of the best in the vicinity. Elijah Wells, as purchaser, paid 35 shillings for twenty acres of improved land, on which were situated a small dwelling, a family burial ground and the greater part of the orchard. After a month had elapsed, Wells asserted his rights. First he took measurements, then uprooted and hauled away several of the smaller apple trees. He also offered the house for sale. Later, the authorities sought to show by a new survey that they had not included the graveyard nor the dwelling in the sale.

When the Baptists found that their appeals to the Legislature were futile, they decided to place their case before the Crown. To assemble the facts, they advertised in the Boston papers on July 31st, 1770, that all Baptists in Massachusetts who had been victimized or harrassed should bring detailed reports to the next meeting of the Warren Baptist Association at Bellingham on September 11th. At that meeting, the Association determined that if relief could not be obtained through further attempts within the Province, the only hope left would be an appeal to the King. Hezekiah Smith was chosen to go to the Court of Great Britain as agent but he delayed his trip as the Association first wished through its Baptist Committee of Grievances to exhaust its efforts before the local authorities. A new petition for relief was drawn and presented to the Legislature. It became sidetracked while the Assembly gave consideration to a new "certificate law." This, in its revised form, specified that in order to gain exemption from taxes to support the Congregational ministry, a resident must be certified every year to the assessor by three or more principal members, and the minister, stating that the individual concerned was an "Anti-paedobaptist" and "conscientiously" of that belief. John Davis, in an article published in the Massachusetts Gazette on December 27th, 1770, ventured to review the Ashfield situation as an earlier correspondent had requested. The criticism that he drew was sharp and bitter. Using a pseudonym to hide his identity, an individual wrote a letter that appeared in the Boston Evening Post in its issue of January 7th, 1771. Without naming

John Davis, it said this concerning him:

"There is a little upstart gentleman, lately settled in [this] town, who calls himself A Baptist; and the youth discovers a most insufferable arrogance and self-sufficiency. . . . I very much suspect, that he is one of those deluded young men, who are employed (by the enemies of America) to defame and blacken the colonies, and this town and province in particular. . . . I am of the same persuasion in religion with this young hero . . . and I cannot say what the General Assembly could do for Baptists in general, or the Ashfield brethren in particular, that they have not done. . . . And I believe this is the opinion of the Baptists in general, and of all others but enthusiastical bigots."

Davis declined to answer it. Another attack appeared in the same paper on February 7th, stating that "It is a very common observation among us, that the people called Separate Baptists in these parts will not stick at any false representations to serve their purpose."

A few days later, the Legislature decided that the sale of the Ashfield lands was "quite legal." The Council voted to dismiss the complaint, but the House demurred, suggesting that a bill be prepared to repeal the Ashfield law, but this was not done. However, the King in Council disannulled the law later that year. The Warren Association selected Davis in September, 1771, to arrange with an agent in London for advocacy there of equal religious liberty in the Massachusetts Province. However, Davis began to fail in health and his friends became deeply concerned over his condition. He resigned from his church with a view to returning to Delaware. He decided to go by vessel to Philadelphia. In the days that followed he appeared to gain some strength.

Learning that his former Hopewell classmate, Reverend David

Jones, then living at Freehold, New Jersey, was about to visit the Indians living beyond the Ohio River, Davis arranged to make the journey with him. David Jones, in his diary, said that he was compelled to travel slowly through the Alleghenies and then encountered "bad, stormey weather and high waters" before reaching the Ohio River. Eleven days later, Davis succumbed, on December 13th, 1772. He had confided to Jones that "if God continued him, he intended to settle in this new country and preach," having left Boston "because he abhorred a dependent life and popularity." Instead, his body was laid to rest at a spot near present-day Wheeling, West Virginia, in ground where it was planned to build a Baptist meeting house. Jones stated in his diary that he used a tomahawk to carve Davis' name and the date of his death in the bark of a large black oak tree, to mark the last resting place "of the first white man that died in this part of the country." Of Davis, it was said that he "was a great scholar, possessed of a good judgment and very retentive memory"; also that he was "a truly pious man, and an excellent preacher."

Joseph Eaton, after furthering his studies at Rhode Island College, graduated in the Class of 1769, receiving the degree of Bachelor Arts. He added a Master's Degree in Arts. He married a Turner and began his medical practice in Delaware. Six years later, however, he died, on May 10th, 1775. He was buried in the Welsh Tract cemetery in Delaware. He left one son in addition to his widow.

Aaron Forman and his dispute over a tombstone for his wife's grave at Quakertown in Hunterdon county, probably will be remembered much longer than the fact that he was one of the early practitioners who introduced vaccination to prevent smallpox. In the latter regard, it is recorded that he was highly successful, enabling hundreds of patients to protect themselves against the disease.

Aaron, after attending the Hopewell Academy, departed from his father's farm at Freehold and settled at Quakertown where he remained until 1794. In that year, he moved to Pittstown nearby and was living there when he died on January 11th, 1805. He married Anne Emley, a Quaker and the daughter of John and Sarah (Lawrence) Emley, on April 19th, 1769. She was 27 years of age and Aaron was 24. They had seven children, five sons and two daughters. Dr. Forman, although slight in build, has been described as having "great firmness of will and decision of character." That accounts in large part undoubtedly for his battle concerning his wife's gravestone. Mrs. Forman, being from a Quaker family, was buried in the Friends' burial ground at Quakertown, where Dr. Forman's body was destined to lie later. Since the Quakers frowned upon the use of tombstones and their inscriptions as form of ostentation not to be condoned, they opposed Dr. Forman's plan to erect such a grave marker over his wife's grave. Dr. Forman saw to it that it was placed in position. Promptly, he received notice to remove it but he demurred. A second notice followed. Again, Dr. Forman said that

it would remain. That prompted a group of Friends to pay him a visit to inform him that if the tombstone was not removed by Dr. Forman, they would see to it themselves. Dr. Forman gave them a definite reply in the form of an ultimatum. He declared: "I will shoot the first man who dares touch it." The delegation retired from the scene and evidently accepted the physician at his word, for the gravestone was left untouched. Hence, Dr. Forman has the distinction of being the first person to erect a tombstone with an inscription in the Friends' burial ground at Quakertown. He was sixty years of age when he died, but remembered as a man with "a loving heart" who "possessed fine social qualities," and known during his career as being "polished and courtly and carefully dressed," yet "when aroused, very irascible."

Jesse Hart, sharing the devotion of his father, John Hart, to the cause of the colonists in the Revolutionary War, acted as a guide for General Washington's army during June, 1778. Another brother, Nathaniel, is said to have assumed like duties. The troops were moving from the Delaware River after making their crossing at Coryell's Ferry (Lambertville) and were shortly to be engaged in the battle of Fort Monmouth. Despite heavy rains, the Hart brothers, about thirty years of age at that time, moved with the troops to the point of bivouac on their own farm at Hopewell as well as upon the Golden land adjoining on June 23rd. After barely thirty-six hours' rest, the Army moved on. When the war ended, Jesse Hart and his brothers struck out for pioneer country

David Jones, desiring to study advanced theology, arranged at the completion of his courses at Eaton's Academy in 1761 to study under his uncle, Reverend Abel Morgan, at Middletown, New Jersey. In that year, Jones was licensed to preach by the Welsh Tract Church in Delaware. He was active among the Baptists at Upper Freehold (Imlaystown), New Jersey, where a church was in the formative stages. This group looked to some extent to Rev. Abel Morgan to preach for them, but the coming of David Jones was a happy arrangement for all concerned. He also preached at Monmouth Court House (Freehold), Cranbury and Crosswicks during that period. When the church at Upper Freehold was formally organized, Jones was ordained as its pastor on December 12th, 1766. He retained this position until 1775, although his stay was interrupted because of his desire to visit the Indians in Ohio as a missionary. His ministry in Upper Freehold was marked by the addition of twenty-two new members.

Shortly after his arrival at Middletown for further studies, he married Anne Stilwell, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Stilwell, of that place. The ceremony was on February 22nd, 1762, and of this marriage five sons and three daughters were born, including Reverend Horatio Gates Jones, whose son became a well-known Baptist historian.

During his school days at the Hopewell Academy, Jones had displayed an interest in the Indians, and their use of herbs as medicines. Taking a leave of absence from the Upper Freehold Church, he set out on May 4th, 1772, to preach to the Indians in Ohio, and returned in August. Again on October 26th of that

year, he departed for a second trip and returned in April, 1773. His journal, published upon his return and reprinted in 1865, told of his experiences, but the results fell below his expectations. While he revealed that he had some thought originally of settling on the East bank of the Ohio river amid the Shawnee and Delaware Indians, he abandoned that project. With the increasing threat of a break with England, Jones became so outspoken against the beliefs of the Tories, who were the strongest party in Monmouth County, that he grew quite unpopular. He decided to resign his charge at Upper Freehold and in April, 1775, accepted a call to minister for the Great Valley Church at Chester, Pennsylvania. His pastorate there, interrupted by service as an Army chaplain, continued until 1786, when he became pastor of the Baptist church at Southampton, Pa. This tie continued until 1792 when Jones began a second pastorate at the Great Valley Church which continued until his death on February 5th, 1820, when he was at the age of 83. Hence, he served a total of thirty-nine years at the Great Valley Church. He was buried in the graveyard adjoining that church.

Jones sprang into special prominence when he preached a sermon to Colonel Dewees' Pennsylvania regiment in 1775 on a day of fasting and prayer suggested by the Continental Congress. It was entitled "Defensive War in a Just Cause Sinless." So great was the demand for copies that it was printed and spread widely through the colonies, aiding the cause for independence. This may have influenced his appointment as a chaplain on April 27th, 1776, to the 3rd and 4th Battalions. With Colonel St. Clair,

Jones traveled North and "delivered a characteristic address to the regiment that inspired them with fresh military ardour" just before the battle of Ticonderoga in late October. Under General Gates, Jones served through two campaigns and was transferred on January 1st, 1777, to the First Brigade of General Anthony Wayne's Division of Pennsylvania troops. This carried him into the Battle of the Brandywine in September, a close call with death in the massacre at Paoli and in the battle of Germantown on October 4th. Jones also found numerous opportunities to arouse civilians to support the cause of the colonists, prompting General Howe to put a price upon his head in the hope of taking him prisoner, but without accomplishing that goal. At Valley Forge, Jones preached a sermon to the Army marking the occasion of recognition by France of American independence.

General Wayne called upon Jones in 1794 to accompany him as a chaplain on an expedition against the Indians. This service continued until 1796. Even then, his war service was not concluded for at the age of 75, Jones felt a call to duty in the War of 1812. Under Generals Brown and Wilkinson, he served as a chaplain, continuing until peace was signed. Returning to his pastorate at the Great Valley church and to his farm, he devoted himself to his church duties. He also took an avid interest in the cultivation of trees and shrubs. Meanwhile, he found time to write many letters to newspapers concerning national affairs, and officiated at Paoli in 1817 when a monument was dedicated in honor of those who lost their lives there.

Jones held an honorary degree from Brown University, conferred in 1774, the year after his missionary visits to the Indians. A notable occasion in his life was the ordaining of his son, Horatio Gates Jones, D.D., on February 13th, 1802. The son was ministering at the time to the Baptist church at Salem, New Jersey. In the charge to his son concerning his pastoral duties, the father in simple language gave this advice: "My son, in your preaching, don't put the rack too high. Some ministers put the rack so high that the little lambs can't get a bit. Put the rack low, and then the old sheep can get the fodder, and the lambs, too."

A newspaper account of Jones' death characterized him as "an eminent man . . . distinguished for the warmth of his friendship, the firmness of his patriotism, the sincerity and ardour of his piety, and the faithfulness of his ministry." Others regarded him as "a bold and original thinker."

Samuel Jones exemplifies the type of minister who devotes his entire lifetime to one community or church. He completed his studies at the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) on May 18th, 1762, receiving the Bachelor of Arts degree. Three years later the College conferred upon him a degree of Master of Arts, followed by a degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1788.

Having joined the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia by letter from the Tulpehoken, Pennsylvania, church on December 5th, 1760, Samuel Jones was licensed to preach on July 10th,

1762. At that time, the meeting house on Second Street was being reconstructed, therefore the church meeting was held in the College Hall, situated on the westerly side of Fourth Street below Arch Street. This structure itself was distinctive, having been erected originally to house the audiences attracted by George Whitefield, noted English evangelist, and usually called "Whitefield's Church."

Jones' ordination followed on January 2nd, 1763. In this ceremony, his former teacher, Reverend Isaac Eaton, was one of the principals, delivering the charge to the new minister (cited in Chapter VI). The occasion was further distinguished by the participation of Morgan Edwards, pastor of the church, and Samuel Stillman, noted Baptist minister.

Jones became pastor of the Baptist churches at Pennepek (Lower Dublin) and Southampton, Pennsylvania, in 1763, the latter being an offshoot of the Pennepek church. As the years brought increasing duties, Jones turned his attention exclusively to the Pennepek church in 1770, and remained its pastor until his death in 1814. Hence, he served a pastorate of fifty-one years at Pennepek (Lower Dublin).

At the request of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, he figured in an important capacity in the steps leading to the incorporation of the College in Rhode Island. He helped to re-draft the charter considered and approved by the legislature of that colony. The college later bestowed upon him an honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1769. ✓

This was only one instance of Jones' interest in education, as well as of his service to the Baptist Association. He began a school in his own home to assist youth of his church and community. This developed into a "boarding school" that continued almost thirty years. One of his most distinguished students was Burgess Allison, who in turn developed a similar academy in later years at Bordentown, New Jersey.

The romance in which Samuel Jones figured while attending Hopewell Academy culminated in his marriage to Sylvia Spicer, of Cape May, New Jersey, on November 10th, 1764. Of this marriage, five children were born. But the family was to experience tragedy when three of the children, apparently afflicted with an ailment of epidemic character, died within a period of two weeks in August, 1778. Included were two sons, Thomas, who was then thirteen years of age, and Samuel, ten years old. Only one daughter lived to adulthood and she married a Harris.

In the affairs of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, Jones was often called upon for some specialized service. Time after time, he advised churches about procedure and the proper form of constitution, and generally he participated in formal ceremonies marking the chartering of such church bodies, as well as the ordaining of their first ministers. Jones also served frequently as Moderator for the sessions of the Association; or again as the one who drafted the annual Circular Letter addressed to the member churches. He also stands as the one who prepared a map showing the boundaries of the various Baptist Associations in America in later years. Again, he assisted in

compiling a collection of psalms and hymns which came into general use. He also gave form and substance to a system of discipline which the churches desired to assure some uniformity to their practices in respect to members whose conduct might bring the Baptist cause into disfavor. And when the Philadelphia Baptist Association found it desirable to have a charter, Reverend Samuel Jones became the first president of its board of trustees on August 5th, 1797.

During the Revolutionary War, Jones served as chaplain of a Pennsylvania regiment.

With the death of Manning in 1791, Rhode Island College sought to induce Samuel Jones to become its president. David Howell advised Jones that ". . . We are apprehensive that the institution may suffer a temporary relapse, unless some known and established character can be induced to supply the vacancy soon. At a meeting of as many of the corporation in this town as could be readily convened to take into consideration measures relative to the ensuing Commencement, some conversation passed about the election of a President, when it was the voice of all present that I should write to you on the subject, and call on you for assistance on this occasion, so critical to the interests of the college. It is our unanimous and very earnest request, dear sir, that you will come to our help. The eyes of the corporation seem fixed on you for a successor to President Manning. . . . Let me entreat you to consider the application weightily. . . ."

Jones, however, concluded that he would not accept,

insisting that at his age (he was past fifty-five) he felt it was inadvisable for him "to enter on a new scene of life."

Jones' wife died on July 23rd, 1802, but he lived twelve years thereafter. His power as a minister continued unabated, with a large gain in church membership in 1804, which in turn inspired his church to erect a new meeting house in 1805.

To mark the centenary of the Philadelphia Baptist Association in October, 1807, no one was more acceptable to give the "Century Sermon" than Samuel Jones. He was then 72 years of age. It was an outstanding message, in which he summarized the expansion of the Baptist denomination. He cited that the ministry had developed a considerable company of men whose chief concern was "promoting pure undefiled religion before God-- namely, true piety, ardent zeal, ministerial gifts, and indefatigable diligence, and faithfulness in saving the souls of men and promoting the kingdom of our Redeemer." At the same time, Jones reviewed the history of Baptist education, citing that Eaton's academy at Hopewell was "under the patronage of the Philadelphia Baptist Association."

Samuel Jones died on February 7th, 1814. Of him, it was said that his sermons were noted for "vigorous thought, sound common-sense reasoning, and an effective presentation of Divine truth." He employed a manner that "could not fail to leave the impression that he was deeply interested in the truths which he was delivering." Six feet in height, he possessed an "air of dignity. . . that rendered his appearance uncommonly attractive and impressive" while his "great knowledge of human nature . . .

firmness, self control and peaceable and dignified bearing imparted . . . weight to his opinions."

Isaac Skillman, having been licensed to preach, was ordained by the First Baptist Church of New York City during sessions of the Philadelphia Baptist Association in that city, October 13-15, 1772. James Manning, president of the Baptist college at Providence, preached the ordination sermon. Both had attended Hopewell Academy and Princeton University. In 1773, Skillman became pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, Massachusetts, where he remained for fourteen years until October, 1787. In 1774, Rhode Island College conferred an honorary Master of Arts degree upon him, and in 1798 an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, just a year prior to his death.

When he left his Boston charge, it is believed that he taught in Lexington, Kentucky, for a time. A call was extended to him by the Baptists of Salem, New Jersey, where a new church had been erected in 1787, and he became the minister there in November, 1790. Church records show that his salary in the following year was 125 pounds. Fifty-seven members were added by baptism during his pastorate. He was spoken of as "a man of learning and ability, but never very popular as a preacher." He died suddenly on June 8th, 1799, at the age of 58 and his grave is in the Baptist burial ground at Salem.

Benjamin Stelle, upon completion of studies, graduated from Princeton College and accepting the advice of James Manning,

established a Latin School at Providence, Rhode Island. Manning, still at Warren and struggling to firmly establish a Baptist college, referred to Stelle's success a short time later while urging David Howell, another Hopewell student and Princeton graduate, to consider Rhode Island--advice that resulted in Howell becoming Manning's intimate associate for many years in the development of the Baptist college. Manning wrote (to Howell) on July 14th, 1766: "You cannot do better than to visit Rhode Island. The success Mr. Stelle has met with encourages me. He has a Latin school in the town of Providence of nearly 20 scholars, and may have more if he finds himself able to manage them. I believe he gives good satisfaction, and is much esteemed by the gentlemen of the town."

In 1774, Rhode Island College conferred an A.M. degree upon Stelle. He became an attorney and practiced law in Providence. He became Clerk of the Baptist church there and served over a long period. He married Hulda Crawford, and their daughter, Mary Bowen, became the second wife of Honorable Nicholas Brown, whose generous gifts to Rhode Island College led to the re-naming of the institution as Brown University. Stelle died in Providence on January 17th, 1819.

David Sutton, and his brother, John Sutton, were ordained at Scotch Plains in 1763. David began his ministry as pastor of the Kingwood Baptist church in Hunterdon county on March 26th, 1764. He remained almost twenty years, during which he pioneered in the organization of a Baptist church at Amwell,

(later known as Flemington) -- a church that today ranks as one of the strongest in an agricultural county in the State of New Jersey.

David Sutton was one of five brothers, sons of Abner Sutton, who became Baptist ministers through the church at Scotch Plains. David was born at Basking Ridge, New Jersey. In addition to John, his brothers were Isaac, Abner and James. They did most of their work in southwestern Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky in territory that called for a pioneering spirit.

Morgan Edwards, in his writings about Baptist churches, noted that the Kingwood church, during Sutton's ministry, experienced "a considerable stir in the church relative to the rite of washing feet." He indicates that the controversy ended with the majority not satisfied that the ceremony was an essential ceremony, to be observed with equal significance to the Communion ordinance. Edwards paid a tribute to David Sutton, commenting that "He has been often compared to Nathanael, of whom it is said, that there was no guile in him."

Nevertheless that did not enable Sutton to escape from a stormy experience in relation to one of the founders of the Amwell (Flemington) church during the Revolutionary War. Sutton's adversary was John Jewell, Esquire. Patriotic zeal prompted Jewell to declare Sutton as suspect with leanings toward the British cause. For the minister, it was a trying experience, especially when Jewell saw to it that Sutton was locked out of the church at Amwell for some time. Previously, Sutton had

rejoiced in the success of the work there. He had obtained a site for the meeting house by having Thomas Lowry and James Eddy agree to donate the necessary land. This was in 1765, and the church was built in the following year. With the exception of the period when Jewell sought to check his influence, Sutton ministered to the Amwell (Flemington) church throughout his entire stay of nearly twenty years at nearby Kingwood.

Sutton ranged at some distance in order to serve Baptist interests. For example, residents of Tolbert, in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, wrote to the Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1774 and asked for ministerial supplies. David Sutton was one of three men designated to visit the "well-disposed" people in Tolbert township.

On August 3rd, 1783, Sutton left the Kingwood pastorate and went to Washington county, West Virginia, settling on the Ten-Mile River. His brother, John, was in Fayette county. The general area was described as a wilderness "in its moral and spiritual, as well as its natural aspects." Records dealing with the founding of the Redstone Association in Virginia in 1776 state that four churches were transferred from the Kotocton Association, including the Laurel Hill church with thirty-seven members and Isaac Sutton (another brother) as pastor; and the Ten-Mile church with eighteen members, and James Sutton (another brother) as their minister.

David Sutton's wife was a Winter. Their children included Sarah, David, John, James, Ann and possibly others.

The Mingwood church, much to the regret of others in the Baptist denomination, joined with several churches, including the Hopewell church, in severing ties with the existing group during the 1825-1840 period of controversy. They formed the Delaware Valley Baptist Association. The group came to be known as the "Old School Baptists," continuing their separate existence down to the present day.

John Sutton was licensed to preach in 1758 and it is known that he briefly aided the church at Cranberry (later known as Hightstown) in 1761. Also, records of the First Baptist Church at Salem, New Jersey, show that he was there for "a few months" in the same year, although illness marked his stay. He decided in 1763, after his ordination, to take a voyage with James Manning to Rhode Island to survey the possibilities of establishing a Baptist college there.

Sutton proceeded from there to Nova Scotia. In 1763, the French had conceded by the Treaty of Paris that British territorial claims would be respected, and efforts were being exerted to win new colonists to Nova Scotia from the New England provinces, for the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755 had depopulated the lands. When John Sutton reached Halifax, Nova Scotia, he found Shubael Dimock and his son, Daniel, there as members of a group that had migrated from Mansfield, Connecticut. Shubael Dimock had strong convictions and as a dissenter from the established church in Connecticut, had promoted services that aroused those in authority (governmental and

religious combined) to have him whipped and imprisoned. During Sutton's visit, he baptized the younger Dimock and others, although a church was not founded until some time later, probably because of the absence of a settled minister. Some years later, Daniel baptized Shubael Dimock.

Returning to the American colonies in 1764, John Sutton settled on April 1st, 1764, as minister of the First Baptist Church at Cape May Court House (founded in 1712 and the oldest church of any denomination in Cape May County, New Jersey.) He remained until May 7th, 1768. He then re-visited Nova Scotia and remained for two years. Being "disappointed of his expectations"--as the well-preserved records of the church state--he wrote to the Cape May Church "of his mind to return to us again." After it was agreed, he decided not to settle in Cape May after all. The reason probably was an invitation for him to serve as an assistant to the pastor of the church at Providence, Samuel Windsor. But Sutton remained there only six months, and then settled as minister of the Welsh Tract Baptist church in Delaware. This tie, begun on November 3rd, 1770, was to continue in effect for seven years. His salary at the outset there was 100 pounds in Delaware money, or 60 pounds sterling. Like all ministers, he preached at various settlements nearby, being the first Baptist minister to be heard at Cowmarsh, Delaware, and also being among those who assisted a struggling group at Duck Creek, Delaware, composed of Welsh Tract members who desired to form their own church.

In 1777, John Sutton resigned to go to Fayette County in

southwestern Pennsylvania, the so-called "Redstone country." His brother, David, accompanied him. John is credited with being a prime mover in the formation of the Big Bethel, Pennsylvania, church, now known as Uniontown. This church in turn gave of its strength to bring a number of other churches into being. Meanwhile, two more of the Sutton family of ministers, Isaac and James, were at work in Virginia and Kentucky respectively. Isaac was pastor at Laurel Hill when its thirty-seven members constituted one of the four churches forming the Red Stone Association in Virginia in 1776. At the same time, James Sutton was at Ten Mile Creek, Kentucky, with eighteen members striving to found a church.

John Sutton also moved to Kentucky about 1788 and from a letter written by James Manning in 1790, we learn that "Our friend Mr. Sutton is settled nearly in the centre of Kentucky, and, I believe, in regard to worldly prospects, is more happy than ever he was, though he has not the charge of a church, as there are four ordained elders in that to which he belongs. He has purchased 200 acres of good land, has enough cleared to raise his bread, which his sons manage, together with carrying on a considerable share of the latter's business. This leaves him at leisure to travel, as he has lost his wife; and among other journeys, he contemplates one to New England, to visit once more all his friends in this quarter." John Sutton's wife was Ruth Stout, and their children were Rhoda, Catherine, David, Jehu and Isaac. He died, at the age of 70, in 1803.

David Thomas, following his studies at Hopewell Academy, accompanied John Gano and James Miller on a missionary assignment to Virginia. It was the first of several visits, culminating in a decision by Thomas to continue his work there indefinitely after his ordination as a minister. He remained in Berkeley County about eighteen months. While there, two men who had journeyed sixty miles from Fauquier County to hear him and to be baptized, urged him to go down to Fauquier County. He agreed and this became the nucleus of his work over an extended period of years. A Baptist church was organized at Broad Run under Thomas' inspiration and he was its first pastor. It is credited with mothering six or seven more churches during his stay. Distance meant little to those earnestly seeking religious knowledge and Thomas is said to have had persons in his audiences who had come "up to 100 miles to hear him."

Trouble awaited Thomas when he ventured South into Culpeper County. At many places, he was the first Baptist to have been heard. Those who supported the Established Church were determined to eject him, individually and through mob action. "He met with much rude treatment, at one time being dragged from the pulpit and treated in a brutal manner," it is recorded. Moving about constantly to satisfy demands for his sermons, Thomas aided numerous groups to take initial steps looking to the creation of Baptist churches. Seeking the protection of the Toleration Act, Thomas asked the court in Williamsburg to issue required papers to him but as Morgan Edwards states, "The court

would not know him." Thomas therefore made his needs known to the Philadelphia Baptist Association and he received credentials.

Having faced angry opposition, Thomas could write knowingly when one of his converts, Saunders, was put in jail at Culpeper for preaching the Gospel. Saunders' arrest was based on a charge that, calling himself a "Protestant dissenter," he "does teach and preach contrary to the laws and usages of the Kingdom of Great Britain, raising sedition and stirring up strife among His Majesty's leige people." To Saunders, Thomas wrote a letter in September, 1773, which is revealing in its expressions of conviction and emotion:

"Dear Brother,--I hear you are put in prison for preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Perhaps you may think it hard. But O, what honor has the Lord put upon you! I think you may be willing to suffer death now, seeing you are counted worthy to enter a dungeon for your Master's sake. Hold out, my dear brother! Remember your Master--your royal, heavenly, divine Master--was nailed to a cursed tree for us. O, to suffer for Him is glory in the bud! O, let it never be said that a Baptist minister of Virginia ever wronged his conscience to get liberty, not to please God, but himself! O, your imprisonment (which I am satisfied is not from any rash proceedings of your own) is not a punishment, but a glory! 'If you suffer with Him you shall also reign with him.' . . . Give my kind love to your fellow prisoner, though I know him not. I hope he is a dear

child of God. Pray for me, for I need it. I remain, dear brother, Yours in our dear Lord Jesus, David Thomas."

A church begun at Occoquon, in Prince William County, with Thomas' assistance, was served by him as pastor. In 1788, Thomas was induced to accept a pastorate at Mill Creek. Unhappily, a division arose and he was finally charged with preaching "false doctrine." The differences were carried into the Ketcokton Association in the hope of settlement. The ousting of the group opposing Thomas followed, whereupon they formed a new church but time eventually healed the breach, with the reinstatement of the group in 1800 and the baptism of those who had been baptized by unauthorized "ministers."

Meanwhile, Thomas had moved in 1796 to Kentucky where he became the pastor of the Baptist church at Washington, Mason County. A pastorate at East Hickman, in Jessamine County, came next, and while there, Thomas died in 1801 at the age of 69. He was almost blind for some time before his death. His name stands revered as that of one who was an outspoken advocate of religious liberty, whom men like Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry held in high respect. Of him, Morgan Edwards commented that "if we may judge of a man's prevalency against the devil, by the rage of the devil's children, Thomas prevailed like a prince."

Charles Thompson undoubtedly was strongly encouraged by Isaac Eaton to prepare for the ministry and to look to Rhode Island College as a means of perfecting his education. He was granted financial aid from the income of the Elizabeth Hobbs'

estate, an allowance of 14 pounds being approved in 1767 by the Philadelphia Baptist Association, the trustee in charge. He became a member of the first class at Rhode Island College and graduated as valedictorian of the group consisting of seven students upon whom the first degrees were conferred in 1769. As the outstanding student, he had been selected to give the principal address by an undergraduate.

Already, Thompson was not untried as a speaker, having been heard by the Baptist church at Warren, Rhode Island. The pulpit there became vacant in 1770 through the removal of Dr. James Manning and the Rhode Island College to Providence. Developments followed in rapid order. On January 20th, 1770, the church at Hopewell, New Jersey, dismissed Thompson to affiliate with the church at Warren. There he was licensed to preach on May 20th, 1770, and ordained in March, 1771, as minister for the congregation consisting of sixty-six members. During his pastorate of seven years, he baptized William Williams, former classmate at Hopewell and at Rhode Island College.

His pastorate was interrupted by three years' service as a brigade chaplain from 1775 to 1778. Because of the intermittent character of the fighting in military campaigns, Thompson was home at intervals. His wife was Sarah Child, of Warren. It was his misfortune to be in Warren on May 25th, 1778 when the British and Hessian troops overran the town, burning down the arsenal, meeting house, parsonage and other residences. Thompson was taken prisoner and hidden aboard a ship used as a military prison at Newport. There he languished for a month,

uncertain of his fate, until in a mysterious manner that he was never able to explain, he was suddenly set free. Meanwhile, his family moved to Ashford, Connecticut, more than forty miles distant from the scene of danger. Thompson preached at Pomfret, Connecticut, and other towns close by. His Warren congregation had scattered and because of their property losses saw little prospect of reassembling soon as a congregation or providing a church and parsonage.

Meanwhile, the congregation at Swansea, Massachusetts, scarcely five miles from Warren, was without a minister and Thompson was invited in 1779 to serve, and the remnants of the Warren congregation to join with them. This proved to be a happy arrangement and he baptized seventy-five persons within a brief period after his arrival. His ministry there was to extend over twenty-three years to 1802. It was distinguished by the fact that a revival in 1801, the last full year of his ministry, brought in about one hundred new members, this being the third such occasion. In 1789, midway in his ministry, an ingathering of about fifty had occurred. Thompson resigned in 1802 to accept a call to minister at Charlton, Massachusetts, about twenty miles north of his temporary location in the 1778-79 period. Taken ill shortly thereafter, he died of a lung hemorrhage on May 4th, 1803, at the age of fifty-five.

During his ministry, Thompson made a practice of teaching young men who desired to further their education and he won a reputation as a "thorough scholar," with a "deep sense of

responsibility." He also was reputed "an excellent preacher" and as such "held a very high rank," giving sermons that "were carefully studied, and sometimes written, but his manuscript was never seen in the pulpit, and his language was generally such as was supplied to him at the moment." His "expression . . . was indicative at once of a vigorous intellect, and an amiable disposition" while he possessed a "voice of great compass and its tones were at once sweet and commanding." He spoke with a "great depth and tenderness of feeling, and often wept with his people" although "occasionally addressed them with a voice of thunder."

Benjamin Vankirk appears to have begun his active medical career at the age of twenty-one. From 1768 to 1776, he was situated in the northern part of Hunterdon County, after which he returned to Hopewell. His home was east of the town itself, adjacent to Beden's Brook where a mill operated in later years near the Provinceline Road. He married Sarah Armitage, daughter of Reuben and Deborah (Watson) Armitage on November 23rd, 1769, and they had one daughter, Sarah, born April 27th, 1785, who married Elnathan Drake.

Vankirk's career included treatment of Revolutionary soldiers, and his day ledger, still in existence, shows an account against the Federal government. The entries in other accounts, however, have a flavor that gives inspection of the book a special fascination even in this day. An occasional item shows a credit "By 2 bushels of Wheat" in settlement of a bill. Other

credits included "5/ by 2 lb. of Butter," "For Cash lent at the election (to John Beer) 2s/6p"; Derick Vanfleet credited with 7s . for 12 lg. of Pork, and for two bushels of rye at 3/3; Court Johnson credited "For leather 1 L, 11 S; with one hide for cash lent 1L 6," and credited for "pasturing your mare 6 weeks 11 s 3." Another entry shows that Derick Vanfleet sheared thirteen sheep in 1775 and did two and one-half days of "howing corn" to pay Dr. Vankirk for a bushel and a half of potatoes worth 3 s, and two bushels of wheat worth 11 s. Apparently, the physician's day ledger intermingled farming finances with medical bills. On a more sombre note, an entry is found charging Hester Chambers for one coffin for his child, 7 s, which had been obtained from John Johnson, who in turn was credited with 7 s against his standing bill. Ponder longer, however, on a credit of 30/ to Francis Lock, Sr. for one hog-head of cider.

Most of the physician's visits cost the patient one shilling, even though a trip by horseback for eight or ten miles may have been required, as in some instances. Dr. Vankirk's account books, covering his activities from 1768 to 1815 (he died on September 2nd of that year) generally list the ailment and treatment only. There was "Venesection" (drawing of blood); "For a Lax: Verm" (a laxative); "For Ague: Ophtalm"; "For Unguent: merc"; "For Ingredts. (ingredients) for a Purge"; "For a Vomit"; "For Ext. (extracting) a Tooth for a Negro"; "For a Dose of Salts"; "For Dressing Blisters"; "For a Dose of

Rhubarb" (two shillings); "For Ingredts (ingredients) for Wine," six shillings; "For Reduceing His Fractrd Arm" in the case of Henry Kitchen on April 20th, 1771, 2 pounds, ten shillings; and "For Enoculat. (inoculating) and attend your family," three pounds, charged to Henry Young.

William Worth, called to the Pittsgrove church at Daretown in Salem County, New Jersey, was ordained on May 16th, 1771, one day after the church was formally constituted. As a group of worshippers, its members had been meeting since 1743. Worth appears to have served with satisfaction for the first few years of his ministerial career. He married Aeltha Hill, who had been born in Holland, and they had three children, Mary, who married Joseph Nelson; Rachel and William. During the Revolutionary War, Worth served as a chaplain with the Second Battalion, Salem Militia Company. The Philadelphia Baptist Association saw fit in 1774 to designate him, along with two other ministers, to respond to a request from Baptists living at Tolbert, in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, for supply ministers. During Worth's pastorate at the Pittsgrove church, membership rolls were increased from seventeen persons to eighty-one by winning sixty-five new members.

Discord developed about 1788 when Worth's preaching came under censure of some of his members, particularly the women. They organized a hard core of resistance when he expressed his belief in Universalism, more particularly that all persons will be saved. Some members withdrew and attended the Presbyterian

Church, while the men of the church for the most part gave their backing to Worth and his preaching doctrine. The situation went from bad to worse, reaching a point where Worth and his group barred the church door to the faction composed largely of women, causing the latter to meet for services in homes and a nearby grove. Worth kept control, until many claimed that the true Baptist church was the one holding meetings elsewhere, even though their group narrowed down to thirteen women. Yet they must have had keen satisfaction at times, such as on the occasion of a visit by a Mr. Smalley, pastor at Cohansey, for whom an open wagon was provided as a speaking platform near the meeting house. Smalley was the greater attraction and Worth found himself without a listener while Smalley was preaching. Finally, the situation deteriorated to the point where, in 1803, Worth and two of his deacons were expelled and Worth ousted from the ministry. Aside from the aggravation caused by his Universalist preaching in a Baptist pulpit, Worth ran into trouble because of speculation in Western lands. As for his Universalist beliefs, it is recorded that he became less certain of his conclusions and renounced them before he died. He passed away at the age of 63, on January 2nd, 1808, and his tombstone stands in the cemetery of the Pittsgrove Baptist church.

William Williams, graduating with the first class in 1769 at Rhode Island College, began to teach school at Warren. He married at the age of eighteen in the Fall of 1770, his wife being Patience Miller, daughter of Colonel Nathan Miller, of

Warren. He was baptized by his former classmate, Charles Thompson, at Warren on September 29th, 1771 and licensed to preach on April 17th, 1773.

In November he began preaching at Wrentham, Massachusetts, about twenty-five miles directly north of Warren. The remainder of his life was to be associated with that location. Wrentham Academy, founded by him in a small way, was to achieve fame in large part because of its many students who went on to great accomplishments. The Baptist church in Wrentham issued a call in March, 1775, for Williams to become its pastor. He accepted and was ordained on July 3rd, 1776. When the war forced the Rhode Island College to suspend operation, its library was moved to Williams' home, probably because he had been in charge of the library while a student in college. In his Wrentham Academy, he directed the education of about two hundred students. It was a preparatory school for the College and approximately eighty per cent of the Wrentham graduates later studied there. A number of his students became ministers. Included were David R. Williams, who became Governor of South Carolina; Congressman Tristram Burgess, who also served as Professor of Oratory and Belles Lettres in Brown University; and Dr. Jonathan Maxcy, who succeeded Dr. Manning as President of Rhode Island College. As a minister, Williams was "Strongly evangelical in his doctrines" but not regarded "as a popular preacher." The Brown University library has a number of his manuscript sermons in its archives. Of him, it has been said that he "had the ability to keep his church in a quiet, orderly state, and . . . accomplish a great

amount of good among his people." Brown University conferred a degree of Master of Arts upon him in 1789 and elected him as a Fellow, Williams serving in the latter capacity until 1818.

His wife having died on June 17th, 1803, William re-married in February, 1804. The second Mrs. Williams had been Mrs. Dolly (Titus) Hancock, of Wrentham. There were seven children born of his marriages. Williams became ill with tuberculosis but was determined to remain active. When he was unable to go to the meeting house to preach, he preached his final sermon to the congregation assembled in his own home. He died September 22nd, 1823, at the age of 71.

Chapter XX

A Greater Goal

As an institution of higher learning, Hopewell Academy made its brave bid to produce better educated young men to assist a burgeoning denomination to continue its expansion in America. There had been great dreams, bold plans, a measure of financial support--much of it sacrificial--from within a circle of friends and well-wishers, but in 1767 the Academy ceased to exist. If judged from outward appearances, finis had been written to all that Isaac Eaton had dreamed.

Certainly, when the last recitation had been heard and the student body of Hopewell Academy dispersed, never to re-assemble, Eaton must have been filled with mixed emotions. His experiment in the field of higher education for "promising Baptist youth" had come to an end. Eleven years' devotion to a cause--and now what remained?

No longer would he be able to enjoy the day-by-day satisfaction of witnessing students grow in "wisdom and in stature" as they prepared for the stern tasks awaiting them in the bustling, argumentative world of affairs. Instead, Eaton was about to find himself limited once again to his pastorate in the country town where he had now lived for nearly twenty years. No longer would his time be divided between the student body and his church congregation, and perhaps he would find it

quite difficult to adjust to the change in pace.

Yet Isaac Eaton had not launched the Hopewell Academy as a means of keeping busy, or in the hope of winning glory or distinction for himself. In the years during which the school operated, there was never a hint that Isaac Eaton dominated the picture because he wanted to have his name in the forefront of a noteworthy undertaking, or for the sake of winning personal honors or advancement. He was not a popularity seeker. Eaton founded his school because of his belief that it was a natural step for him to take, partly because of his background in education but also because of a conviction, shared with a sizeable segment of the Baptist denomination, that here was a problem that must be solved, even though it was a long-range problem extending into the unpredictable future. Into the school, he poured his energy, his knowledge, his time, his strength, his zeal for learning as well as his affection for young men and boys who were storming against barriers that heretofore had blocked off full educational advantages. While many spoke of the institution as "Isaac Eaton's School"--sometimes voiced with sincere respect but at other times in accents of derision by those who scoffed or frowned upon the school and its aims--even the latter generally directed their fire at the type of undertaking rather than at the man whose name was linked with it.

But the closing of Hopewell Academy had not been due to a sudden turn of events. As far as 1756 when the first announcement had been made that Eaton would accept students who

wished to improve themselves in Latin, Greek and theological studies, it had been apparent that an academy would be a stepping stone toward an even greater goal. Baptist advocates of higher education knew that they must find a way to meet the demands of the younger generation for college training, just as the Congregationalists looked to Harvard and Yale; the Episcopalians to the University of Pennsylvania, William and Mary and Columbia College, and the New Light group of the Presbyterians to Princeton College. The Baptist need, more insistent and pressing with each passing year, demanded planning on much the same scale.

Recognizing his own limitations but utilizing his talents, Eaton had pioneered in secondary education. At the same time, he recognized that he and his Latin Academy could not match the achievements of other denominations. He longed for the day when a competent leader would appear and found a college that would be the answer to his dream. Little did he know that in accepting James Manning as a student, he was assisting one who possessed the genius and capacity to fan a tiny spark into flame until there would emerge Rhode Island College which in turn would become Brown University. And not Manning alone, for David Howell and Hezekiah Smith, fellow students of Manning, were to be associated actively with the Rhode Island educational venture throughout the best years of their lives, building and developing a college and university upon a foundation that undoubtedly was strengthened by the training they received while under Eaton's tutelage.

Hence the weeks and months that followed the closing of the Academy in Hopewell, while containing some sadness for Eaton, also were filled with eager expectation as he intently watched the progress being made by the aspiring college. Fortunately there was no gap between the closing of the Academy and the opening of the college; instead, an overlapping of two years had provided a transition period of inestimable value.

Eaton also could not be denied the glorious experience of every sincere educator who follows the careers of his former students as they develop into positions of responsibility. Every advancement of which he learned was an occasion for joy and reminiscence about the individual concerned. All could not be expected to enjoy meteoric careers, but almost without exception they proved themselves to be substantial citizens. Yet Eaton--carried to his grave in 1772 at the age of forty-eight and only five years after the Academy closed--was denied the heart-warming satisfaction that he would have enjoyed if he could have lived on and in his declining years observed how far the educational foundation that he provided had carried his "young parsons."

Since his own field of endeavor had included an educational project of high significance, Eaton probably would have found keenest delight in watching the Rhode Island experiment carried forward under Manning's supervision. Instead, Eaton lived long enough to see only its early years of anguish, when it was "for the most part friendless and moneyless, and therefore forlorn." Morgan Edwards thus described its condition from 1763 to 1769.

Yet such as it was, there stood the college as the Hopewell Academy in essence, even though there had been no physical transfer of equipment or faculty.

As pointed out earlier, the Philadelphia Baptist Association had given encouragement to the Hopewell Academy and had urged the churches to stimulate individual giving for this worthy cause. In like manner, the Charleston Association in South Carolina, organized in 1751, and the Sandy Creek Association, formed in North Carolina in 1760, were not disinterested in the project. The Philadelphia Association had voted in 1756 to "raise a sum of money towards the encouragement" of the Hopewell Academy; in 1758, it had voted to "request the churches to contribute their mite towards its support," and in 1759 had expressed a desire that "our churches . . . continue to contribute toward a Grammar School." A plea for aid addressed to Baptists in Great Britain had followed in 1761.

The initiative in setting plans in motion for a full-fledged Baptist college was taken by Morgan Edwards, who had been in America only a few months when he challenged the delegates attending the 1762 sessions of the Philadelphia Association to action. Arriving in Philadelphia at the call of the First Baptist Church there on May 23rd, 1761, he had the natural curiosity as well as the detached point of view of a newcomer in respect to Baptist achievement and future possibilities in America. He also was one of seven or eight Baptist ministers then in America who could claim the advantages of higher education.

According to some historians, Edwards first agitated for a Baptist college at the Association's meeting in the Fall of 1761. It may have been his own modesty, as well as the absence of immediate results, that prompted him as the author of the Association's minutes for that year to omit any reference there- to in the annual report. For a newcomer, he had moved to the forefront rapidly, as evidenced by the fact that he was singled out to keep the minutes, to take charge of the Association's records and to serve as its librarian. He also was assigned to correspond with the Board of Baptist Ministers in London and elsewhere about matters of general Baptist welfare. Edwards immediately set about giving substance to the minutes by ap- pending a statistical table, entitled "State of the Churches" and listing the member churches, the number of members in each, gains during the year, and other data. Edwards was to continue as clerk of the Association for thirty-two years, ceasing this activity in 1793, only two years before his death. It is said that he arranged at his own expense for the printing of the minutes and statistical table. Morgan Edwards also was to gain lasting fame because of his accomplishments in the realm of Baptist history, being the first man to compile a detailed his- tory covering scores of individual Baptist churches in America, and performing that service in the face of severe obstacles.

Welsh by birth (May 9th, 1722), Edwards had been "brought up on the doctrines of the Church of England." He studied at Bristol Academy under a famed educator, Dr. Bernard Foskett. At the age of sixteen, he displayed preaching ability. He was

ordained as a Baptist minister at Cork, Ireland, on June 1st, 1757, then being thirty-five years old. He served a nine-year pastorate at Cork and then went to Rye, England, where he was when called to Philadelphia. The latter pastorate proved to be a relationship that continued for ten years.

Edwards was well aware when he agitated for a Baptist college in 1762 that there were only about seventy Baptist churches, with a membership totaling perhaps 5,000, in the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. Could he count upon solid support? In Appendix III of his "Materials Toward a History of the Baptists in Rhode Island," he described the situation as follows:

"The first mover¹ for it in 1762 was laughed at as a projector of a thing impracticable. Nay, many of the Baptists themselves discouraged the design (prophesying evil to the churches in case it should take place), from an unhappy prejudice against learning, and threatened (not only non-concurrence but) opposition."

Nevertheless, at the meeting of the Association held on October 12th, 1762, in the Lutheran Church edifice near Fifth and Race Streets, Philadelphia, Morgan Edwards succeeded in winning a majority vote for his resolution holding that it was "expedient to erect a college in the colony of Rhode Island, under the chief direction of the Baptists." The development of plans was left to Edwards and Samuel Jones, the latter being pastor of the Baptist church at Pennepek, adjacent to Philadelphia.

In later years, the name of James Manning inevitably was

¹Morgan Edwards himself.

linked with the college in Rhode Island whenever it was mentioned, but Edwards was a major factor in its creation and development. He kept the college project before the Philadelphia Association and the individual Baptist churches, and even went so far as to ask his Philadelphia church to release him for two years so he might go abroad to raise funds for the college. He was well-fitted for he had a broad acquaintanceship and many friendly ties in England, Ireland and Wales. Notwithstanding "how angry the mother country then was with the colonies for opposing the stamp act," as Edwards later wrote, he obtained about five thousand dollars, a considerable sum for those days. He also persuaded Dr. Richards, of South Wales, to provide in his will that his library of 1,300 volumes should be sent to the college. That, too, was a notable contribution for that day. As a result of his energetic work, the college honored Edwards by awarding him the degree of Master of Arts in 1769 at the first Commencement where Edwards delivered a sermon to the graduating class. Edwards prided himself on his work for the college, stating that he considered it "the greatest service he has done or hoped to do for the honour of the baptist interest."

Unfortunately, Morgan Edwards' later years contained some unhappy aspects, although his fame as a Baptist historian is unchallenged. His relationship with his Philadelphia church deteriorated, perhaps due to his absence in behalf of the college or his interest in assembling historical materials. For in 1770, his first volume, "Materials Toward a History of the

American Baptists," was published. Another disturbing factor was his New Year's sermon of January 1st, 1770, in which he solemnly declared that he expected to die before another New Year's Day arrived. But the next January came and Edwards was still alive and somewhat disconcerted when asked to explain it. This suggested that his forebodings must have been the product of his own imagination, and this won him no honors as a prophet. Edwards suggested that the church obtain a "popular preacher" and offered to give up half his salary for that purpose. When he renewed the offer in 1771 and said that he would not insist on any stipulation that would hamper the church, it was regarded as a resignation and accepted. Edwards later moved to Pencader, Delaware, but retained his membership in the Philadelphia church. He traveled to the South to aid infant churches lacking pastors, after a number of these churches had appealed to the Philadelphia Association for assistance.

When the conflict with England developed, Edwards held to the Tory point of view and as a result was declared to be a "dangerous person." The Committee on Safety ordered that he be locked up. General Miles, who was chairman of the Committee and a firm friend of Edwards, took Edwards to his (Miles') home and permitted him to remain without being under guard. Edwards made a public declaration in August, 1775, that he was loyal to the American cause but a certain amount of distrust remained, as his son, "Master Billy," became a colonel in the British army. However, a younger son, Joshua, served in the American Navy in

1782 as a surgeon's mate. Another sad development in Edwards' life was his yielding to intoxicants. He underwent church discipline a few years before his death, and four years elapsed before he was restored to good standing.

In seeking authentic historical facts about the Baptist churches, Edwards is said to have "travelled thousands of miles on horseback, visiting nearly all the Baptist churches then organized, and from the church records obtained a history of their foundation. . ." He planned a twelve-volume history, and the volume about the Pennsylvania churches in 1770 was the first. His volume concerning the New Jersey churches was delayed until 1790, as the original manuscript was destroyed by fire when his house burned during the war years. Other portions of his writings were published posthumously. Edwards died on January 28th, 1795. He was buried beneath the aisle of the Baptist meeting house on Second Street, Philadelphia, in accordance with the custom of that day. Later, his remains were transferred to a memorial plot of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia in the Mount Moriah Cemetery, located in the West Philadelphia section of the city.

Chapter XXI

The Charter Fight

Although it borders on the fantastic, nevertheless it remains a fact that James Manning set out at the age of twenty-four to found a college! And he accomplished his purpose, for two years later he was a college president. What did it matter if the student body did consist of only one young man when the college opened and so remained for the next nine months. Viewed from the vantage point offered by a time lapse of nearly two hundred years, this appears to have been a feeble start in the founding of a college, yet the foundation laid by Manning marked the beginning of the institution first known as Rhode Island College, and later re-named as Brown University.

The college presidency, when bestowed upon Manning in 1765, seemed an empty honor to most observers. Yet it was pretentious enough to draw the scorn and ridicule of those who wanted to see the college die a-borning. Time proved that the pessimists were mistaken. The college, small and struggling, underwent many tribulations but it survived and expanded until today it has a student body of approximately 2,500 and a faculty of two hundred or more. Manning, as its first president, served for twenty-six years until his death in 1791.

When Manning first turned his attention to the promotion of a school of higher learning in 1763, the college was little

more than a dream in the minds of a few enterprising Baptists. They felt, as did Manning, that something at college level had to be provided as a center of advanced schooling for young men of the Baptist faith, as well as others who had educational aspirations. These proponents of the college have expression to their hopes during sessions of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, attended by delegates from the churches chiefly situated in the vicinity of Philadelphia and in New Jersey. They were thinking in terms of the future growth of the Baptist denomination in the vibrant atmosphere of the colonies along the Atlantic seacoast. Yet in calling upon James Manning to energize the project, they had no positive assurance that any governmental authority in America would grant a charter for such an institution. Then if a charter was obtained, it would remain to be seen whether students would be attracted. The recruiting of even one teacher who might assist Manning also was recognized as another major hurdle. Again, even the most optimistic of the promoters of the college necessarily had to take a dim view in respect to solving the financial problems that would be involved. Obviously, in the face of such obstacles, the college could not come into existence overnight, even if promoted by a highly qualified man with plenty of experience.

This could hardly be said of James Manning. While he was promising in many respects and viewed with general favor by older men who had watched his development, Manning actually was little more than through his own college studies at Princeton.

He had yet to display administrative ability. That would come later when he would face test after test of his competence and acumen in advancing the interests of the college. In his favor, it could be pointed out that he had done some teaching although a limited amount.

There were other considerations in Manning's favor. He had evidenced a love for learning while attending Princeton University and the Hopewell Academy. As a member of the graduating class at Princeton on September 29th, 1762, Manning had received special honors for ranking second highest scholastically in a group of twenty-one. Previously while at Isaac Eaton's academy, Manning had taught some of the younger students and his scholarship had been recognized.

Manning had been baptized in 1758 shortly before entering Princeton, by Reverend Benjamin Miller, pastor of the Baptist church at Scotch Plains. Manning's inclinations toward the ministry were well known and Eaton's influence accentuated that leaning. His college work completed, Manning presented himself before the Scotch Plains church to display his "gifts" for the ministry on November 30th, 1762. The church licensed him to preach on February 6th, 1763. His ordination as a Baptist minister followed on April 19th. The participants in his ordination included his former teacher, Isaac Eaton; Manning's brother-in-law, Reverend John Gano, a former Hopewell companion who now was the minister of the Baptist church in New York; and the Reverend Isaac Stelle, whose church at Piscataway, New Jersey,

had provided the nucleus of members who had formed the Scotch Plains Baptist church.

Meanwhile, Manning had married. His wife was Margaret Stites, of Elizabethtown, daughter of John Stites, Mayor of the town. Their wedding took place on March 23rd, 1763. Like the Mannings, the Stites family lived well, having a home in which there was considerable entertaining. Stites was an official in the Scotch Plains church. In later years, due to the Revolutionary War, the Stites family lost its position of affluence, a fate which Manning and many others were to share. Manning and his wife had no children.

While Manning was preparing to carry out the commission entrusted to him by the Philadelphia Baptist Association, he had an interesting letter from Charleston, South Carolina. The Baptist minister there, Oliver Hart, wrote two letters, in fact, during June, 1763, inviting Manning to settle there as his assistant. The first letter conveyed an official call from the Charleston church. A personal appeal from Hart followed. In his letter of June 20th, 1763, Hart stated that "I have received letters from Mr. [John] Gano, who informs me that you are married, ordained, and not settled; or that you intend a journey to the eastward before you settle anywhere. I assure you that this gives me hope that you will settle to the southward. . ." This letter must have reached Manning only a few days before his departure by vessel for Rhode Island and Nova Scotia. At any rate, the Charleston invitation was not accepted and Manning 's

activities from that point on were largely concentrated on the promotion of a Baptist college.

Manning was accompanied on his first visit to Rhode Island in July, 1763, by Reverend John Sutton, who also had been ordained by the Scotch Plains church in 1763. For Sutton, the visit to Newport was merely a stop-over enroute to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where Sutton was to remain for several months, giving encouragement to a group of Baptists who had migrated there from Connecticut. Manning also went to Nova Scotia, actually allowing himself insufficient time to take care of the urgent business at hand in Rhode Island. Under these circumstances, it is quite likely that Manning also was concerned about Baptist expansion in Nova Scotia and had made commitments to appear there, compelling him to travel along with Sutton on the same vessel that had anchored at Newport. Unaware that the plan of the Baptists to obtain a legislative charter for a college was in grave danger of being undermined, Manning set sail. He was to suffer a severe shock when he learned of what transpired immediately after his departure.

First, however, it will be advantageous to survey the factors that prompted the Baptists to look to Rhode Island as a site for their projected college. Basically, all the stimuli associated with the founding of the Hopewell Academy applied with equal force to the college dream; actually, higher education had won new friends as Hopewell's students had shown that proper training at an advanced level paid immeasurable dividends.

Baptist youth were continuing to display an eagerness to obtain higher education, churches were seeking pastors who had advanced training, and the lack of religious freedom in the existing colleges continued. In some quarters, it could best be described as a hostility toward those who did not subscribe to the religious beliefs of the ruling college authorities. Too, Baptists were unwilling to sacrifice "principle and position" in order to attend the existing colleges.

Since a prime essential in founding a college was a legislative grant of authority in the form of a charter, the obvious question was, "Where are we most likely to succeed with an application for a charter?" The answer, almost without dissent, was "Rhode Island." Morgan Edwards, aside from being one of the principal advocates of such a college, liked to describe Rhode Island as the "land of the Baptists." He estimated that at least two-fifths of its population were of the Baptist faith, many being descended from the group that originally settled the colony. Furthermore, most of those in authority were Baptists --and Edwards included past and present Governors, legislators, judges as well as holders of lesser offices in his list. Having no college, Rhode Islanders might take special pride in espousing such a step. Again, the Baptist denomination was expanding rapidly in the New England states, even in the face of a running battle with the Congregationalists. There was good reason to hope that from these Baptist families would come an enrollment of students justifying the move to establish a

college to fill their particular needs. This argument was applied with equal force by Baptists living further South, where Baptist growth also was commanding respect; also, the South had fewer colleges and since the Baptist design was purported to be shaped in such manner as to include students from other religious denominations without any sectarian tests and with complete freedom in the exercise of their beliefs, it was hoped that there would be an influx of a general nature as well.

One might properly ask why the Baptists saw fit to look elsewhere, rather than to New Jersey and to Hopewell, in particular, for the situs of a Baptist college. Several good reasons existed. There was considerable doubt as to whether the Governor and Provincial Council of New Jersey would grant a charter for a Baptist institution. Since the province itself existed through a royal charter from England with the Church of England as the only officially recognized ecclesiastical body, the Baptists might find themselves traveling a rocky road in pursuit of a charter, just as the "New Light" Presbyterians had in the case of Princeton College. To obtain it probably would be difficult in itself, and if finally granted, the hostility that might be aroused in the struggle to achieve it, might cause lasting damage to the neophyte institution. Without such a document, it would be an act of defiance to existing civil authority to set such plans in motion, and the Baptists were not prone to give such procedure even a second's consideration. Again, Princeton College, recently moved from Newark, New Jersey, was now situated only a few miles from Hopewell. While lacking similarity

in denominational sponsorship, nevertheless the chartering of a second college in such proximity would create a rivalry that might very well undermine both ventures and New Jersey would be left without either college.

Thirdly, the physical property situated at Hopewell was no inducement. The Hopewell Academy was situated upon land owned by the Hopewell church, while the Academy occupied a structure which had been erected for its use by an uncle of Mrs. Eaton, upon ground adjoining the parsonage. While the farm contained adequate acreage for a college campus of modest size, the Eaton residence and the Academy building could not accommodate any sizeable increase in enrollment, and a college that sought to attach itself to an Academy would lack some of the prestige of a pristine college in an environment where it could develop its own atmosphere and traditions.

Finally, it was not proposed to abandon the Hopewell Academy precipitously. To suspend its activities before a Baptist college had sunk its own roots fairly deeply would have been unwise. It would have been like exchanging a "bird in hand for two in the bush," since no one could guarantee that the new college would be a sure thing in the immediate future. Eaton, it was acknowledged by all except a few of the harshest critics of the Academy, had done an outstanding job as an educator, yet he had not enjoyed the advantages of college training and this placed definite limitations upon his eligibility to be the head of a college. He would have brought something less than the

full amount of prestige that the venture demanded. Further, it was taken for granted that the head of the new college would be a teaching president--perhaps the only instructor at the outset--and a broad knowledge comparable to that obtained by graduates of the other established institutions, was primary requisite. Even if Isaac Eaton had qualified fully in these respects, there still would remain the fact that he was in a settled pastorate where he had been for fourteen years or more when the college project was tackled in earnest by the Philadelphia Association. It would have meant that Eaton would have to be called to another church in Rhode Island, and there is not evidence to indicate that Eaton or the Hopewell church were giving any thought to a break in the relationship between pastor and people in that town.

In recent years, during which Brown University has undergone changes that have removed it from control by Baptists, there has been an occasional claim that there never did exist any link between the Hopewell Academy and the original Rhode Island College. Those who express this opinion or give it circulation are not familiar with the Baptist way of doing things--whether it be in connection with the autonomy preserved by individual Baptist churches, the limitations upon the authority of a Baptist Association comprised of member churches, or the historic Baptist position preserving individual freedom to the churches. Baptists work in a unique way when they wish to unite their efforts, and this was true in advancing higher

education through the means of an Academy or college.

It is not enough to search the records of the Philadelphia Baptist Association for a document stating in simple language, with signatures and affidavits attached, that the Association had resolved to establish a college and defining its relationship to the Hopewell Academy. That would be a pat answer to those who make the claim that Brown University should never be considered as linked with the Hopewell Academy.

The facts do make it unmistakable that Hopewell Academy was founded with the blessing of the Philadelphia Association. The Association commended the endeavor, urged the churches to aid it with funds, sought to bolster its enrollment, named supervisors to assist Isaac Eaton in planning the course it would follow, and listened with interest to annual reports on its progress. Those who were most influential in the Association were, almost without exception, enthusiastic about the Academy. But from its formation, the Baptist Association had taken the position that even though churches might bring their internal difficulties to the Association for consideration, the Association could only advise, counsel or assist by sending representatives to examine first-hand into a situation, but never with the Association setting itself up as a final authority to order or command. Hence, the discussion of a Baptist college, while formally before the Association with Morgan Edwards as its chief proponent at the outset, might result in expression of approval but this was not regarded as vesting actual sponsorship in the Association.

As in the case of Hopewell Academy, Rhode Island College had the firm support of a group of Baptists--largely the same basic group that had backed Hopewell Academy, aided now by some of the Academy's graduates as well as Baptists living in Rhode Island and vicinity. Therefore the Association informally arranged for Manning to survey the possibilities in Rhode Island, seek a charter, and ascertain what arrangements could be worked out to assure an income for Manning when the college became a reality. The Association, as will be noted later, even was asked to send a special advisor to Rhode Island when a fight over the drafting of a charter developed, and the Association obliged. The advisor went as an individual who was presumed to know what the individual Baptist churches might be most likely to favor in the form of a legal framework for a college. In no sense was he a delegate authorized by the Association to enforce its expressed will. It was a Baptist approach to the problem, with the churches surrendering none of their individual liberty, and the Association shying away from any attempt to make commitments that might be viewed as an attempt to bind the churches to a proposal.

Then was Hopewell Academy and Rhode Island College actually related? Does anyone question whether a brother and sister are related? Having common parentage, the brother and sister develop in their own way and questions as to their ties are never asked by those who are acquainted with their parents. Having been cradled in like manner, nurtured along similar lines,

supported, defended and looked upon with pride by the same Philadelphia Baptist Association, Hopewell Academy and Brown University are linked historically beyond the slightest doubt. Any other conclusion would do violence to the facts.

Isaac Eaton, it should be further observed, was eager to see the college established, and he was one of the original incorporators. He also was named as a member of the original Board of Trustees. Furthermore, he sent his son, Joseph, to the college to complete his studies there.

With Rhode Island looked upon with special favor as a desirable location for the new college, an exchange of letters took place in advance of Manning's visit. Evidently those consulted included Governor Josias Lyndon and Deputy Governor Gardner for the first conference on the subject was held at the latter's home in July, 1763. The group of conferees numbered approximately fifteen persons. To them, Manning outlined the plan for "a Seminary of Polite Literature, subject to the government of the Baptists." An exchange of ideas as to how the provisions to be contained in the charter should be phrased undoubtedly followed. Evidently Manning, young and inexperienced in such matters, had not prepared any written memorandum up to that point as to the form that the charter should take. Having the historical position of the Baptist denomination in mind and the educational hurdles that this venture was designed to remove, there can be no doubt that there was unanimity that this was to be a Baptist-controlled institution. It was suggested that

Manning "draw a sketch of the design" to be ready for another conference on the following day. Manning obliged, as his diary records. It adds that "the tenor of which rough draught was that the institution was to be a Baptist one; but that as many of other denominations should be taken in as was consistent with the said design."

It became obvious that the situation required that persons well-versed in drafting legal documents should carry the plan through its next step. This would include the formulation of the proposed charter as well as a petition to the General Assembly requesting that the matter be given favorable consideration. For this task, Governor Lyndon and Colonel Job Bennet were selected. They protested that they lacked the necessary skill. They proposed that Dr. Ezra Stiles be asked to assist. Stiles was outside the Baptist denomination, being pastor of the Second Congregational Church at Newport. Before coming there seven years earlier, he had been a Yale College tutor for six years. He also was a Yale graduate. Stiles, now at the age of thirty-six, had been eager to establish a college in Rhode Island, and according to his biographer, Professor Kingsley, dreamed of a college wherein the denominations (Congregational, Presbyterian and Baptist) that chafed under the domination of the Church of England over civil and religious matters in most of the colonies, might have a rallying point, and through their combined strength, accomplish what they apparently could not do singly. It was a dream on a grand scale for his idea was that not only churches

in America, but also those in Great Britain and Ireland of the same faith, would support this movement. He had computed that there would be 3,638 churches behind it, if they would only say that they approved of the plan.

Manning was not enthusiastic about drawing outside interests into the Baptist project at this point, although it had been contemplated that other denominations would be given representation on the Board of Trustees. Manning said he was "unwilling to give the doctor Stiles trouble about an affair of other people." However, others urged that Dr. Stiles possessed a "love of learning, and catholicism" that would assure his cooperation. At this point, controversy had its first opportunity to edge in, and for the next seven months the Baptist group had a hectic struggle on its hands.

According to Manning's diary, Dr. Stiles agreed to assist, and the drafting of the charter was left in his hands. Dr. Stiles consulted William Ellery, a member of the General Assembly, about the framework, Ellery's contribution consisting in the main of suggestions as to proper legal phraseology.

At this point, the question arises as to how explicit were the instructions given to Dr. Stiles, and the exact nature of the relationship between him and the Baptist committee. Dr. Stiles, as a leader in the community, never for an instant regarded himself as a mere scrivener, called in because he possessed the literary touch that such a document needed to make it properly impressive. He had every reason to feel that he was a specialist called in to advise a group seeking to crystallize

its scattered thoughts into a concrete document. On that basis, undoubtedly, he tackled the task. Manning's diary declares that Dr. Stiles was "told that the Baptists were to have the lead in the institution and the government thereof forever; and that no more of other denominations were to be admitted than would be consistent with that."

If Dr. Stiles had been forthright when he submitted his draft of the charter, and told frankly of the manner in which he had imposed his own ideas, much of the rancor and bitterness that hovered about for many years might have been avoided.

According to Manning, the college charter was to provide for a Board of Trustees to consist of thirty-five members, of whom nineteen were to be Baptists. It was contemplated that the Board of Trustees within the corporation would include such leaders from within the Baptist denomination as Morgan Edwards, James Manning, Isaac Eaton, Samuel Stillman, Samuel Jones, John Gano, Jeremiah Condy and Robert Strettle Jones, Esq., this being a notable cross-section geographically and otherwise. The trustees were to have the power to elect the President of the college and direct its affairs.

The draft prepared by Dr. Stiles, however, was patterned along far different lines. What were these alterations? In the first place, a Board of Fellows, consisting of twelve members, with five as a quorum, was set up; of its twelve members eight were to be Congregationalists, or Presbyterians. The other four members were not required to meet any special qualification insofar as denominational background was concerned.

The Fellows, it developed, were to be "the soul of the institution while the trusteeship was only the body," according to Manning's summary.

The board of trustees was jointly established, and the provision for nineteen Baptists within the membership of thirty-six remained untouched. That, in part, lulled Manning's committee to listen not too attentively after hearing that provision read. In some manner, there was no immediate alarm over the fact that the Fellows and Trustees were to sit as separate bodies with their individual authority precisely defined. Also, the draft provided that the choice of a President would be vested in all members of the corporation, rather than the trustees alone; and that membership on the boards would be limited to persons living in Rhode Island.

How could such obvious alterations be overlooked in the reading of Dr. Stiles' draft of the charter? There are several possible explanations. As far as Manning was concerned, he was due to sail. Since the date of sailing and the deadline for Dr. Stiles to submit his draft were identical, the committee held a hurried meeting on that day. Manning was present for only a portion of the meeting, his hour of departure having "prevented my being present with them long enough to see whether the original design was secured." Another reason for haste may have been the fact that the General Assembly was about to convene and prompt action was thought likely. Others on the committee held Dr. Stiles in high esteem.

As a matter of fact, matters had proceeded far more swiftly than Manning had contemplated. Was it logical for him to expect that in the brief period allowed between the dropping of the ship's anchor and the resumption of the voyage to Nova Scotia that he would have sufficient time to carry the design for a college to the point where the legislative body of the colony would be called upon to act? Aside from the select committee that he had consulted, there was a real bit of missionary work to be done in consulting and enlisting the enthusiastic support of the churches and ministers in Rhode Island in particular, and the New England area generally. Manning, who had been eyed from the outside as the logical person to become the first instructor--and hold the Presidency although it would represent little more than a title at the outset--also must have been concerned as to how he was to derive his livelihood. In this regard, the logical source would be a pastorate of a church conveniently located in respect to the choice of location for the college. And as yet, the place for the college campus was far from being talked out and decided. But instead of getting an answer to the one vital question of the moment--is it feasible to consider the establishment of a Baptist college in Rhode Island?--Manning found that the proposal was virtually running away with itself.

As for Dr. Stiles, it appears that he had reference to charters under which Yale College was operating and accepted the same format. This is understandable, not only because of

his familiarity with it _then as well as later when he became President of Yale) but because it was regarded as exemplary as to form and scope. But Dr. Stiles did not stop there. He contended later that the Baptists "had agreed to share the Ballances with us," although he may have been referring to their nod of approval when his draft of the charter was first heard by them. In any event, the situation offered an opportunity for Dr. Stiles to realize his own hopes for a college patterned along the broad lines he had envisioned. If he had entered into a frank discussion with the Baptist group in an effort to win them to his point of view, or called attention to the specific changes he had made and urged that they were meritorious, he might have avoided much of the criticism that later came tumbling down over his head. Actually, he changed names of those who were to be the members of the board of trustees, inserted names of his own choosing for the Board of Fellows, and altered the plan in several fundamental respects. Dr. Stiles acted deliberately, there can be no mistake about that, and he acted with considerable dispatch. Giving Dr. Stiles the benefit of every possible doubt, the fact remains that he was overzealous.

A copy of his draft of the charter and the petition asking its approval went immediately to the General Assembly. This was August, 1763. The charter was read and approval recommended. When the Assembly was about to vote, Daniel Jenckes, a merchant who was a member from Providence, inquired whether the charter really accomplished the plan that the Baptists had in

mind. Since the dinner hour was near at hand, Jenckes suggested that the interval be used by the members to examine the proposed charter in greater detail. There was some dissent by a group that included Ellery, who had helped Dr. Stiles revise it. Jenckes sought out Governor Lyndon, one of the Baptist advocates of the charter and pointed out to him that "the charter was so artfully constructed" that the Board of Fellows actually had control over the college, and that eight of the twelve members were Presbyterians (usually referred to as Congregationalists at that time) and there was no restriction against the remaining four being of the same denomination. Governor Lyndon then sent for Dr. Stiles and demanded to know why the original intent had been "perverted." Manning's diary then quotes Dr. Stiles as having replied that "I gave you timely warning to take care of yourselves, for that we had done so with regard to our society." Later, Stiles added, according to Manning, that "he (Stiles) was not the rogue." These statements seem to indicate that Dr. Stiles had not been secretive about the changes he had made in the charter, while at the same time linking some unidentified person with the distortion of the original plan.

Armed with these facts, Jenckes aired his findings. Ellery and others tried to obtain immediate approval of the charter as submitted but the General Assembly postponed further consideration. Jenckes asked to be furnished with a copy of the charter in order that he might consult Baptists elsewhere in the colony, since it had not been circulated to any extent. Upon further

examination of the document, the Baptist proponents were even more astounded at what had been attempted to their detriment. Five members would have constituted a quorum of the Board of Fellows; the names of those who had promoted the project were omitted, including Morgan Edwards, Samuel Jones, James Manning, John Gano, Samuel Stillman and Robert Strettle Jones, as well as Hezekiah Smith, Isaac Beckus, William Williams and others. Membership was to be restricted to those who lived in Rhode Island.

No longer being able to look to Dr. Stiles for aid, the Baptist committee at Newport turned to the Philadelphia Baptist Association for guidance ("Where the thing took its rise," as Manning comments). Reverend Samuel Jones, of the Pennepek church, was delegated to hurry to Newport. He was accompanied by Robert Strettle Jones. They, together with Dr. Thomas Eyres, a Newport physician and son of a former Baptist pastor, re-drafted the charter and a new petition to the Assembly. Now the charter provided that eight of the twelve Fellows were to be Baptists, and twenty-two of the thirty-six Trustees. Other significant changes were made to assure Baptist control over the college, including the reserving of the Presidency for a Baptist. He also was to be elected by the corporation, rather than by the trustees alone. Also, residence in Rhode Island no longer was to be a qualification for membership on the boards. For added measure, those proposed for the boards now included five Quakers, five Episcopalians and only four Congregationalists. On the other hand, Dr. Stiles was included

as one of the Fellows, obviously because he was in a powerful position, and if he could be induced to serve, this move might make it somewhat easier for the Baptist venture to prosper. He declined. In the opinion of Manning, he did so because of "offence he should give his brethren should be accept it."

In October of the same year, the General Assembly met at South Kingston. The revised charter was received, but action was not taken because the topic set off a flood of opposition. One avenue of attack was a demand that the original draft of the charter, entrusted to Jenckes after he had caused deferment of action in August, he produced. Jenckes disclosed that he had first taken it to his home in Providence, where numerous persons examined it. Others "borrowed it to peruse at home," he added. When the Philadelphia Association's representatives arrived and asked for it, Jenckes had inquired of Dr. Ephraim Bowen if it was then in his possession, and the latter stated that he had loaned it to Samuel Nightingale, Esquire. Nightingale searched for it but with no success. When this was revealed in the General Assembly, Jenckes was accused of having broken his promise to return the charter and of having placed it somewhere in hiding. To this his retort was that "if there had been any foul doings, it was amongst them of their own denomination at Providence." Dr. Bowen, in an effort to regain possession of the original charter draft, placed notices about Providence and sought everywhere for it.

The charter again came up for consideration at a legislative session in January, 1764, but it was March 2nd before it received final discussion, with approval granted on March 3rd. The General Assembly was then in session at East Greenwich. It was a glorious day of victory for the Baptist sponsors of the college proposal.

The flames of controversy continued to be fanned for a considerable period, however. Dr. Stiles at one time alluded to Manning as a "bigoted Baptist." Even David Howell, despite his close association with Manning as a member of the teaching staff at a later date, wrote to Isaac Backus and despite a lapse of nearly ten years, referred to "injudicious ill-natured reflections by Manning and Jenckes," and suggested that if their comments, as well as views written by Morgan Edwards, were made a part of the Baptist history being written by Backus, he would be dignifying "surmises" and "suspicions" and be offending persons who the Baptists could not afford to alienate if the college was to survive. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that Howell had become severely critical of Manning's administration of the college as an incident in 1787, to be mentioned later, will show. The charter fight had left ugly scars, and had emphasized the sharp line of demarcation between the denominations.

What had become of the original draft of the charter? The answer came to light one hundred years later, when the college was observing its 100th anniversary. It had reached Dr. Stiles'

hands, for on the reverse side Dr. Stiles had written notes (the handwriting was verified as his), indicating that he had referred it to Dr. Charles Chauncy at Boston, and criticizing the revised draft because the Baptists were "absorbing the whole power and government of the College, and thus by the immutability of the numbers, establishing it a party College more explicitly and effectually than any college upon the continent." Further, he protested that a paragraph in the original "for securing the freedom of education with respect to religion" had been "so mutilated as effectually to enable and empower the Baptists to practice the arts of insinuation, and proselyting upon the youth by private instruction, without the request of the parents." Thereafter, the charter had reposed amid records of Dr. Stiles' church, although the date and the exact channel through which it arrived there has never been ascertained. In some manner also unexplained, the same draft later was acquired by Dr. William B. Sprague, of Albany, who was a collector of autographs. Appreciating its particular value to the college, he presented it in 1864 in order that it might be placed in the permanent archives.

The differences of opinion about the charter flared anew when the change of location was considered by the General Assembly and decided in February, 1770. A group who had advocated Newport in vain were so disgruntled that they set plans in motion to give Rhode Island a second college. Dr. Ezra Stiles and William Ellery were again in the forefront, and a petition for a charter reached the General Assembly where it was approved

but the sanction of the Senate was never forthcoming. Since another college threatened the very life of the existing college, the latter Corporation adopted a resolution opposing the proposal and sent its committee to wait upon the General Assembly. It urged that the existing charter had been viewed as an exclusive privilege and a rival institution would undermine the confidence of those who had given for its support.

Chapter XXII

The College Becomes A Reality

For obvious reasons, James Manning had not been able to take any decisive steps for the development of the Baptist college project until there was no longer any uncertainty about governmental sanction of the charter. Now in the Spring of 1764 he could set to work in earnest. Months of preparation were lying ahead and they would call for all of the resourcefulness and enthusiasm that Manning could bring to the task.

During the contest over the charter, it had been shown clearly that the committee of sponsors should not treat the undertaking as exclusively their own. The advice and cooperation of Baptists residing in Rhode Island and elsewhere nearby was tremendously important. Likewise, the enlistment of Baptists generally in the colonies was urgent as far as moral, as well as financial, support was concerned. Experience in the case of Isaac Eaton and the Hopewell Academy had shown the advisable course of action. By combining the new college with a Rhode Island pastorate to be held simultaneously by the college president, the latter would be assured of an income while furthering the educational project. The college itself, having no certainty as to where its first students would come from, and without a single dollar in assets, and lacking a physical plant in which to function, could not be expected to pay its

own way for many years. To hold expenses to a minimum demanded that the official in charge, and perhaps any teaching assistants, should have some other means of livelihood in sight for an indefinite period.

Gradually a plan evolved. Those most directly concerned comprised Baptists living at Warren, a few miles south of Providence. They were hoping to establish a church. James Manning was hoping to establish a college. Could the two tasks be merged without serious disadvantage to either one? Time alone would supply the answer but in the formative years, perhaps each would give some measure of strength to the other. The Baptists at Warren had been accustomed to attending the Baptist church at Swansea, but a growth in numbers at Warren and the inconvenience of travel prompted the desire to have a church of their own.

James Manning arrived in Warren in April, 1764. He was well liked as he visited the Baptist families in the town and its vicinity, and his sermons attracted attention. Pledges of support were forthcoming and his acceptability as permanent pastor warranted further steps. In due course, the church was constituted with fifty-eight charter members on November 15th, 1764. At the same time, Manning was extended a formal call to serve as its pastor. He thus began a pastorate that continued for six years.

Concurrent with his pastoral duties, Reverend James Manning began a Latin School, a token start for the institution that was destined to become Brown University. This was

essentially Manning's personal project but it indicated that he was serious in purpose in regard to the founding of the college. A Latin grammar school in Rhode Island, similar to Isaac Eaton's in New Jersey, would provide a nucleus of youth who, by their attendance, would be prepared for college instruction when a Baptist college was available. Actually, the Latin School continued as an appendage of the college and proved to be a fruitful source of students in later years.

The college corporation, consisting of the Trustees and Fellows, held its first meeting early in September, 1764, to set up its organization and to make personal contributions to cover some of the preliminary expenses and to start a general fund. Sixty-nine persons were designated to receive contributions for the college. In line with that authorization, some of the group, attending the Philadelphia Baptist Association later in that month, obtained consideration of the financial needs of the proposed college. The Association decided to urge its member churches to "be liberal" in order that the establishment of the college might be accomplished.

In the following months, the ground work for the college was being laid. Those who were lukewarm about the venture, it was hoped would catch the vision when the larger outlook as far as providing trained leaders for the Baptist churches in the future was explained. Ministers needed to be shown the wisdom of encouraging prospective students, particularly those who might feel disposed to undertake ministerial duties, as

well as others who sought higher education to meet the needs of other professions or opportunities in the world of commerce. And funds--how sorely needed they would be--for the costs of erecting a suitable school, obtaining equipment and the like, could not be met with nods of approval and nothing more.

September, 1765, became the target date for all concerned with actual opening of the college proper. The corporation was to meet on the first Wednesday of that month to take effective steps setting the college in motion and the first student was due to arrive. He was William Rogers, son of Captain William Rogers, of Newport. He was entered on the rolls on September 3, 1765. His age--fourteen years! The youth must have considered it a dubious honor when it developed that he was the only student as one, two, three and more months went by without any further enrollment. In later years, Rogers was Professor of Oratory and Belles Lettres and the distinguished Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Rogers remained, in fact, the sole student until the following June, 1766, when on the 20th of the month, Richard Stites arrived from Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Stites was nineteen years of age. He was a brother-in-law of James Manning and destined to become a lawyer, whose career was hardly launched before military service cost him his life in 1776. In November of 1766, four other students joined the first two enrollees. They were Joseph Eaton, son of Isaac Eaton, of Hopewell; William Williams, of Hilltown, Pennsylvania; Charles Thompson, who also had been at Hopewell

Academy, and Joseph Belton, who came from Groton, Connecticut. With one addition in May, 1768, this being James Mitchell Varnum, of Dracut, Massachusetts, this comprised the group that made up the first graduating class in 1769. It is noteworthy that this first class included four former students who had transferred from Hopewell Academy in 1766. Varnum's presence there also is of special interest. He had been a Harvard student and his enrollment at the struggling Rhode Island College caused considerable surprise. His exit from Harvard came about the time that student demonstrations brought about expulsions, after the windows in quarters occupied by tutors had been shattered during a display of revolt. Whether Varnum was implicated is not clear but when a change was contemplated, he evidently was influenced by Reverend Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, a frequent visitor at the Varnum residence. Later Varnum won fame as a lawyer and as a Revolutionary War General.

Returning to the auspicious happenings of September, 1765, the college corporation went through the formality of electing James Manning as its president at its second meeting. In addition he was designated as "Professor of Languages and other Branches of Learning." With it went authorization to serve in these capacities at Warren or elsewhere, with Warren designated as the location for the time being. No salary was provided. However, a total of \$1,992. was paid in or pledged for the use of the college by the group comprising the corporation. A committee was appointed to engage in fund raising. While the

students were to receive their instruction at the church parsonage for the time being, a committee was named to purchase a parcel of ground and materials for a suitable building. The Warren church had voted that its parsonage should house the college President as long as the incumbent held both offices simultaneously; the church also granted use of its meeting house for Commencement exercises, at the same time stipulating that the college building or buildings would be erected in their home county of Bristol. It evidently occurred to someone that the college charter was not officialy in hand. Under date of November 24th, 1765, the Governor signed the document and authenticated it with his seal of office.

Assured of a small handful of students for the Fall of 1766, Manning arranged for his friend and former fellow student at Hopewell, David Howell, to take a post as tutor at the college. Howell was to receive \$240 per year. Manning, of course, continued his own duties as a professor teaching a wide range of subjects.

Money matters pressed for further attention--in fact, funds were a constant concern of the trustees for years. Late in 1766, Morgan Edwards was induced to return to Grest Britain and Ireland to raise funds. He had considerable success during his stay of nearly two years. He obtained a total of 888 pounds, ten shillings, which at that time was the equivalent of about \$4,300. The corporation decided that the income from this sum should "forever go to pay the salary of the President." Edwards'

friends at the scene of his first pastorate at Cork had donated about a quarter of the total.

Meanwhile, the problem of providing adequate rooms for the college students rested with the Warren Baptist congregation. A parsonage was being built for Manning to occupy but since it was to serve a dual purpose, extra space was required. In an age when lotteries were widely used as a means of raising money quickly, the Baptist group asked the General Assembly for a grant of authority to conduct a lottery. If the interest of the college had not been associated with the venture, it is quite likely that the lottery would never have been undertaken solely for church needs. Manning had little enthusiasm for such schemes as shown by later correspondence when the college itself, having moved to a new location, promoted another lottery. The first lottery advertised in the Newport Mercury in September and October, 1767, was described as having "little better than two blanks to a prize." The money yielded, according to the notice, was "to be applied towards finishing the Parsonage House belonging to the Baptist Church in Warren, and rendering it commodious for the reception of the pupils, who are, or shall be, placed there for a liberal education. . ." It added that the "infant Society, in building a new meeting-house, and parsonage house, as far as the building is advanced, together with the immediate necessity of room for the pupils under the care of Rev. Mr. Manning . . ." had been under extraordinary expense.

Other appeals for financial aid were being pressed. The

Philadelphia Baptist Association, after its initial appeal in 1764, took action almost every year thereafter to promote the college. In 1766, the Association "agreed to recommend warmly to our churches the interest of the College," adding that it then had "three promising youths under the tuition of President Manning." In 1767, the churches were requested to forward their subscriptions to the college. In 1769, the Association noted the response from abroad as well as the raising of about 1,200 pounds in the Rhode Island colony itself. Since the money raised abroad was set aside to assure a salary for the President, the Association resolved that the cash raised in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania would be invested in those provinces, only the interest being subject to the order of the college to assist with the President's salary.

The Charleston Baptist Association devised a more thorough system in 1774 to raise funds for the college. It recommended that members of the Baptist churches in that group pay sixpence sterling (75 cents in all) annually for three years to a designated person in their church to be forwarded to the college. The Philadelphia association decided to recommend the same to its churches and appointed Reverend John Gano and William Rogers (the first student) to act as receiving and remitting agents for the Association.

To kindle further interest, Reverend Hezekiah Smith left his Haverhill church on October 2nd, 1769, for a trip South, and he did not return until June 8th, 1770. His efforts, principally in South Carolina and Georgia, resulted in contributions

of about 2523 pounds, 8 shillings, South Carolina currency, or about \$2,500. These funds were used principally to maintain the college property. On his journey, Hezekiah Smith also preached one hundred sermons. The funds he obtained had to be carefully husbanded and every proposed expenditure received careful scrutiny. For example, in 1768 a purchase of books in Great Britain was authorized during Morgan Edwards' fund-raising campaign there, but he was limited to an expenditure of twenty pounds. This was the only outlay for books until 1784, and the total in the college library up to that date was about five hundred volumes. Manning complained with justice that the library books, being chiefly donated by friends, were "not well chosen . . . very antient & very useless, as well as very ragged & unsightly."

Because of the ominous threat of an empty treasury if funds were not continuously forthcoming, the trustees continually toyed with the idea of a lottery. Having moved to Providence because of special inducements from Baptist residents there, the trustees looked to the same Baptist "society" (congregation) to provide adequate facilities, as at Warren. The church and college were interlocked to the extent that the concerns of the college inevitably were the concern of the congregation. The latter had purchased "more land and designed a house as much larger than the society required for their own use (purposely to accomodate public Commencements)," as stated in the lottery announcement published on June 25th 1774. But before that

step was taken, Manning and others tried to feel the public pulse in respect to a Baptist-sponsored lottery. Since the college actually was to be the chief beneficiary, this was thought by some to excuse a departure from their customary strict opposition to such "get-rich-quick" ventures. It was easy to point to precedents--the Warren congregation had held a lottery; other colleges had benefitted by lotteries, including Harvard, Yale and Princeton; and many public projects had been advanced by such means, including not only churches and schools, but also highways, bridges and the like.

Manning's uneasiness about lotteries is recorded in letters that he wrote to Reverend John Ryland in England. Under date of May 19th, 1772, he inquired of Ryland ". . . would a well-concerted scheme of a lottery to raise 1,000 or 2,000 pounds sterling meet with encouragement by the sale of tickets in England?" He added that "Some method must be adopted, unless some generous, able benefactors should arise to assist us." While Manning did not point it out specifically, a lottery held in England would be less likely to excite those who were hostile to this type of gambling, and also would not require the sanction of the Rhode Island General Assembly. Ryland did not mince words in his reply. He wrote: "As to raising money by a lottery, I dislike it from the bottom of my heart. 'Tis a scheme dishonorable to the Supreme Head of all the world and of the true church. We have our fill of these cursed gambling lotteries in London every year. They are big with ten thousand evils. Let the

Devil's children have them all to themselves. Let us not touch or taste." Manning did not want to be misunderstood about it but his reply had overtones hinting that he expected that a lottery might be promoted and he wanted to give it a "if it has to be, it's not as bad as it might be" touch. His reply was: ". . . Your opinion of lotteries coincides with mine; but some of our friends urged me to mention the subject, as they could not see a prospect of supplies in any other way. Besides, I believe there have not been such iniquitous methods used in this matter, with us, as in the State lotteries at home. They have been used to promote good designs."

As an alternative, the college trustees named a committee in September, 1772, to select a fund solicitor who might be likely to have success in Europe. The minutes show that they had President Manning in mind for the committee, if he thought he should handle it, and if so, he was authorized to suggest who should act as President in his absence. The plan did not mature, however, and the lottery notion soon pressed to the fore again. This time it was carried through and with legislative sanction, tickets went on sale at \$2.50 and \$5. each. To assure the raising of 2,000 pounds, or about \$7,000, the lottery was divided into six sections, with successive drawings until winners had been named for the six groups. In this fashion, the managers of the lottery sold a total of 11,970 tickets, which seems to indicate that the "cheerful assistance and encouragement of the public" for which they had asked, had been

forthcoming. The money was raised, the deed was done, but to this day, many Baptist wish devoutly that the lottery scheme could be expunged from the records of Baptist activities in America.

The first Commencement of the college, held in 1769, was a State holiday, so significant was the occasion despite the fact that the graduating class consisted of only seven individuals. The event attracted not only Rhode Island Baptists and other residents, but many outstanding Baptists, most of whom had been advised that they were to receive honorary degrees. The list of recipients reads almost like a compendium of those who had been most enthusiastic about the Hopewell Academy's founding as well as Rhode Island College. The honorary degrees went to such men as Reverend John Davis, who shortly was to become pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston; Reverend Samuel Stillman, also a Baptist minister; David Howell, tutor at the college who about the same time was given the professorship of Natural Science; Reverend Samuel Jones, of Pennepek, Pennsylvania; Reverend Abel Morgan, of Middletown, New Jersey; Reverend Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, Massachusetts; Mayor John Stites, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey (whose son was graduating); and Reverend David Thomas, who was doing pioneer work in Virginia as a minister.

A topic of far-reaching significance was about to be considered by the trustees, this being the wisdom of a new location for the college. The choice of Warren as the initial site had never rested well with the more populous and accessible towns

in Rhode Island, particularly Newport, East Greenwich, Bristol and Providence. As an inducement, residents of East Greenwich began to solicit funds or pledges based upon the condition that the college would be located in that vicinity. Other localities took up the idea in their own behalf. Such inducements were hard to ignore, the trustees having in mind the constant lack of adequate funds for the college. In the discussion, it appears that everyone lost sight of the virtual pledge to Warren that if space was made available, the college would be founded and built there.

The college authorities took up the question of a new location in September, 1768, naming a committee which recommended Bristol County. The corporation voted its approval on September 6th, 1769. To strengthen this plan, the Warren church voted to permit use of its meeting house for the college Commencements and other occasions; also the parsonage was to be for the use of the President as long as he also continued as pastor of the Warren church. However, Kent County entered a plea that East Greenwich be approved. Almost immediately, Providence residents urged that their town be approved and the Rhode Island Governor, Sessions, gave his backing.

The corporation held a special meeting in Newport on November 14th, 1769, and the discussion of location continued through three days of debate and conferences. Then the corporation decided that the college would erect its permanent buildings at Providence, unless Newport County could raise a subscription during the next six weeks "equal or superior to any now offered."

Providence residents had subscribed \$2,666 and further pledged \$6,260 if the location prevailed. Naturally, this disturbed the residents of East Greenwich as well as Bristol, while the Providence adherents were put on notice that their subscription should be boosted if they were not to lose their partial victory. The pledges went soaring. When the six weeks had elapsed, Newport demanded of Manning that he call a meeting. At that point, Newport had raised 4,000 pounds, while the subscriptions in Providence now totaled 3,424 pounds or \$11,413.33. Instead, the official meeting was held off until Wednesday, February 7th, 1770 when before "a crowded audience" the topic was ". . . debated with great spirit," as Manning later wrote in a letter to Hezekiah Smith, then in the South collecting funds.

The rival groups disclosed that Newport's subscription now totaled 4,558 pounds, 14 shillings, of lawful money. Providence by this time had raised 4,399 pounds, 13 shillings, in cash, pledges or securities. Then Newport had won--or had it? No. For when the question was put as to whether the college should "recede or not" from its earlier vote in favor of Providence, the vote was 21 for and 14 against. Providence, even though its pledges totaled less than those of Newport, had won out, and the college edifice was to be built in Providence "and there be continued forever." Manning felt called upon to vindicate his conduct during the controversy, particularly his refusal to call a meeting around January 1st, and the corporation voted approval of his actions after hearing his review of his part in the furore.

The erection of the building, later known as University Hall, began with little delay, utilizing the funds donated by the Providence enthusiasts. But a more immediate concern was whether President Manning could move to Providence in view of his pastoral commitment at Warren, and the loss of his salary as pastor, which had been his chief income during this period. A committee from the college consulted with the church. Meanwhile, Manning was having a difficult time deciding whether he should remain with the church, and he let it be known that he was thinking seriously of giving up the college Presidency. Morgan Edwards rebuked Manning for considering the latter. He told Manning that if the Warren church had shown any eagerness to have Manning depart, "it is likely the college would have no reason to covet you." Edwards added: "I cannot help being angry with you when you talk of another President. Have you endured so much hardship in vain? We have no man that will do so well as you. Talk no more, think no more of quitting the presidency, unless you have a mind to join issue with those projectors and talkers who mean no more than to hinder anything from being done. . . ."

Having made up his mind, Manning resigned from the pastorate on April 26th, 1770, to "the wonderment of his people; he being greatly admired and renowned," according to the church records. At Providence, there were indications that the pulpit occupied by Reverend Samuel Winsor, Jr. might soon be vacated, as the latter had said that he felt the duties were too heavy for one living some distance from the church.

The college moved to Providence in May, 1770. Those involved included not only President Manning and Professor Howell, but the student body, now totaling twenty-one. The small library and a meager amount of equipment also was transferred. Manning and his wife went to live in the Benjamin Bowen house at North Main and Bowen Streets. The students, as well as Howell, who was unmarried, went to board with various families, the average charge being \$1.25 per week. The student body convened on the upper floor of a brick schoolhouse nearby for instruction and prayers. The Latin Grammar School was being continued as well. The first Commencement in Providence was held in September, 1770, when the graduates were four in number. It is noteworthy that on this occasion the college honored Reverend Isaac Eaton with an honorary degree of Master of Arts.

The transition period involving the Providence church gave rise to unexpected difficulties for Manning. As the oldest Baptist church in America, founded by Roger Williams, it sought to prevent any departure from Baptist beliefs and practices. Manning was invited to preach in the church immediately after the college had been transferred there. The Sunday chosen happened to be the occasion for a Communion service. The Reverend Mr. Winsor invited Manning to participate and he did so. This provoked subsequent criticism, inasmuch as most Baptist churches held to the practice of serving Communion only to those who were members of that individual church. (In some localities in the United States, this restriction continues to prevail, even to the exclusion of members of other Baptist churches, as

well as members of churches of other denominations.) The critics, who later were found to be much in the minority, also circulated stories that Manning did not believe in the "laying on of hands" but did so chiefly to satisfy others; further, that he liked to have music combined with worship. On these latter points, Winsor agreed with the critics and the church seethed with strong expressions of views on both sides. As far as singing in church services was concerned, a vote of disapproval was given. Several other meetings were held to consider the complaints of the hostile wing. When Winsor realized that he was losing support, he and a group of members submitted a notice of withdrawal in April, 1771, explaining that they could not remain with those who did not adhere strictly to Hebrews 6:1-2. These are the points on which the "Six Principles" churches were founded, being "repentance. . . , faith toward God, . . . baptisms, . . . laying on of hands, . . . resurrection of the dead, and . . . eternal judgment."

Thus Winsor and his followers were lost to the "Separates" in the Baptist denomination. They formed a church at Johnston where Winsor continued to preach. The move opened the way for the church to extend a call on July 31st, 1771, to Manning to preach and "administer the Communion according to our former usage." Manning regarded it as a temporary arrangement, subject to change if he found that his other duties (chiefly at the college) would interfere too greatly with his responsibilities as pastor. His salary was to be fifty pounds a year, as

it had been at the Warren church.

Since the college was paying President Manning little more (in 1772, he received 67 pounds, 13 shillings, or about \$340 from that source), his 50 pounds from the church brought his total income to about \$500). Yet Manning made a purchase of seven acres of land adjacent to the college on the east, the price being \$464. Writing in June, 1771, to a friend in England, Dr. Samuel Stennett, Manning commented: "I am constrained to think that Providence placed me at the head of the college; but for what end I cannot divine. I hope for good; for my ease and worldly advantage it could not certainly be, for I have been constrained to forego these, and many more things desirable in life, on this account; and in the discharge of my office here I have found my way strewn with thorns hitherto."

As a teacher, Manning made lasting impressions upon his students. He earned high repute in teaching the Latin and Greek classics, including Horace and Cicero in the former, and Longinus in the Greek. He also taught Logic, this being given during the students' second year, and Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy, the texts in these subjects being respectively those of Watts, Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, and Paley. But his students were not always content to absorb instruction. Occasionally there was misconduct that demanded special attention, as in the case of a student named Scott who found delight in breaking the windows in the Friends' meeting house at nearby Smithfield on December 12th, 1770. Scott admitted his guilt. Manning, however, felt obliged to apologize to the Smithfield

church and promised severe punishment, even expulsion, if repayment was not made. Scott complied with the orders and received "wholesome admonition and advice" when he appeared before the Quakers' meeting to ask forgiveness.

In addition to hearing two classes recite daily, Manning's duties as college President entailed a variety of services. According to Dr. Waterhouse, Manning listed his various chores as also including hearing complaints from students and parents, conferring with all transient visitors to the college, correspondence, preaching twice or more every week; ". . . attending, by solicitation, the funeral of every baby that died in Providence; visited the sick of my own Society, and not infrequently the sick of other Societies; made numerous parochial visits. . ." He added that "I made my own garden and took care of it; repaired my dilapidated walls; went nearly every day to market. . ."

As a pastor, Manning grew in stature and his preaching gave rise to a revival in 1774. The church received 104 new members in less than a year as a result, including two colored women. It was evident that a larger church was necessary. A new edifice was constructed and dedicated on May 28th, 1775. It still stands and serves at the present time as the college church. Great pride was taken in its steeple, towering 196 feet and equipped with a bell hoisted to its high position although its weight exceeded 2,500 pounds. The bell was regarded as a distinctive symbol of religious liberty, for in Great Britain those who worshipped other than in the Established Church were not

permitted to place bells on their houses of worship. Manning's dedicatory sermon was upon the text, "This is none other but the House of God, and this is the gate of heaven," Genesis 28: 17. The total cost of the building was more than \$25,000, a tremendous sum in those days and in a town whose population was about 4,300. Its beauty caused it to be regarded as the most attractive Baptist church in America. It adequately accommodated the college Commencement programs.

While Rhode Island was a Baptist stronghold, other colonies subjected the Baptist followers to harrassing experiences. Since government and church were tied together in other colonies, with tax money used in part to support the Congregational churches in each community, those in authority were determined that the Baptist dissenters should fall in line. Many of the Baptists in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire protested that they had the right to establish their own churches and should not be required to support the "approved" church. They argued against the so-called "ministerial rates" and the tempers of some reached the point where they went to jail rather than pay. Another means of bringing them to submission was to seize their property.

Meanwhile, the Baptists strongly suspected that their expansion program highlighted by the founding of Rhode Island College gave added incentive to their critics to carry on a relentless fight. Morgan Edwards, who always had a flair for expressing his thoughts forcibly, contended that "while the college stood friendless and moneyless" at Warren, the opposition

felt certain that "they should have the pleasure to see it fall, and to mock those who began to build a tower and were not able to finish it. But seemed they good-humored when money came thither from Europe. . .?" Edwards goes on to point out that the move to Providence stirred up real opposition, including the presentation to a bill in the General Assembly of Rhode Island to charter another college. Failing in this, the next move was to see to it that the Baptist college did not draw students from Congregational families, and scolding those who did enroll. In his summary of the hostility engendered, Edwards elaborates further as to the avenues of attack, citing that "slandering the officers of instruction" was engaged in, with Providence also described as a lawless place, and the college "as wanting government" and as "a nest of Anabaptists, calculated to make proselytes." Even grammar schools were visited, he contends, to press the opposition and teachers and parents were supplied with propaganda against Rhode Island College. Edwards also pointed out that there were exceptions in the enemy camp, and added, "God send us more, and mend the rest."

Baptists asked the courts to rule in their favor in the tax disputes, as the repressive measures not only damaged them individually but also weakened the Baptist churches immeasurably. The wisdom of carrying the protest to the King of England was debated. Meanwhile, opponents were carrying on the fight in the newspapers and as Manning wrote in 1771 to Dr. Samuel Stennett in London". . . there has been some great provocation to write and speak some bitter things."

One method of attack on the college and Manning was a protest concerning the interpretation given to a provision in the charter stating that "the College estate, the estates, persons and families of the President and Professors . . . shall be freed from all taxes, . . ." At a town meeting in June, 1772, it was decided that "all taxes" meant taxes due the Colony, and therefore the ~~tax~~ tax should be levied on the estates of President Manning and Professor Howell. In 1774, the assessors decided otherwise, setting off an extended discussion in newspaper columns, with demands for another town meeting to deal with the question. The exemption was permitted to remain but during Revolutionary War days, the corporation and the Legislature worked out provisions of an act, which became effective limiting exemptions to \$10,000.

Luckily for the Baptists, the turn of political events worked in their favor. The rising tide of opposition to British rule over the colonies and oppressive taxation was based upon the very principles for which the Baptists were fighting. A colony in which the forcible collection of taxes from Baptist believers for the support of Congregational ministers placed itself in an awkward position when it argued that the mother country should relinquish its demands for payment of certain taxes. A call went out for the colonies to send delegates to a meeting of the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September, 1774, to decide on the form that their resistance should take. To the Baptists, this seemed to be a fine opportunity to ask that religious liberty be guaranteed, and not

political liberty alone. Since the Warren Association had been the spearhead of the Baptists' campaign for liberty in the New England colonies, this same body took the initiative in this new direction. In session on September 14th, 1774, the Association named Reverend Isaac Backus as its official agent. He reached Philadelphia on October 8th, where the Philadelphia Baptist Association was about to convene, thus bringing together most of the Baptist leaders from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. The latter Association named a sizeable group to act as its representatives.

Since the grievances involving the Baptists were centered chiefly in Massachusetts, the delegation thought it wise to meet with the Massachusetts delegates to the Continental Congress. They were Samuel and John Adams, Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine. Other delegates were present, representing most of the colonies. The Baptists were joined by representatives of the Society of Friends, including Joseph Fox and Israel and James Pemberton. The Quakers were sympathetic to the Baptist point of view.

Manning, now acting in the role of a Baptist minister rather than college President, was chosen to present the opening statement concerning the hardships inflicted upon Baptists during the past few years in respect to the "ministerial rates." He stated that ". . . It has been said by a celebrated writer in politics that but two things are worth contending for--religion and liberty. For the latter we are at present nobly exerting

ourselves through all this extensive continent; and surely no one whose bosom feels the patriotic glow in behalf of civil liberty can remain torpid to the more ennobling flame of religious freedom. . . ." An historical summary was presented-- including the recital of events at Ashfield, Massachusetts, where the Baptist burial grounds were confiscated and used as a site for a Congregational meeting house. It was a lengthy conference consuming four hours. John Adams, of the Massachusetts delegation, let it be known that the Baptist could ". . . as well turn the heavenly bodies out of their annual and diurnal courses, as the people of Massachusetts at the present day from their meeting-house and Sunday laws."

As might be expected, the conference prompted a new flood of criticism against the Baptists. Their foes represented them as engineering a split which would prevent the colonists from presenting a united front to the British Parliament. Individuals who had participated in the conference were singled out as special objects of attack by verbal blasts that were generally far afield from the actual intent of the meeting in Philadelphia. Dr. Stiles, who had clashed before with the Baptists, declared that the Massachusetts delegates had been hoodwinked, expecting a private interview with a few Baptists only to discover that they were to face a large assemblage. Stiles went on to declare that the delegates "were attacked and treated in the most rude and abusive manner; that the Baptists pretended they were oppressed, but, after all their endeavors, they could only complain of a poor fourpence

[referring to the annual tax]; that they were ashamed of their errand, and gave up their point, except one or two impudent fellows, who, with Israel Pemberton, abused them in a most scandalous manner; that all the delegates present were surprised and ashamed of them, and thought they complained without the least foundation." The Baptists felt it necessary to have Isaac Backus meet in Boston with the Committee on Grievances (of the Baptists) and prepare a pledge of loyalty, together with a concise presentation of the basis for carrying the protest to Philadelphia. This was forwarded to the Massachusetts legislature. Backus was not a man to be silenced easily, and in 1775, he addressed a memorial to the General Court of Massachusetts setting forth that every man had an inherent right to religious liberty, which resulted in a bill being introduced to repay the Baptists who had proper grievances, but this measure was not enacted. Certainly the conference held in Philadelphia did set off a long-lasting discussion of the Baptist doctrine of religious freedom, which as a fundamental of American democracy won acceptance far beyond denominational lines. Massachusetts, it might be added, did not amend its Bill of Rights, however, until 1833, but at that time the separation of church and state was sanctioned.

Reference has been made to the Warren Baptist Association and it should be pointed out that this was another one of Manning's special interests. He played an active role in bringing delegates together to consider its formation and served as its moderator in 1776, 1781, 1784 and 1787, and on other occasions

preached at its meetings and did committee service. Meanwhile Manning retained his membership in the Philadelphia Association, where he also acted at times as moderator and preached, being also one of those most regular in attendance year after year.

Meanwhile, educational activities continued to receive constant supervision from him. The completion of the college building made it possible to house the Latin School there, with the students permitted to take their meals at the student commons, such board being six shillings a week. An advertisement published in July, 1772, stated that a qualified master would teach "grammar, spelling, reading and speaking English with propriety." In 1785, the Latin School moved to a school building on Meeting Street but in 1810 acquired its own building while continuing as an adjunct of the college.

In the college itself, the students were charged \$5 a year in room rent if they lived in the college hall, while their meals in the commons were \$1 a week. Tuition was \$12 a year in 1773. Incidentals for such needs as firewood, books, etc. ran to about \$50 a year additional. The college enrollment, despite these modest rates, grew slowly, there being forty-one students in the college in 1775, compared to twenty-one in 1770.

Even at vacation time, Manning used his freedom to take a trip by horseback in order to preach to the scattered Baptist groups in New England. He rode 350 miles, preached twenty-five times and baptized four persons while on his "vacation" in the Summer of 1773.

But the time was near at hand when the future of the college and the pattern of individual lives would be dictated by external events of national and international import. Relations with Great Britain seemed to be worsening month after month. Rhode Island, with its coastline and protective harbors giving rise to a high volume of shipping activity, came under special surveillance of British vessels. In 1772, three years before the actual outbreak of hostilities at Lexington, Rhode Islanders had demonstrated that they would resist in dramatic fashion if pushed too far. A charred hulk was all that remained of the Gaspee, a schooner mounting eight guns, after it was boarded and set afire by a party led by John Brown who resented its attempts to halt imports of sugar unless duties imposed by the British Parliament were paid.

Rhode Island felt the pinch caused by the constant presence of British ships that halted every vessel to inspect its cargo. Seizures became so common that the colony lacked adequate supplies. Meanwhile, crews of the British ships made a practice of going ashore to raid nearby farms, removing livestock and other provisions. Fearing what the next step might be, the General Assembly of Rhode Island ordered the removal of about forty cannon as well as ammunition from Fort George to Providence. When asked to explain, Governor Wanton told Captain James Wallave, of the frigate Rose then on duty at Newport, that they were to be used if any hostile acts occurred. Meanwhile, four companies of soldiers were organized, firearms belonging to the colony were divided among the counties and plans

were devised for sending the colony's militia to the assistance of other colonies if the latter were invaded. Early in 1775, Providence had 2,000 men and a cavalry troop, aside from companies of soldiers that had been authorized as separate units by special charters.

Since tea in particular was a major item in the controversy, it was banned by common consent. A huge fire in the market square at Providence on March 2nd, 1775, was set ablaze in order to dispose of three hundred pounds of seized tea, along with copies of newspapers that were considered pro-British.

The battle at Lexington and Concord on April 19th, 1775, marked the beginning of the war. Providence received the news about midnight, and 1,000 men started north on the following day to assist but they were quickly recalled. A day of prayer and fasting was ordered in Rhode Island--but ammunition was being parceled out so any point of attack might be ready for defense. To protect the Providence harbor, six 18-pound cannons were installed, and a signal beacon placed on Prospect Hill. To have minutemen available, one-fourth of the militia were so designated; every male resident was ordered, if able to bear arms, to so equip himself, while a survey as to the guns and ammunition available, was ordered in every residence in the colony.

To safeguard Providence, open target for the guns of the British fleet if foodstuffs were withheld for its crews, the colony, for its own preservation, authorized the delivery of supplies by one designated individual. Yet frequent fires

destroying isolated farmhouses in the vicinity indicated that raiding parties had not desisted. James Manning, in a letter written November 13th, 1776, to Reverend John Ryland in England commented: "May you never be alarmed, as we have been with the horrid roar of artillery, and the hostile flames, destroying your neighbors' habitations. These I have repeatedly seen and heard, sitting in my house and lying in my bed."

With the colony an armed camp, the seniors at Rhode Island College suggested that the Commencement program be cancelled in June, 1775. Manning, on the advice of some of the college officers, agreed that the Commencement would not be staged as a public observance. He added that "institutions of learning will doubtless partake in the common calamities of our country" but he stressed that ". . . we are resolved to continue college orders here as usual. . . ." The college made a brave stand of it but the war was pressing inexorably closer. In April, 1776, a British man-of-war took a heavy toll of American vessels off the southerly tip of Rhode Island, and virtually brought trade in the colony to a standstill. On a limited scale, the college held its 1776 Commencement in June of that year.

The college authorities found it necessary to ask special consideration in respect to its funds, which had been placed on deposit in the colony's treasury with interest to be accumulated. The General Assembly had passed an act in March, 1776, requiring all creditors to receive the amounts due them, or to forfeit the interest after a fixed date. Since this would

have worked a severe hardship on the corporation, the corporate group appeared as a body before the General Assembly in September, 1776, and asked that an exception be made. The Assembly agreed with the result that the \$4,000 on credit to the college remained untouched.

But December, 1776, brought complete disruption of normal activities in Rhode Island, including Providence. The enemy landed six thousand British and Hessian soldiers after a fleet consisting of seventy transports, as well as eleven other protective vessels, had arrived at Newport. The army set up its camp within sight of the college property. Ready to defend themselves, the militiamen of the colony descended upon Providence by the hundreds, and the college building, four stories in height, was occupied as the best available structure to house a portion of the men. The college had about forty students at the time and through force of circumstances, their classes came to a sudden halt and the student body scattered. Manning published a notice in the Providence Gazette on December 14th stating that the college was suspending activities until the end of the next Spring vacation. Students were told that they would be given proper credit if they carried on their studies meanwhile elsewhere. Then in May, 1777, another published notice stated that Providence, as a garrison, made college studies there "utterly impracticable," and again urged that the students continue their studies elsewhere "to the best advantage in their power." However, in accordance with this notice, the

members of the Senior Class were to meet on September 2nd to be awarded their bachelor degrees, and this plan was carried out, despite all existing obstacles. The corporation did not meet again for nearly three years, its next session being on May 5th, 1780.

With residents scattering wherever they thought they might be in greater safety and with a chance to obtain an adequate supply of food, the Providence Baptist Church was badly weakened. Manning, however, devoted himself to aiding those who were destitute and distraught, including some who had been in comfortable circumstances previously. It was pastoral work carried on under difficult conditions. Manning later wrote that "But what of all things was the most distressing to me, was the lukewarmness of almost all professors of religion and the total apostasy of many. The contagion became general. The places of worship were almost abandoned. Alarm upon alarm destroyed all tranquillity, and every day and night threatened us with the desolating devastation which spread with such rapidity along our coasts. . ."

Farmlands went unplanted because of the enemy occupancy and the displacement of the rightful owners. Yet adjoining colonies were restricting the removal of foodstuffs because of their own shortages and the need to retain sufficient for their own defending forces. Providence was attempting to provide charity for those who sought shelter there, while the colony itself was said to have at least two thousand individuals who could not sustain themselves. This situation brought

Manning to the fore as the appointed agent of Rhode Island, along with Deputy Governor Bowen, to visit Connecticut and apply for the lifting of the law banning release of foodstuffs. Some colonies had pleaded that if they sent food to Rhode Island, it might fall into enemy hands. Manning not only pleaded his case with success, gaining the release of grain and other commodities, but he also described the plight of some Rhode Islanders so persuasively that many interior towns in Connecticut forwarded foodstuffs and funds to aid the needy. Grain shipments were delayed because of the terrible conditions of the roads in Winter. Manning wrote on March 25th, 1779, that the lack of bread in Providence was so great that families having more than enough grain for their immediate use should release it, to be repaid when supplies came from Connecticut. With at least twenty bushels needed, he added that "I have got ready five bushels of Indian corn, and Arthur Fenner two bushels of rye," and urged the recipient of the letter, Moses Brown, to do likewise if possible.

To bring home the plight of his fellow citizens, Manning made a trip to Philadelphia, with a view to urging the Continental Congress to do something about currency. In Rhode Island, paper money had been legalized and counterfeited so successfully that it was disrupting exchange. Manning used the trip to advantage as a preaching tour as well. He and Mrs. Manning, traveling by horse-and-carriage, were gone for about five months. During that time, he preached forty-eight sermons, several being heard during a stay of three weeks in Philadelphia.

As in Providence, Manning found the Philadelphia church members widely dispersed, as the city had been occupied by the British in 1777, and he busied himself in drawing its members together. The group raised funds and agreed to name a committee to arrange for a supply pastor until a minister could be obtained on a permanent basis. The church paid Manning's board during his stay and because of the currency inflation, it was \$50 per week. Two years later his friendly ministry was remembered so keenly that the Philadelphia church tried to interest him in becoming its pastor but he felt he must decline. On his return trip, Manning went as far North as West Point, where he was a guest of General Greene and conferred with General Washington and others.

New demands were made upon Manning's time. On one occasion, he interceded with General Sullivan in behalf of three soldiers who had been court-martialed and condemned to die. The reprieve came at the eleventh hour and Manning, knowing that he might be too late to stay the execution, rode at great speed to the scene. He found that the ceremonies, usually preceded by an address to the troops who were to witness the spectacle, were already under way, but his arrival brought a halt amid jubilant scenes among the men of the army.

In Providence, Manning could observe that a "wasting soldiery" was playing havoc with the college building, but there was little he could do to prevent it under the stress of the war emergency. But events took what seemed a favorable turn on April 20th, 1780, when the American troops vacated the college

property. The resumption of classes was decided upon at a meeting of the corporation on May 5th. Because of the dire situation generally, Manning's salary was to be sixty pounds per year, instead of one hundred pounds. A newspaper notice indicated that the college and the Grammar School would reopen on May 10th. Then a letter came to Manning from General Greene dated May 5th stating that the Council of War had been advised that the college building had been chosen as "the most convenient in every respect . . ." for use as a hospital for invalids among the French soldiers aiding the American cause. Manning, being asked as to the present use of the building, reported that it had just been released from army occupancy.

While there was little doubt that it would be requisitioned for hospital use, the actual occupancy occurred on Sunday, June 25th, while Manning was holding a service in his church. It continued as a hospital until May 27th, 1782, with little if anything done in the way of repairs. Meanwhile, one wall had been torn out, windows were shattered, the roof leaked, hardware had been removed from doors and windows in most of the rooms. Manning described it in a letter dated June 17th, 1782, as "The Augean stable. . . it is left in a most horrid dirty, shattered situation." The corporation asked the General Assembly to restore the property. The first claim for damages was presented in 1782 in the sum of 1,309 pounds plus, and being unpaid up to 1792, was raised to 2,300 pounds plus, including interest. College records show that the claim was finally

written off upon receipt on May 27th, 1800, of a payment of \$2,799.13 for the use of and damage to the structure.

Despite the lack of a college building, Manning resumed instruction and continued as best he could in his own home with a few students at hand. As a result, the college conferred the bachelor's degree upon seven students in 1782, four "having pursued their studies under President Manning," while the other three were in the junior class when the crisis of December, 1776, had halted their instruction. Another Commencement in 1783 saw six more graduated, after which there was no Commencement until 1786. Enrollment figures for the interval are of interest. In July, 1784, there were 23 in the college and 20 in the Grammar School. In 1785, there were 37 in the college, and in 1786, approximately 50.

The corporation met on September 4th and 5th, 1782, and set many plans in motion. An amendment to the charter and a new seal were needed, since the relationship between the colony and Great Britain no longer existed. The library and college records were in need of re-assembling and the financial problem, as always, was pressing. To repair the college building, a campaign to raise three hundred pounds was decided upon. Because of financial distress in America, Manning urged that English friends of the college be invited to come to its rescue. He was willing to make the ocean voyage himself, and the plan was approved, if a suitable acting President for the college could be obtained. But the arrangement was not perfected. Manning wrote to Reverend John Ryland on November 8th, 1783,

that the college might be willing to name its building in honor of a "distinguished benefactor" or a "gentleman of fortune among you" if it developed that there was one who wished "to rear a lasting monument to his honour in America."

Various devices were employed by the college in the hope of meeting its financial needs since damage payments were not in sight. In January, 1784, a widespread drive was proposed: David Howell would go abroad and be paid his expenses plus seven and a half percent of the receipts (he declined); President Manning would cover New England; Reverend William Van Horn, the Middle Atlantic States, and William Rogers, the first graduate, the South. As one means of settling the claim against the Congress, Manning even displayed interest in the possibility of the college taking a grant of land in the West as ". . . this would not augment the public debt, and would in time be productive for the college." In 1787, the corporation tried another tack. Thomas Jefferson, Minister to France, was asked to sound out whether the King of France might be induced to aid the college, inasmuch as French soldiers and sailors had been hospitalized there. Jefferson reported that he felt the request would meet with a rebuff and that it was advisable to proceed no further in that direction. His recommendation was respected.

Actually, the college's claim was the real cause of President Manning accepting an appointment as Congressman representing Rhode Island in the Confederation. "I always considered politics out of my province," he declared, and planned to serve

only for a portion of the year. He added that friends of the college "thought . . . that my presence would facilitate that grant. . . ." (to cover damages and rental during occupancy of the college by troops). He succeeded David Howell, of the college staff, who was ineligible for reappointment until three years had elapsed from the end of his term.

Manning's personal impoverishment, even while serving in the Congress, as well as his unhappiness at being cast in a political role are shown in his correspondence during that period. On May 17th, he wrote: "My situation here is indeed very awkward, without a colleague, without money, and in doubt what to resolve on." On June 7th, he wrote that ". . . as I am now situated, I can neither stay nor go, except to the new City Hall, if my creditors exact it; and strangers have no more compassion on me than the State that appointed me. . . ." In a direct appeal to Brigadier General Nathan Miller, of Warren, who had not arrived promptly in Philadelphia to serve as Manning's colleague from Rhode Island, Manning urged that he forward money advanced by Rhode Island for expenses. Manning described himself as ". . . alone here for more than a month, reduced to the very last guinea and a trifle of change . . .; my lodging, washing, barber's, hatter's, tailor's bills, etc., not paid. . . ."

Manning also was distressed because major problems which might decide whether the Confederacy would fall apart waited while several States, including his own, were negligent about having delegates present for the sessions. A national currency, removal of barriers hampering business, the perfecting

of the Union and agreement as to its basic principles involving the rights of the Federal and state governments--these and many other questions demanded prompt action. He did not spare Rhode Island from criticism, writing to a friend on June 12th that his home state "is likely to hold a distinguished rank among the contributors to the ruin of the Federal government."

While serving in Congress, Manning on one occasion was in danger of being attacked by a colleague who held a sword in hand during an actual session of that body. His adversary was a Georgian who spoke disparagingly of the New England States, which prompted Manning to reply with some heat. This led to open threats by the young man from Georgia. He had not cooled off when the following morning arrived and he appeared in the Confederation Congress with his sword. Other members intervened and the Georgia delegates finally removed his sword and turned it over to a servant for return to his home. Later the delegate apologized to Manning.

Late in October, Manning resigned and departed for home. He hoped, among other things, to collect his past-due salary and expenses, which had been withheld by the Legislature. It had been offered to him in the State's paper money, which had depreciated in an alarming manner. Manning spared nothing when he wrote to Hezekiah Smith that ". . . a more infamous set of men, under the Character of a Legislature, never, I believe, disgraced the Annals of the World."

It is difficult to believe that Manning, a college President, could have been in such dire straits. Yet there was no

bodily nourishment to be had from such possessions as an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity given him in 1785 by the University of Pennsylvania. His fortunes were so low during that Winter that he was considering resigning his position and perhaps returning to farming in New Jersey. His letter of January 18th, 1787, to Hezekiah Smith, his confidante in many matters, states in part:

"Of all the arrearages of tuition for the last year, & the quarter advanced in this I have not rec'd Ten Pounds. I was taken sick the day after the second great snow. With no provisions in the Cellar, except 110 Wt. Cheese, 2 Barrels of Cyder & some Potatoes, with not a Load of Wood at my door: Nor could I command a single Dollar to supply these Wants. The kindness of my Neighbours, however, kept us from suffering. But when a man has hardly earned money, to be reduced to this abject state of Dependence, requires the exercise of more grace than I can boast. . . . I have serious thought of removing to the farm at the Jerseys, & undertake digging for my support. Should things wear the same unfavourable aspect next year, I believe I shall make the experiment, if my Life is spared."

In the previous year, Manning also had been distressed because the growth of the college had forced him to give less time to the Providence church. He urged the church to seek a successor but they demurred. While he was absent from the college to serve in Congress, the acting pastor was Reverend Perez Fobes, Congregational pastor from Raynham, Massachusetts, who was serving as a professor at the college.

Having been in Congress and possessing strong convictions on the need for adoption of a Federal constitution to assure a central government for the United States, Manning worked with zeal to overcome some of the opposition. Several states had

ratified the adoption of the Constitution, but Manning ". . . considered Massachusetts the hinge on which the whole must turn." In the Philadelphia Baptist Association, approval of the form of the Federal government had been recommended, and Manning urged that its minutes be read in all the Baptist churches. The Massachusetts convention began its debate on the subject on January 9th, 1788, at Boston. The sessions went on for about a month. Manning decided that he should visit the convention in an effort to persuade some of his Baptist friends who were delegates and regarded as opposed to adoption, to vote for approval. Manning spent about two weeks on the scene. Reverend Samuel Stillman, of Boston, worked with Manning but they had strong forces opposing them, including Reverend Isaac Backus who had a vigorous following. On the final date of debate, just before the crucial vote was taken to determine Massachusetts' stand in the matter, Governor Hancock asked President Manning to lead in prayer. Few prayers before public assemblages were more moving, according to observers, with the convention delegates deeply impressed by Manning's invocation of divine blessing upon the proceedings and the fate of the United States. Then came the moment for the casting of votes. The tally saw-sawed and all knew that the result would be very close. The final tally showed 187 in favor of ratification, 168 opposed. The fight had been won, Massachusetts was for establishment of the Federal government under the Constitution, and Manning had satisfaction in knowing that he had played a small part,

perhaps, in the final result. Some of the leading men in Boston were so enthusiastic about Manning that they offered to organize a new Baptist church if Manning would consider being its pastor but he demurred. Rhode Island had yet to take final action, but in May, 1790, a convention at Newport voted 34 to 32 in favor of the Constitution.

In addition to his money problems in 1787, Manning found himself embroiled in an argument with his assistant, David Howell, over a question involving the disciplining of students, one a Providence resident. Howell, now a member of the Rhode Island Superior Court but continuing his duties as a professor as well as a member of the Board of Fellows and secretary of the college corporation, apparently was induced to intercede at the request of some influential families in Providence. It was one more headache causing Manning to write that ". . . The College Horizon, to me is cloudy at Providence." To Reverend Samuel Jones he wrote about the "flagrant violation of the College Laws (referring to an insult and abuse given to one of the tutors) by the two students and he added that Howell was giving "advice and assistance" to the families involved, and had urged them to ask the corporation to reverse the expulsion order. John Brown, of the influential family whose name became permanently affixed to the institution in 1804 as Brown University, was brought into the matter at Howell's instigation. Brown was not critical of Manning's actions in the matter, but like some others who were members of the corporation, felt that the good record of the students might warrant less severe punishment.

Manning also stated in his letter to Jones that ". . . I have told him Brown that if I must be subject to the pointed censure of David Howel, whether I execute, or dispense with the Laws (which has been of late the case); & if he must lay hold of every opportunity to injure the Authority of College, & be supported in it by the influential men in the Corporation, they may take the Presidential Chair that chuses, for I will not hold it; . . . That I will not be browbeaten by that mischief making man; & that I do not care two pence for the consequences." He added that he was determined to "resent any affront offered me on this subject, by that assiduous Antagonist," and that "It is the opinion of many that he wishes to displace me from the College. This I believe is the truth; but it is not so agreeable to be pushed out." The students finally received their degrees.

In those eventful years between 1785 and 1790, President Manning continued to combine duties in behalf of the college and the Providence church. The growth of the college--in 1787 there were sixty in the student body, and sixty-eight in the Fall of 1789--continued. Yet with utmost regularity, Manning could be expected every October to be in attendance when the Philadelphia Baptist Association met. Between 1785 and 1790 he served twice as its Moderator and preached the sermon on three occasions.

Among the graduates in the 1785-1790 period was Jonathan Maxey, of the Class of 1787, who was destined to serve as the college President for Rhode Island, after which he became

President of Union College in 1802.

Between 1786 and 1791 there were ninety-two graduates, bringing the total since the college's inception to 165. The 1790 Commencement, held on August 19th, proved to be the final one over which Manning presided. It was the most outstanding from the viewpoint of national recognition for George Washington, President of the United States, was present and received an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The Presidential party included Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and several members of Congress, as well as Governor Clinton, of New York. The residents of Providence gave an enthusiastic welcome when the vessel bringing the President arrived, while the students of the college were honored when the group strolled " on the college green." The official visit to the college occurred two days later when, at the Commencement program, Manning made the official introductions and George Washington addressed the assemblage. There were twenty-two graduates on that occasion.

One month later, Manning advised the corporation that it should seek his successor. He was nearing his 52nd birthday (October) but apparently felt that he had made his contribution to the college and the church, and could not bear up under the heavy obligations any longer. As a man bulky in stature, his physical exertions also had taken their toll. In the Spring of 1791, he formally broke his ties with the Providence Baptist Church, giving his farewell sermon on April 30th

The college corporation, however, had not carried out Manning's wish as to the choice of a successor. Then on Sunday,

July 24th, 1791, Manning was stricken with apoplexy while he was engaged in prayer in his home. Five days later, on Friday, July 29th, Manning passed away. His funeral brought a display of mourning that was overwhelming. The service was held at the college hall with Reverend Dr. Hitchcock, a Fellow of the College and Congregational minister in Providence, officiating. For the first time in the history of Providence, a funeral hearse was used. The cortege proceeded to the North Burying Ground where, at the urging of the Brown family, Manning's body was laid to rest in their family plot beside the grave of Nicholas Brown, Sr.,^{one} of his closest friends.

On the following day, the Baptist congregation at Providence heard eulogies delivered by Dr. Jonathan Maxey, as well as by Reverend Perez Fobes, both professors at the college.

Of worldly goods, Manning had possessed little during his years in Providence, and the inventory of his estate was striking proof. His assets, including maps and books, were valued at 15 pounds, 11 shillings, and six pence, representing about \$52.

Tributes flowed almost unceasingly from the pulpits and the pens of his friends. Judge David Howell, while an open critic of Manning in many matters during his lifetime, was ascribed as the author of an article appearing on the Providence Gazette on August 6th which poured compliments on the deceased college President. Manning was praised for his "enterprise," his promotion of the "godd order, learning and respectability

of the Baptist Churches in the Eastern States. . . much owing to his assiduous Attention to their Welfare . . . an uncommon degree of Sagacity. . . ."

Today, on the campus of the university there stands a building known as Manning Hall, named in honor of President Manning. Nicholas Brown, Esquire, who had studied under Manning and was another member of the family that helped in substantial fashion in giving permanency to the institution, provided the funds to erect the building upon which Manning's name was bestowed.

Chapter XXIII

David Howell

Because of the brilliance surrounding James Manning in connection with the development of a Baptist college at Warren and Providence, Rhode Island, it is easy to lose sight of David Howell, who devoted much of his life to the same endeavour. Howell, however, carved out a distinctive career not only as a professor and college official, but as a lawyer, attorney-general, Congressman and judge in the State and Federal courts.

Manning induced Howell to locate in Rhode Island, having in mind that Howell intended to devote himself to teaching. "I would gladly invite you to come and live in my family, if the infant state of our college could promise you proper encouragement. . ." he wrote to Howell in July, 1766. At the same time, he held out the hope that help undoubtedly would be needed within a year, and suggesting that perhaps Howell would do well if he opened a Latin school at Newport. Apparently Manning devised a plan that made Howell's services available as a tutor at the college in 1766 for minutes of a meeting of the college corporation held in September, 1767, state that "The Reverend President Manning's conduct for the year past, and his engaging Mr. David Howell a Tutor of the College is approved of." Formal election as a tutor in 1768 is noted, with his salary of seventy-two pounds "lawful money" to be paid in part from such tuition

money as he might collect."

Howell became the first professor of the college, being designated in 1769 as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He also received an honorary M.A. degree from the college in 1769. Meanwhile he had been studying law and was admitted to the bar in Rhode Island in 1768.

Howell married on September 30th, 1770, four months after the college moved to Providence. His wife was Mary Brown, whose father, Jeremiah Brown, was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence. They had five children, one son, Jeremiah Brown Howell, who was born in 1789, becoming a United States Senator from Rhode Island and serving from 1811 to 1817.

For many years, Howell served the college faithfully. He was named a member of the Board of Fellows in 1773, and thereafter for fifty years was a valued advisor in the promotion of the college's welfare. He was given the added title of Professor of Law in 1790, but oddly enough, he did not lecture in that field but devoted his teaching chiefly to not only mathematics and natural philosophy, but also to French, German and Hebrew. In 1780, the college corporation designated him as its secretary and he held that added post of responsibility for twenty-six years, until 1806. In other capacities, the college also availed itself of his talents. Upon the death of President Manning in July, 1791, Howell was chosen to preside at the Commencement exercises. He continued as acting President until September, 1792.

A portion of his Commencement address to the students in 1791 is worthy of repetition, for he was speaking out of his recent experience as a member of Congress and as a Common Pleas Court judge. He said:

"Be cautious of banding into parties; they regard neither the abilities nor virtues of men, but only their Subserviency to present purposes; they are a snare and a mischief to society. With this caution on your mind, you will never revile or speak evil of whole sects, classes, or societies of men. . . . Never aim to rise in life by depressing others; it is more manly to rely on the strength of one's own abilities and merit. Avoid publishing, or even listening to scandal. To mention, with pleasure, the virtues even of a rival, denotes a great mind. . .

"It is a mark of vanity to speak lightly of revelation. Not to admire those ancient and sublime books shows a want of taste in fine writing, as well of real judgment in discerning the truth. And here let me caution you never to ridicule whatever may be held sacred by an devout and judicious man. If you cannot join with him, at least do not disturb him by your irreverence."

Turning to Howell's civic activities, one of his earliest tasks was to serve in 1777 on a committee of three selected to advise Providence's representative in the General Assembly as to how he should vote on pending legislation, including an act setting prices on many types of merchandise. This measure was necessary because of the shrinking value of money during that period. Again, when a revenue measure was proposed levying a special tax to provide operating funds for the Sate, Howell was one of a committee who pointed out unfair features of the bill.

Howell was named as a Justice of the Peace in 1779 and as a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1780. Two years later, he was designated to serve in the Continental Congress,

where he found himself embroiled in a major political controversy, in which he was subjected to bitter, personal attacks.

In the Spring election of 1782, Howell was chosen as a Rhode Island delegate to the Continental Congress. His term began in May. A discussion of a major policy question soon developed--should Congress be given the power to impose a five percent. import duty? The duty would be levied on all foreign and prize goods imported into any of the States. Funds were direly needed to make payments on the existing debt, as well as interest, owed in part at home and in part abroad. It took more than passage of such a measure by Congress to make effective such a policy. The approval of each of the States was required--in other words, unanimous consent.

On the surface, such a policy would appear to commend itself by the pressing demands of the national financial situation. More was involved, however, and this was the very touchy issue as to State sovereignty and free trade. Georgia and Rhode Island appeared to be inclined to dissent from the proposed grant of authority to Congress to levy such duties.

Howell appeared before a Congressional committee and explained why Rhode Island felt it could not go along with such a proposal. He explained that as a maritime State, Rhode Island relied upon trade to supply her with goods, that otherwise would have to be obtained from adjoining States who levied duties on such interstate trade. Secondly, Rhode Island was in a vulnerable position because "an enemy may lay waste our seaport

towns all around Narragansett Bay, destroy our navigation and plunder the whole treasure of our little state" with no possibility of reimbursement from the Continental Congress. Already, Rhode Island's maritime activity had been hard hit through raids on towns and ships, until Newport, for example, had only three ships at sea in March, 1782, compared to 150 eight years previous. To protect itself, Rhode Island required the duty imposed upon trade to provide for its own defense, Howell argued, and cited the Articles of Confederation as containing such a guarantee. For good measure, Howell reminded Congress that Rhode Island also wanted a decision as to its share of public lands acquired by warfare, an unsettled question up to that point. His solution for the financial problem was to have each State collect duties on imports and such sums be deducted from the State's share of taxes payable to promote the activities of the Continental Congress.

From the national viewpoint, there were three principal sources of revenue: loans, requisitions against the states, or bills of credit carrying no properly backed guarantee. The States proved to be slow and delinquent in meeting requisitions while bills of credit were becoming unacceptable, competing with those issued by the States. With the States levying duties at different levels, general confusion arose and trade was restricted.

Meanwhile, opposition seemed to be gathering strength. Massachusetts, through Governor Hancock's veto, withdrew the approval previously voted by its law makers, while Maryland also began to

waver. Renewed pressure was put upon Georgia and Rhode Island to act without further delay. On October 10th, 1782, the House of Assembly in Rhode Island turned down the request for a grant of such power to Congress. Before the Assembly's letter of explanation to the President of Congress could be answered, Congress dispatched a committee of three to Rhode Island. Their task was to "educate" and obtain, if possible, repeal of the adverse vote.

Then an unexpected break came for those who were hostile to Howell and the views he had expressed in Rhode Island's behalf. A curious extract from a letter was published in the Boston Gazette on November 10th, 1782. The extract purported to come from Providence, where the original letter ostensibly had been received from a friend in Philadelphia, then the seat of Congress. It contained comment upon foreign affairs and also dealt with Congressional happenings. In the latter connection, the letter, as reprinted in part, stated:

"Letters have been read in Congress from Mr. Adams (Minister at the Hague) and his secretary, Mr. Dumas, saying loans he is negotiating are filling as fast as could be expected; naturally, importance of the United States is constantly rising in estimation of European powers and civilized world. Such is their credit that they have, of late, failed in no application for foreign loans, and the only danger on that score is that of contracting too large a debt."

Some members of Congress were convinced that they knew the the author of the letter to be none other than Howell. They

were not concerned as to whether Howell had intended it as a personal letter, which had been given newspaper publication through a misguided friend--if Howell actually had written the letter in the first place. Their move, to cover themselves with the mantle of public welfare, was to make known that the letter-writer was ill-informed, and that public interest demanded that the source of the letter be disclosed, since it purported to breach a trust in respect to official documents and information. One approach was to issue a denial of the statements, backed by a disclosure that Adams and Dumas' views were to the contrary.

Therefore, Congress resolved on December 6th, 1782, to have a committee seek to ascertain the true source of the letter. The resolution stated that "there is reason to suspect that, as well the national character of the United States and the honor of Congress, as the finances of the said States, may be injured and the public service greatly retarded" due to the publication dealing with foreign affairs of the states. The committee instructed the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to ask the Governor of Rhode Island to pursue the inquiry. The Secretary did not need to write for Howell immediately made public revelation of the fact that the letter quoted had originated from his hand. At the same time, he protested that Congress had no right to trespass upon the individual rights of its members in the expression of views, and to keep their constituents informed about developments that had been discussed openly in sessions of the Congress. A debate, waged with much heat, ensued. Howell's

associate from Rhode Island, Dr. Jonathan Arnold, rose to his defense. Motion after motion was presented, but every move by Howell went down to defeat for Congress was determined to administer a full measure of chastisement for dissenting on the import duty question. Congress voted to inform the Governor of Rhode Island about this discussion, through a copy of the official proceedings in which appeared the rebukes aimed at Howell.

The Rhode Island Assembly, undaunted, informed Congress by resolutions and letter that all that Howell and Dr. Arnold had said and done met with their hearty approval, and that Howell's much-criticized letter appeared to be based upon truth contained in the extract of letters forwarded by Congress. It added that Howell's opposition to the legislation was "a meritorious service rendered to this State, and to the cause of freedom in general."

Rhode Island saw to it that Howell was re-elected as a delegate to Congress on May 7th, 1783. He continued to serve until the Spring of 1785. He remained a scapegoat, with an attempt in 1784 to declare him ineligible to a seat in Congress. During that fracas, Howell received two written challenges to fight duels, one from Colonel Mercer, of Virginia, and another from Colonel Spaight, of North Carolina. Howell replied that he "meant to chastise any insults I might receive" and placed their letters before Congress. The duels were never fought, and Howell remained in Congress.

When he was about to retire from Congress, Howell in a revealing letter to Governor Greene, dated January 12th, 1785, had this to say about public life and politicians in general:

"If it is the character of a politician to conceal, or to deliver with reserve and cryptically his opinions--to keep a watchful eye on the tide of popular opinion--and in all events to aim chiefly at bringing off his own dear self in a whole skin, I thank God I am no politician! From the time it first pleased my fellow-citizens to raise me into the political world, I have neglected no opportunity of rendering them the best services within the compass of my poor abilities and of obtaining information of the transaction on that great theatre. I am now soon to retire to my little cottage. I shall do it with a cheerful mind and a clear conscience as to my official conduct; but not without great anxiety for the fate of my country."

As for the proposal concerning duties on imports, Rhode Island rejected it.

During Howell's service in the Continental Congress, the struggling Rhode Island College sought to arrange a trip to Europe for him in its behalf. It was hoped that funds might be obtained abroad and Howell was designated with a stipulation that he was to be paid seven and one-half percent. of the total he obtained, in addition to his expenses "exclusive of his Cloath-ing." Howell, however, did not undertake the mission. His official connections in Congress prompted Manning, as President of the college, to suggest to Howell about this time that he

"feel the pulse of the (French) Minister" as to whether a proposal to raise funds for the College might "take" in France, and whether the French King would be likely to lend his influence. Howell carried out the request, and obtained a promise from the French Minister to forward letters bearing on the proposal to Benjamin Franklin, who represented the Continental Congress in France. The plan was not furthered, however, as France was not viewed as likely to give any help at that time.

Higher honors awaited Howell. In 1786, he became an Associate Justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court, serving two years. His term was marked by a case famed in Rhode Island history, since the case resulted in the judges involved being summoned before the Rhode Island Assembly "to assign the reasons and grounds" for their decision in the matter. Howell and two other Associate Justices had presided over the trial of a case in which John Trevett, of Newport, was the complainant against John Weeden, a butcher of the same town. The Chief Justice, Paul Mumford, was not involved in the trial.

The issue had an important bearing upon the acceptance of paper money issued by Rhode Island as legal tender. Rhode Island had authorized an issue of 100,000 pounds in paper bills, specifying in supplemental legislation that it was a criminal offense to refuse to accept such bills in payment for merchandise or in other commercial transactions. Weeden, it seems, was unwilling to accept the new paper bills at par and the complaint followed. The general public was keenly interested in the trial, for the ruling would determine whether Rhode Island's credit had

any standing, and also whether trade would be brought to a complete standstill. Trevett, the complainant, was represented by Henry Goodwin while General James Mitchell Varnum, assisted by Henry Marchant, called upon all his eloquence in behalf of Weeden. Varnum was no stranger to Howell, having graduated from Rhode Island College in 1769, studying law and becoming Attorney General, followed by service in the Army and advancement to Brigadier-General, as well as service in the Continental Congress.

The court's ruling, delivered by Howell, was that the Legislature had exceeded its authority in passing acts that stipulated, as a means of compelling acceptance of the paper money being issued, that those who refused it should not be allowed to hold public office and also could not have trial by jury. That was more than the Assembly was willing to countenance. The position taken by the legislature was that it was the highest authority in all matters of State interest. The day had not arrived as yet when the sharp line of division between legislatures and the courts in the enactment and interpretation of laws had been drawn. Having been summoned before the Legislature, Howell and the other two Associate Justices underwent an examination. Howell, speaking for his associates, declared that the court was independent of legislative dictates, and empowered to make decisions for which it was not answerable to anyone. At the same time, he urged that the legislation involved in the Trevett-Weeden case was unconstitutional. The Legislature, bent upon having the last word on the subject, adopted a resolution declaring that "no satisfactory reasons had been rendered by them

(the Justices) for their judgment." At the same time, the Assembly released them from any further inquiry, adding that no ground for impeachment had been disclosed.

Howell became Attorney General of Rhode Island in 1789, serving one year. Then the College again called upon him to act as Manning's successor under a temporary designation during 1791 and 1792. At the request of General Washington, Howell served on a commission to determine the true course of the St. Croix River in order that the boundary with Canada might be decided as provided in the Jay treaty.

For some time, Howell continued his private law practice as one of the State's outstanding lawyers, but also serving as Secretary to the college corporation, with teaching included. Then he was singled out to serve as U.S. District Attorney after the Federal government had been established. In 1812 he was appointed as United States District Judge for Rhode Island. He continued in this judicial post until his death on July 29th, 1824.

Of him, it has been said that "the superiority of his attainments as a jurist was conceded by all, and his opinions on points of law involving intricate or perplexing questions, and on the varying positions assumed by his country in its internal and external policy, were always received with deserved attention and respect." Again, it was written of him that "He was a tall, handsome man of imposing bearing, an accomplished scholar, an excellent public speaker, and possessed of a brilliant wit, all of which attributes contributed to his preeminence as a lawyer."

Howell was buried in the North Burial Ground at Providence, this being the grave-yard where Manning also had been buried.

In his memory, a David Howell Scholarship was established at Brown University in 1868-89, being a gift of \$1,000 from G. Lyman Dwight, a great-grandson, and it was designated for use in the field of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Chapter XXIV

Baptist Apostle in New England

As a classmate of James Manning, Hezekiah Smith was graduated from Princeton College in September, 1762. Smith decided to make a missionary tour in the South, hoping at the same time to recuperate his health. On horseback, he would have the advantage of outdoor activity.

In preparation for this journey, Smith transferred his membership from the Morristown Baptist Church to Hopewell on September 18th, 1762. Reverend Isaac Eaton and the Hopewell church arranged for him to "exercise his ministerial gifts" at the next monthly meeting with a view to being licensed to preach. The Hopewell church gave its approval and licensed him on October 21st. Eight days later, he departed from Hopewell on horseback, riding through New Britain and Montgomery, Pennsylvania, and on to Baltimore. He preached at every opportunity although aware that he was likely to encounter hostility, particularly in the public houses in the South. His diary of his experiences contains numerous instances of opposition being encountered. At Cedar Run below Baltimore, "there was great opposition. It rose to so great a height that I expected to be mobbed." He continued on to Anson Court House, to the Welsh Neck church in South Carolina, Charleston, Eutaw and James Island, and Augusta, Georgia. During those months

he met George Whitefield, the famed evangelist, whose preaching was having such a wide influence. Smith spared himself little, as evidenced by a record showing that he traveled 4,235 miles and preached 173 sermons within a year!

For a time it appeared that Smith might remain in the South permanently. He was ordained in the Charleston Baptist church on September 29th, 1763, by ministers of the Charleston Baptist Association. He served as a pulpit supply for the Cashaway church, near the Peedee River, in South Carolina. However, at the end of fifteen months, Smith decided to return to New Jersey. He sailed from Charleston to New York. There he preached for Reverend John Gano, now pastor of the Baptist church in that city; visited his home in Morristown and there heard Reverend James Manning preach. Smith then went on to visit Reverend Isaac Eaton in Hopewell and also to Princeton where he once again walked around the college campus.

It was not difficult for Smith to accept a suggestion from Manning that he accompany him to Rhode Island, as Smith felt inclined to study the possibilities of settling in New England. Smith, Manning and Mrs. Manning sailed for Newport, Rhode Island, arriving there on April 13th, 1764. Preaching at Newport, Smith made a favorable impression. He visited at Manning's home in Warren, Rhode Island, for five weeks, meanwhile preaching in several nearby towns. Next, he set out on a journey that took him as far North as Boston. This was the first of countless trips made by Smith through the New England countryside during

the next thirty years--an activity that resulted in him being instrumental over the years in the founding of many Baptist churches, providing these groups with the inspiration and counsel needed. He regarded himself as a "New Light" preacher and was happy to align himself with the evangelistic George Whitefield and the Tennents. At the same time, many New England churches, mostly Congregational, welcomed him into their pulpits.

In Boston, Smith met Dr. Samuel Stillman. This was the beginning of a warm, enduring friendship, intensified by their mutual efforts to win religious freedom for Baptist believers. Dr. Stillman was serving at the time as an assistant pastor in the Second Baptist church of Boston. Smith tarried in Boston for a number of weeks.

On a memorable day, July 27th, 1764, Smith had his first glimpse of Haverhill, situated in the northeastern corner of Massachusetts close to the New Hampshire boundary. This section was almost completely barren of Baptist churches, there being only one church of that denomination anywhere north of Boston. The "Standing Order" churches of the Congregationalists felt disposed to greet Smith cordially at the outset. The West Parish Congregational Church in Haverhill, pastorless for three years after the Reverend Samuel Bacheller had been ousted for various reasons, including charges that he preached heresy, heard Smith for several months. Attendance mounted and Smith was urged to become the pastor but declined. In the face of renewed requests, he pointed out that he was a Baptist. Immediately, the "Established Order" decided that Smith could not

continue even as a stated supply. Their decision did not rest well with many residents of Haverhill, however, and a group residing in the First Parish, known then as "Haverhill Town," took steps to organize as a new entity.

Smith felt it was a good time for him to re-visit New Jersey while endeavoring to shape his plans for the future. He was accompanied by John White, a resident of Haverhill, who was hopeful that Smith would return there to aid in organizing a Baptist church. Along their route, Smith preached in several places, including the Hopewell meeting house. Five weeks later, he was back in Haverhill, with Manning also on hand, sounding out public opinion and the strength of the Baptist movement in Haverhill and vicinity. Finally Smith gave his decision. He would remain. The new group requested permission to meet in the First Parish's meeting house when it was not being used. Although as taxpayers they were helping to maintain the church property and its pastor, permission was denied. The Parish Committee's reply stated that the petitioners "appeared disaffected in the public concerns of the parish . . . and . . . have itching ears, following after preachers of a different sect in religion, hearing one Anabaptist preacher upon another . . . and . . . endeavored to support their tenets, may we not well suppose it is their intention to introduce such; which we think would be a great infringement upon the Constitution and order of the Church, by law established in the parish." Consequently, White and others soon provided a meeting house, transforming a dwelling for that purpose.

Despite reproaches and attempts to undermine the movement, the Baptists formed their church, it being constituted on May 9th, 1765. About the same time, the First Parish in Haverhill had appropriated 300 pounds to build a new meeting house, a part of which the members of the Baptist society would be expected to pay through regular taxes. The Baptists also were preparing to build. Construction started on June 5th. Two services were held within its framework on June 9th, with Manning as a speaker for one of the services. To escape the tax to finance the new Congregational place of worship, Smith was obliged to obtain certificates from Baptist churches in Boston, Warren and Middleboro indicating that the founding of a new church was approved, which if honored by the Parish assessors, along with a list of the church's members, would win tax exemption for those concerned. Smith was reviled publicly and privately, with numerous attempts made to intimidate him. Rocks were thrown through his windows. A notice was attached to the door of his boarding house threatening him if he stayed. Even his horse suffered the indignity of having hair sheared from its mane and tail.

On August 13th, 1765, a formal call to become pastor of the new Baptist church in Haverhill had been tendered to Smith. He accepted. A short time later, Smith took a trip South, having been notified that Princeton College desired to confer a Master's degree. On his journey, he stopped at Providence where he attended a meeting of the Baptist college corporation. He also visited Hopewell and preached there.

Back in Massachusetts after two months, Smith found that animosity had not relaxed. Nevertheless, he persevered and on November 12th, 1766, was officially installed as pastor of the Haverhill Baptist church at a salary of 100 pounds per year. He had distinguished sponsors on the occasion of his installation, Dr. Stillman coming from Boston, Manning from Providence and John Gano from New York. Smith served this church for forty-one years, this including the months before his formal installation and until his death on January 24th, 1805.

Smith's interest in education found expression in the active promotion of the welfare of Rhode Island College. Nowhere could Manning have found a more ardent enthusiast for the Baptist college. For forty years, Smith served as a member of the Board of Fellows, attending meetings with amazing regularity, considering the sacrifice of time and effort required. At the Commencement season, he invariably was on hand, and often gave the Commencement sermon. Frequently, he preached on the following Sunday from the pulpit of the Providence Baptist church. In September, 1797, the college honored him with a Doctor of Divinity degree in recognition of his unflagging work in behalf of the college and also as "the Baptist apostle of New England." One of his substantial contributions toward the welfare of the college involved a period of eight months from October 2nd, 1769, to June 8th, 1770, during which, with the permission of his Haverhill church, he devoted himself to a fund-raising tour in the South, particularly South Carolina and Georgia, where he had many friends. But money matters were secondary to his

preaching, for he was heard on more than one hundred occasions during this particular tour. He obtained pledges of 3710 pounds, 17 shillings, six pence in South Carolina currency, and personally handled \$2,500 which he turned over to the college treasurer. The college offered to pay the salary he would have received from the Haverhill church during that period. Smith demurred, agreeing instead that his own pledge of forty dollars be considered paid, and that the balance of 16 pounds, 13 shillings, four pence that he would have received as salary be regarded as an added donation to the college.

In addition to his activities in behalf of the college, Smith conducted an elementary school of his own. Apparently it was destined chiefly to assist boys of his Haverhill church to obtain sufficient education to qualify for admission to college. His most outstanding student was Asa Messer, who in 1802 at the age of thirty-three became the third President of Rhode Island College. Messer was a farm boy whose preliminary studies under Smith were broadened by academy training at Windham, New Hampshire. He entered Rhode Island College as a sophomore in 1787, graduating in 1790. Then he became a tutor and professor in the college and also served as librarian before ^{he} was advanced to the Presidency.

The formation of the Warren Baptist Association was another undertaking in which Smith and Manning united their efforts. It was designed to assure the permanency of Rhode Island College although its major usefulness was in strengthening the Baptist

cause and in crystallizing the resistance to taxes regarded by the Baptists as offensive and oppressive. The Association came into being in 1767 at Warren, with three delegates from the Philadelphia Association on hand to lend assistance. John Gano, from the New York Baptist Church, was in charge. Delegates from eleven churches in the New England area took part in the discussions as to the need and effectiveness of such an Association. When it came time to constitute the Association, seven of the eleven churches represented withheld their support, being fearful that the Association might seek to invade the independence enjoyed by each Baptist church. Those ready to act, however, were Warren, Haverhill, Bellingham and Second Middleborough, although the latter bowed out in 1768, only to return two years later. The Association, probably through the suggestion of Manning and Smith, lost no time in urging all Baptist churches to aid Rhode Island College financially.

When the oppression of the Baptists in tax matters became intolerable, Smith was designated by the Warren Association "to seek redress" by carrying a petition to the King. It was anticipated that he would gain the aid of noted Baptist ministers in London. To defray the expenses of the trip, money was sought from the Philadelphia and Swansea Associations. While this was being arranged, other approaches were being tried in the hope of alleviating the situation without appealing direct to the King. Some progress seemed to be made, hence Smith was spared the ocean voyage. Instead, he participated in numerous conferences

with the General Court of Massachusetts where the petitions of the Baptists for legislation to exempt them from taxes to support the Congregational churches were considered.

Hezekiah Smith married at the age of thirty-six. His bride was Hephzibah Kimball, daughter of Mrs. Ensign Gideon Tyler, of Boxford (Rowley), Massachusetts. They were wed in the First Congregational Church at Boxford on June 27th, 1771. Following the wedding, Smith remained at Boxford to preach two sermons on June 29th in the Second Congregational Church. His wife has been described as possessing "in addition to wealth, superior personal attractions and strength of character and mind. . .". Of the marriage, six children were born with three sons and a daughter growing to adulthood, being Hezekiah, Jonathan, William and Rebecca. Mrs. Smith died on December 9th, 1824, surviving her husband by almost twenty years.

Smith's career included service as an Army chaplain and in that endeavor he won the respect of the soldiers and officers alike. His early contacts with the Army as a chaplain were on a part-time basis. Colonel John Bixon, in command of a regiment in which a number of Haverhill men were serving, invited Smith to preach to his troops on June 18th, 1775, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The time was not propitious, however, as the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17th and the intermittent fighting that followed undoubtedly prevented Smith from giving his sermon. He then was approached about acting as regimental chaplain. Smith presented the question to his church. It was decided on July 12th, 1775, that he should be permitted to devote one-fourth of

his time to duties with the Army. The arrangement worked out well as long as the Army remained in eastern Massachusetts, adjacent to Boston, but a new problem developed when March, 1776, arrived.

Boston being liberated after undergoing siege for ten months, the Army prepared to move South, hoping to thwart the British army if it sought to invade any of the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. To his wife, Smith wrote that "The field officers of the regiments I serve, as well as others, insist upon my going with them; and I must confess, the prospect of usefulness in the glorious cause of our country, joined with that of usefulness to souls, inclines me to yield to their request. And since my people as a body have not manifested their disapprobation of my being in the army, during the present campaign, I think they cannot justly blame me in struggling with others for the salvation of America, especially the United Colonies in America." Then to win his wife's approval, he wrote flatteringly that "Your zeal for the cause, united with consideration, will, I doubt not, cause you to yield to the disagreeable parting for a few months." To reassure her, he added that Colonel Nixon insisted that he should not go to exposed positions. Smith also informed his wife that she need not bring nor send his horse, as he expected that the Army would provide one for him, and it would be available for him on a trip back to Haverhill within the next few days. Smith was at home on March 18th. While there, he discovered that Deacon Shepherd, of the Haverhill

church was outspoken in opposition to the pastor being absent. Smith, back with the Army on March 20th, wrote to Mrs. Smith as follows: "I am sorry my good Deacon Shepherd discovered such a temper at my yielding to what I think is my duty. It will be the best for you not to say much about it; and if you hear reflections cast upon me, not to resent them, but to let them pass. The least said is the best."

The Army set out for New York on March 29th. Smith made himself useful along the line of march, preaching in the Providence church and then from John Gano's pulpit upon arrival in New York. The new location also gave him opportunity to see his mother at Connecticut Farms in New Jersey. There Smith was taken ill. He remained with his relatives for about a month, and while recuperating, found it possible to preach. The Army, following fighting on Long Island, moved to an encampment at White Plains, New York. Smith received a furlough of six months and returned to his duties at Haverhill. During that period, British troops were advancing from Canada, and the Battle of Trenton, New Jersey, was fought, the latter during the Christmas season with the first turning of the tide against the British.

When Smith was ready to return to Army duty in June, 1777, he was assigned again to be with Nixon, who now had advanced to the rank of Brigadier General. Smith also had received an official designation as chaplain on January 1st, 1777, from Congress. Smith found the regiment at Peekskill. Three days later at Saratoga, the troops fought the Indians, who killed

and scalped three men from the Continental Army. Encounters between the British and American armies followed at Bennington, Vermont, and at Stillwater, with Burgoyne and about 5,700 of his men surrendering to General Gates on October 17th. Smith followed his brigade to Albany, where he found comfortable lodging in a private home. He preached in the Presbyterian Church every Sunday until mid-December, when he left for Haverhill on a four-months' furlough.

In April, Smith again was in Eastern New York with the Army at Fishkill, West Point, Peekskill and White Plains. An example of the tension under which he worked at times appears in his diary which contains a record of his daily visits to persons condemned to be shot as criminals for violations of Army regulations. There was one Potter, visited in the guard house on May 15th, 16th and 18th, 1778. On July 29th and 30th, the chaplain visited two condemned prisoners held by the Provost Guard, while on August 8th, his diary records, he visited ten persons there under sentence of death. They were to be executed on August 17th. On the 16th, Smith spent much of the day with them. When they walked to the place of execution on the following day, Smith went with them and prayed. He also delivered a preliminary sermon, as was the custom. His message at the same time reminded the assembled troops that crime was inevitably followed by punishment, with the Army acting with utmost severity in the interest of general welfare and security. In a sudden turn of events, which Smith did not clarify in his diary, only one of the condemned group of eleven was executed.

The others were granted a stay of execution, and six days later were pardoned. But there was little respite for Smith, for on September 15th he "attended the execution of Matthias Callehart, of Rye" and again gave an address to the men there under command.

Soon after the Army moved to Danbury, Connecticut, Smith obtained a six-months' furlough, and was enabled to arrive in Haverhill on November 18th. Apparently money matters were troubling him for he brought to the attention of the church that there was back salary due him in the sum of 54 pounds, 12 shillings and 4½ pence. At the same time, he pointed out that he was not asking any salary for the time he had spent at home during 1777 and 1778, adding that he was grateful for "the liberality of a number of my friends," including some who comprised a Baptist group at New Rowley, who shared in his support. Smith also explained that he raised the subject chiefly because of the "depreciation of our currency, and the unreasonable prices of the necessary articles of life," although he was well aware of "the sensible obligation I am under to you, for your cordial condescension to me, in giving your consent that I might act my pleasure in serving my country in the army for a certain space of time."

The Spring of 1779 brought renewed Army movement, and Smith set out from Haverhill on April 16th. He traveled through Boston and reached New York, via Danbury, Connecticut. Again he had an opportunity to see his mother in New Jersey and to preach repeatedly as he moved about. He remained on duty with the Army in New York State, chiefly in the Peekskill area until November,

when he again left on furlough for Haverhill, arriving there December 2nd. For the Army encamped at Morristown, New Jersey, it was to be a Winter of unmatched severity. When Smith returned late in May he found the brigade in bad shape. Even worship services for the troops were omitted until new recruits had arrived in camp. In October of that year, following the discovery of Benedict Arnold's treasonable act, and the capture and execution of Major John Andrew, Adjutant General of the British Army, Smith preached a sermon to the First Massachusetts Brigade. His text was from Psalm 52:7, which reads: "Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength; but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness." During his discourse, he dwelt at some length upon the plot which had stirred the Army to its depths.

By the Spring of 1780, the Haverhill church was growing restless in respect to Smith's continued absence. The members voted on April 24th, 1780, to send a committee to visit him and request his return "as soon as he can with honor." Subsequently, Smith resigned his commission as a chaplain and returned to Haverhill in the latter part of October, 1780.

Smith busied himself immediately with his pastoral duties. Yet he was never content to confine his activities to his own church or the group that met at nearby Rowley. A church was formally organized there on May 4th, 1781, with Smith's aid. He also resumed classes in the school conducted in his own home.

Through the Baptist Associations, Smith renewed activity in resisting taxes imposed upon Baptists to support other

denominations. Invariably, the Associations had letters placed before them from various local groups describing the hardship inflicted through such taxes. The Associations were prompted to set up grievance committees to carry their protests to the authorities responsible for enforcing the tax collections. Smith served on such committees of the Warren Association for a number of years. But it was not alone in the Warren Association that Smith's voice was heard. He was at the New Hampshire Association's sessions year after year, and also relished trips that coincided with the meeting dates for the Philadelphia Association where he could rejoin old friends and exchange experiences. On his route, Smith preached almost daily. Usually, he made Hopewell a point of call in order to spend a little time once again at the scene of his days in the Hopewell Academy.

In 1786, Smith was seriously considered for the pastorate of the church at Providence where Manning had continued to serve while carrying on the duties as college president. But with Manning's election to Congress, even Manning recognized that the demands upon his time were overwhelming. To Smith, Nicholas Brown wrote on April 2nd, 1786, to advise that the church was on the lookout for "a man of learning and prudently popular." He added that while Smith's advice would be most acceptable, that insofar as Brown was concerned, "No one . . . will be more acceptable, on all accounts, than yourself, as a candidate for this important place." Other influential residents of Providence joined in the plea to Smith but he declined. Instead,

within five or six months, he was engaging once again in what undoubtedly was his most satisfying task--traveling and preaching with a view to assisting in the formation of new Baptist churches. On October 2nd, 1786, Smith set out for Maine and New Hampshire. In twenty-three days, he preached twenty-seven times. Another instance of his travel activity occurred in September, 1788, when he was in New Hampshire and Vermont for a total of approximately thirty days, with eighteen sermons to his credit.

Yet Smith was never too busy to devote attention to the affairs of the college. He was influential to a marked degree, being close to the Browns and consulted by them with regularity as one of the Fellows on the control board. Yet his missionary tours stand out as most significant in this man's career. He possessed a peculiar genius for getting churches under way, and his name stands to this day as a landmark in the expansion of Baptist work in New England. In town after town, the imprint of Hezekiah Smith's personality remains. Church records attest to his activity in the formative stages of churches that include the following: Maine--Falmouth, Gorham, Sanford, Berwick, Saco and Yarmouth; New Hampshire--Brentwood, Madbury, Stratham, Exeter, Deerfield, Hopkinton, Dunbarton and Nottingham; Massachusetts--Methuen, Dracut, Chelmsford and Rowley.

But Smith was nearing the end of his days when the 19th century was ushered in. His last trip to New Jersey happily took him back to Hopewell where the Philadelphia Baptist Association met on October 5th to 7th, 1802. Smith not only

served as moderator in the church he had attended as a student and where he had heard Reverend Isaac Eaton preach on numerous occasions, but Smith himself was the preacher on Wednesday evening, October 6th. He recorded in his diary that he preached to "a crowded assembly." His text was from Hebrews 13: 20, 21: "Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep through the blood of the everlasting covenant, Make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen."

Smith's diary refers to two sermons preached in New York as being his "farewell sermons" to those churches. Evidently he was ailing at the time for enroute to Boston on October 19th, he was taken ill. Thereafter he was confined almost continuously to his home until early in January, 1803. His diary thereafter refers several times to the state of his health, but when June came, Smith was to be found once more at Rhode Island College attending the meeting of the Corporation, the Commencement program as well as the sessions of the Warren Association.

His diary closes with a notation for Sunday, January 13th, 1805. It states that he preached two sermons on that date from John 12:24: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." He concluded by reading Watts' hymn, "I'll praise my Maker with my breath." Four days later, a stroke of paralysis

occurred. One week later, on January 24th, 1805, Hezekiah Smith was dead. He was in his 68th year.

His funeral was befitting a man of preeminence. Dr. Stillman gave the funeral oration in the meeting house before a "very crowded and deeply affected audience." Business in Haverhill was at a complete standstill during the funeral hour. When the funeral procession moved to the Pentucket Cemetery (Linwood Cemetery) on Water Street, the group included, it was said, almost every living person that had been baptized in the vicinity by Smith. Numerous clergy, representatives of the College at Providence, as well as civic groups and individual mourners, also participated. Smith was described in Dr. Stillman's funeral eulogy as "constant and sincere," with "an uncommon firmness and evenness of mind" marking his character. Others said of him that "his subjects were always well chosen and always evangelical" and that "many who differed from him in his religious opinions, honored and respected him."

An oft-repeated story concerned a lawyer by the name of Parsons who bore quite a resemblance to Smith and was often confused with him in Haverhill. When they met on the street on one occasion, Smith remarked: "I understand we are often mistaken the one for the other." The reply perhaps appraises Smith's worth as a man more completely than anything else that could be said of him. The lawyer's answer was: "Well, well, may the devil make the same mistake!"

Chapter XXV

The Great Is Fallen

While tracing the careers of the former students of Hopewell Academy, the story of Isaac Eaton's life has been permitted to remain incomplete. It is necessary to re-trace steps to some extent as there were numerous events as yet unmentioned that further reveal the scope of Eaton's activities, his prestige and standing among his colleagues and friends. The following events, while far from being a complete listing, are typical:

1749, April 15th--First baptism during Eaton's pastorate at Hopewell.

1749, December 21st--Eaton issued history of the Hopewell church.

1751, September 17th--Preached sermon at meeting of Philadelphia Baptist Association for the first time.

1752, August--Assisted in organization and constituting of Morristown Baptist church.

1754, November 28th--Assisted in constituting New Britain (Pennsylvania) Baptist Church.

1755-56--Hopewell church added 105 new members.

1756--Received Degree of Master of Arts from College of New Jersey (Princeton).

1757, December 3rd--Six persons baptized in brook at Hopewell as new members of Eaton's church.

1761--Received honorary degree from College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania).

1762, May 15th--Joseph Powell licensed to preach, being the first of Eaton's students at Hopewell Academy to attain that distinction.

1763, January 2nd--Eaton gave charge and prayer for ordination of Samuel Jones in Philadelphia.

1763, October 11-13--Eaton served as moderator at Philadelphia Baptist Association meetings.

1764, October 14-16--Served as moderator at Philadelphia Baptist Association meetings and reported that 123 persons had been converted in his church during the past year.

1765--Hopewell church became the largest in the Philadelphia Association.

The church records for the years embraced above contain occasional references to action taken in disciplining members. While that was standard practice in that era, nevertheless Eaton must have found, on numerous occasions, that this was a trying experience to him as moderator of the church. At such times, he owed a duty to the church to uphold its standards, yet with the interplay of human likes and dislikes, as well as emotional reactions and ill-chosen comments by individuals, it was Eaton's task to see that the accused was dealt with fairly.

In 1767, Eaton again served as Moderator at the annual

session of the Philadelphia Association. That was the year that witnessed the closing of the Hopewell Academy.

On February 20th, ¹⁷⁶⁷ his church voted to sell the parsonage property and the transaction was completed on March 28th. A new parsonage was erected in the same year on land purchased about a half-mile further west on the road leading to Trenton (now West Broad Street). The house was constructed of field stone. According to one writer, the deed for this land was dated January 9th, 1773, being obtained from Moses Hart. Adjoining land was purchased from James Mattison on February 8th, 1785. The total holdings comprised 132 3/4 acres, with the church minutes noting that it was considered as "making a fine and complete parsonage farm . . . which with the blessing of God will contribute to the support of the gospel in future generations."

Years later, portions of the tract were sold, however, as the pastors in some instances were not inclined toward farming. Also, the church had increased the salary for its minister. In 1784 Reverend Oliver Hart had requested and obtained approval of a salary of two hundred "Spanish Mill'd dollars per annua, and the use and benefit of parsonage and farm." As Morgan Edwards described it a few years later, this was "a valuable glebe, by reason of the goodness of the land, commodiousness of the buildings, and nearness to the meeting-house."

The farm, including the dwelling, was sold in 1914 but the church retained a parcel, 100 by 500 feet, and erected a

parsonage in the following year. This land and dwelling remain the property of the church at the present time, even though the church, known for the past century and a quarter as the Old School Baptist Church, has relied for a number of years upon visiting ministers to occupy the pulpit of the church.

But during the 1760s, the church continued to expand in membership, as the result of a revival in 1768, the total grew to 217. In the Fall of that year, Isaac Eaton again was the Moderator for the Association meeting, an honor which he was accorded again in 1769 when the Association met in New York City. Earlier in 1769, Eaton busied himself in straightening out a question as to title to the church property. On June 17th, John Hart signed the deed for the meeting house ground. The church then petitioned the Provincial Council on October 17th to grant an official charter to the church. This action was taken on November 24th and Governor William Franklin signed it on December 5th. The church received it six days later. Acting under the charter, the church then appointed trustees to control and supervise the property.

In 1770, Eaton was honored in two special ways, although quite dissimilar. John Gano and his wife decided to give the name of Isaac to their son, and Rhode Island College gave an honorary degree to Eaton. Another satisfying experience for Eaton in that year was the licensing of Charles Thompson to preach, he being another Academy student.

In both 1770 and 1771, Eaton was in attendance at the Fall meetings of the Association. But with the advent of 1772, little

did he suspect that he had only six months to live. The exact date when he became ill and the nature of his illness are not disclosed in any known records. Eaton preached his last sermon on May 31st, 1772. By a coincidence, it was at an ordination service held in Philadelphia for William Rogers., new pastor of the Philadelphia Baptist church. Eaton had a special interest in Rogers, who was a member of the first class to be graduated at Rhode Island College in 1769 and had opened an Academy at Newport, Rhode Island, similar to that conducted by Eaton. Rogers had been licensed to preach in August, 1771, and occupied the pulpit of the Philadelphia church on trial from December until the following March, when the church extended a call to him. At the ordination, Eaton's sermon was on the subject, "And who is sufficient for these things?" Commenting on this occasion, Spencer, in Early Baptists of Philadelphia, wrote: "It was singular that the last sermon of this good and useful educator among the Baptists of this country shall have been delivered amidst circumstances of such peculiar interest." It was in this church in Philadelphia that the original plans looking to the creation of a Baptist college were set in motion.

Apparently Eaton was ill for three to five weeks. It was deemed prudent for his will to be prepared and the document was signed on June 13th, 1772. On July 4th, Eaton passed away. Little is recorded concerning his funeral, although it must have brought together most of the outstanding Baptist leaders in the colonies. Reverend Samuel Jones, his former student, preached the funeral sermon, a fragment of which is preserved

in manuscript form in the Brown University library. His topic was "Resignation," and the Scriptural passage on which his sermon was based was Job 1:21: ". . . The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

Jones, stressing that death must come to every human being, commented that he often had heard "neighbour entreat for his neighbour, and friend for his friend, and brother for his brother, . . . a husband for the wife of his bosom, a loving wife for the husband of her youth, the affectioned parent for the children, the children for the parent. . . ."

"Were they heard to any avail?" he asked. "No, alas no. When Death has lifted up his cruel hand, he has not for all these cries one moment delayed the awful blow, but has sometimes cut off all these endearing connections with one stroke. An instance, a sad instance, is at hand. I need go no farther than the mournful occasion of the present discourse. The wise, the good, the great is fallen, and what is more, fallen when he had scarce attained his meridian height."

Jones then referred to the assurances contained in I Thes-salonians 4: 13-14: "But I would not have you to be ignorant, Brethren, concerning them who are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."

Eaton's grave, it is believed, was under the aisle of the church. A marble grave marker was placed at the foot of the pulpit, and it bears this inscription:

To the front of this are Deposited the Remains of the Rev. Isaac Eaton, A.M., who, for upwards of twenty-six years, was pastor of this church; from the care of which he was removed by death, on the 4th of July, 1772, in the 47th year of his age.

'In him, with grace and eminence, did shine
The man, the Christian, scholar and divine.'

The accuracy of the epitaph might well be questioned. Despite calendar changes which involved a few days' variation, it is not easily understood how Eaton's age could be set down as "in the 47th year." That could only mean that he had passed his 46th birthday, yet having been born in 1724, his age at time of death undoubtedly was 48, or expressed in another manner, "in his 49th year." Likewise, the statement that his pastorate had extended "for upwards of twenty-six years" is in error as it had extended through a period of slightly over 24 years. The gravestone now is in the outer wall of the church, on the east side, facing the present church cemetery.

Eaton's will is an interesting document, not only because of the directives it contains and the mode of expression employed by the person who drafted it, but also because of its revelations concerning his manner of living. Judging by the atrocious spelling, the document undoubtedly was prepared by a person whose schooling had been limited. But Eaton, despite his own scholarship, apparently lacked the strength to read it or revise it. The spelling also is so quaint that portions of the will will be given verbatim hereafter. On the day of signing, June 13th, 1772, the witnesses present were John Hart, Samuel Stout, Jr. and Daniel Gano.

The will, now on file in the Secretary of State's office, at the State House, Trenton, New Jersey, reveals that Eaton's thoughts turned almost at the beginning to his library and to provisions for the benefit of his wife and children. They were named to inherit sums of money as well as items of special personal interest, but the funds for the three youngest children were to be withheld until they were of age. Before the estate was finally closed seventeen years subsequent to Eaton's death, it became necessary for the Hunterdon County Orphans' Court to appoint a committee of three to re-state and submit a report showing a separate accounting in behalf of the two executors.

Because of the fluctuation in the value of money, not only in the 18th century because of the war, the worth of items stated in Eaton's will is difficult to determine. One writer has said that a pound was worth about \$2.50 before the Revolutionary War, although its purchasing power might have been several times greater.

The will begins in the customary manner: "In the name of God amen I Isaac Eaton of the Township of Hopewell in The County of Hunterdon and western Division of the provence of New Jersey Knowing the Certainty of Death but not the time of approach Do make Constitute and ordain this to be my Last will and Testament in manner and forme foloing."

The document then directs that burial shall be "in a Christian like Descent Maner . . . nothing Doubting but at the General Reserection I shall recive the same again throw the myty power

of God and the merits of Jesus Christ my only Saviour. . . ."

Then "as Touching Such wordly Goods as it hath pleased God to bless me with in this life I dispose of as folowes" After payment of his debts and funeral expenses, the first "Item"--as each paragraph is headed--directs that "my libra of Boocks" was to be divided equally by his wife and four children "in quantity and quality as may best sute them."

The next five paragraphs disposed of household items and personal possessions--to "my Beloveed wife Rebecka," a featherbed and furniture "such as She Shall Chuse, also a cobbard and Silver Candle Stick"; to the eldest son, Joseph, a two-year-old colt, a still (!) and a gun; to the eldest daughter, Vria, a featherbed, furniture and a silver cup; to daughter, Parmelia, a featherbed, furniture and a dressing table, and to his son, David, a watch to be held by Mrs. Eaton until David reached the age of 21.

Directions followed in regard to real estate and the residue of the personal estate, all of which were to be sold within one year. During that period, the family was to be supported out of the estate "and then out of the monies arising from the Sails theireof together with my Bonds bills and boocks Debts I give and bequeath the foloing Legasies. . . ." (As far as is known, Eaton actually did not own any real estate). The sums specified consisted of 200 pounds to Mrs. Eaton, 150 pounds to Joseph, 150 pounds each to Uria and Parmelia payable at the age of 18, with the interest of the legacies meanwhile payable to Mrs. Eaton "to Enable her to Educate the said Daughters and

support them untill they arive at the age to Recive and Demand the same." The residue of the estate was to be paid to the youngest son, David, at the age of 21, with the interest to be available meanwhile for his education and to "put him to Such trade" as Mrs. Eaton and the executors "shall Judge best."

Eaton's signature on the document was written with a very shaky hand.

About three months after his death, the executors, John Hart and Samuel Stout, Jr., submitted an inventory. The list included such items as wearing apparel, valued at 20 pounds; "one Librey of books," valued at 17 pounds; two spinning wheels, 19 shillings; 3 rajors, 3 hives of bees, 1 small still appraised at 55 shillings; "1 Negar man named Tom and his wife" concerning whom the executors added "Both are not worth anything," presumably meaning if offered for sale; another "Negar man" whose name is not distinguishable, but appearing to be Añihe or Mike, who was appraised as being worth 40 pounds; flax and oats in barn, one pound, 15 shillings; hay in the barn and barracks, 20 pounds; rye in the barn and stack, one pound, 10 shillings; wheat in the barn and stack, some thrashed, 30 pounds, and Indian corn on the ground, five pounds, six shillings.

As for farm stock, the inventory listed one sorrel horse colt, worth 15 pounds; one black mare and one black horse, nine pounds; one old bay horse, one black mare and "hoppels" (hobbles, or harness, undoubtedly), eight pounds, 10 shillings; six hogs and six pigs, 7 pounds; 12 horned cattle and four calves, 43 pounds, 5 shillings, and 27 sheep, 10 pounds.

Twenty-one yards of home-made "caleco" (calico) also were listed, the value being given as 3 pounds, 10 shillings.

Eaton apparently had loaned money or sold goods or crops to numerous persons, and as a result held their "bonds" at the time of his death. Listed was one bond against John West (listed as "doubtful," and his place of abode as Virginia) in the sum of 22 pounds, 13 shillings; Stephen Barton, 54 pounds, 12 shillings and one pence; two bonds against John Stout, Esq., totaling 88 pounds, three shillings; two bonds against John Hart, Esq., 101 pounds, 15 shillings; Nathaniel Stout, son of David, 100 pounds; one note against Joab Houghton, 11 pounds, three shillings and four pence, and one note against David Heaton (or Eaton), for five pounds, three shillings and eight pence. There also was a receipt for a bond due from Edward Doule to be returned on demand or to be accountable for same, this being listed by the executors as "doubtful," and in the sum of 11 pounds, four shillings; a note against Gershom Craven, 18 pounds, 14 shillings; a note against Daniel Gano, one pound, one shilling, and a note against Henry Heavenar (Heavner?) for two pounds.

In an accounting filed by John Hunt and John Stout, who apparently had succeeded the original executors, they charged themselves as of August 2nd, 1786, with a total of 1,946 pounds, six shillings, five pence. They stated that they had received from personal property 785 pounds; and from the sale of real estate, 858 pounds. After taking care of specific bequests, they had remaining on hand 513 pounds, nine shillings, five pence to

be divided according to the terms of the will.

It was a later accounting, filed on October 20th, 1789, by John Hunt, acting alone as an executor, that caused David Eaton to file exceptions with the Hunterdon County Orphans' Court. In this accounting, Hunt inventoried the remaining estate as amounting to 785 pounds, six shillings. He charged himself with 29 pounds, 15 shillings and eight pence, stating that this included cash received at vendue of personal estate at two pounds, three shillings and 10 pence. At the same time, he asked an allowance for his expenditures in the sum of 37 pounds and two shillings. This left, according to his accounting, a residue of 755 pounds, 10 shillings, and four pence in the estate.

By direction of the court, the three men chosen as referees to straighten out the account met at the inn of Joseph Broadhurst in Trenton on October 20th, 1789. They concluded that Hunt was entitled to 26 pounds, three shillings, to be paid to him by the second executor, John Stout. Further, they reported that after allowing for this payment, as well as other payments and distribution as directed in the will, that the residue of the estate consisted of 374 pounds, two shillings and four pence, all to be paid to David Eaton as the residuary legatee, to be paid "at the value which continental money bore on May 15th, 1778, with interest on same from May 15th, 1883." David also was to receive the "outstanding debts" (accounts receivable) with which the executors' accounts had been credited.

Isaac Eaton's widow probably remained in Hopewell about ten years after his death in 1772, as the records indicate that

she continued a member of the Hopewell church until November 17th, 1782. Her daughter, Parmelia, had become a member of the Hopewell church on February 10th, 1776. Mrs. Eaton evidently moved to the vicinity of Montgomery, Pennsylvania, to be near her son, David, who was engaged in medical practice there. The daughter, Parmelia or Pamela was released from membership in the Hopewell church (her name on the church rolls then being Pamela Humprhy) on August 16th, 1783.

A newspaper account published in the Hopewell Herald, a weekly newspaper, on November 17th, 1900, and written by Miss Susan Weart, later curator of the Hopewell Museum, indicates that Isaac Eaton suffered a strange experience that left him somewhat handicapped physically during the latter years of his life. The item stated:

"One evening when Mr. Eaton was returning from a visit to one of his prominent church members, he was riding down the mountain road some distance east of John Hart's house when a man came out of the little graveyard and took his horse by the head. Mr. Eaton spoke to him and receiving no answer urged his horse. To his surprise the man kept pace with the animal. He then brought his horse to a walk and spoke to the stranger who still kept silent. He spurred up his horse in a dash for the parsonage. The man kept his pace and only stopped as the barn was reached.

"After putting his horse in the stable Mr. Eaton found his mysterious companion still waiting for him. Then he said, now stranger, I want to know what you mean by this conduct. The

intruder then asked Mr. Eaton to meet him on the mountain the next night when he would tell facts that would be of use to the minister all his life.

"Disbelieving this, Mr. Eaton raised his hand in protest, but before he could speak the stranger struck his hand and utterly disappeared. Mr. Eaton never recovered the full use of his hand."

This narrative is rejected as lacking authenticity by practical-minded persons. What likelihood was there that a mysterious stranger would be lurking in the vicinity of Hopewell, intent upon making disclosures to the Baptist minister? In a sparsely settled countryside, how could a man lurk without being observed before and after such an event? In writing the story, Miss Weart, of course, was merely repeating what she had heard in the past from others. On the other hand, she was a member of the Old School Baptist church and in a position to learn intimate details concerning past events in the history of the church and its ministers. She also was regarded as an historian whose knowledge of Hopewell history was extensive.

Yet the story is even less acceptable because the same newspaper account added a second legend. This one concerned a curious dream attributed to Eaton while he napped one afternoon at the parsonage. According to the tale, he was aroused to action because the dream indicated that someone was "in great trouble" down near the meeting house. Eaton, it recited, went there "in great haste" and "found a woman dressed in black

apparently in great agony." Almost speechless with fright, she pointed to the graveyard adjoining. There Eaton discovered two men digging a grave but they ran away when they saw him coming toward them. The woman, when she became more coherent, insisted that they had drugged her and had intended to bury her alive.

Fact or fiction--truth or imagination? In the absence of acceptable proof, such stories must be rejected as having no historical foundation.

Chapter XXVI

The Measure of the Man

Any attempt to appraise the life work of Isaac Eaton is beset with thorny problems. By what standards are the activities and accomplishments of this modest minister and teacher to be judged? Is he to be evaluated on the basis of the scanty years that the Hopewell Academy existed and the number of graduates it produced? Or should his ministerial activities be coupled with his fame as the founder of the Academy, jointly to be weighed with little else given consideration? And what about the relationship between the Academy and the seedling in Rhode Island that was to grow into a sturdy college and acquire the name of Brown University--should it be examined more thoroughly to decide whether Isaac Eaton and the Academy deserve to be ignored in any historical review of the founding of that university? Yet, how is any man to be measured--particularly one who spent his life in guiding and serving as a "shepherd of the flock" in Hopewell and counseling students for a considerable number of years.

Certain phases of Eaton's life story deserve special emphasis, if only to put at rest some of the flights from reality that have been put into print or spoken concerning him. In recent years, there have been some writers who have displayed an inclination to block off Isaac Eaton and the Hopewell

Academy, as well as the Philadelphia Baptist Association, from all possible ties with Brown University. In Hopewell, the town where Isaac Eaton spent most of his adult years, it is not difficult to find persons at the present time who inject personal doubts into any discussion of Hopewell Academy as having played a vital role in Baptist history and the educational world. This may be forgiven to a certain extent for it is not easy to bridge a gap of nearly two hundred years and come up with the right answer, particularly if little or no attempt has been made to ascertain the facts.

Again, a tendency prevails to pass by Isaac Eaton as a figure of historical prominence simply because the details of his life have not been readily at hand, to be told and re-told. In fact, Isaac Eaton and his career seem to have suffered the unhappy fate of being caught up in a sequence of events that relentlessly exerted forces grinding away at his accomplishments and casting him in a subordinate role--not only in the Baptist denomination but in the educational world and also in New Jersey history.

Why has history--by its virtual silence--dealt so harshly with Isaac Eaton? There are several possible explanations. In the first place, the records concerning Hopewell Academy are so scarce and limited in scope that they offer a barren field for research and study. Little more is available than the book of minutes of the original Baptist church in Hopewell--the Old School church; the arithmetic book of one student in which the names of a few fellow students were scribbled; a

reprint of portions of a diary kept by Samuel Jones, with the original document apparently consumed by flames when the library of the Baptist Historical Society in Philadelphia was destroyed almost completely in 1898; the records of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, fortunately preserved through the vision of Morgan Edwards as a Baptist historian; and the scattered records of the Eaton family. These are the fragments from which any study of Isaac Eaton and the Hopewell Academy must emanate. Even these sources--primary and secondary combined--are far from adequate.

Another plausible explanation is the fact that the death of Isaac Eaton soon led to the scattering of his family--his widow and daughter moving to eastern Pennsylvania where his son, David, had established himself in medical practice. It will be recalled that another daughter had died earlier, while a second son, Joseph, lived only briefly after moving to Delaware shortly after his father's death. If the Eaton family had remained centered in Hopewell, with the sons and daughter marrying into long-established families and raising their children there, the Eaton name would have been preserved in unmistakable fashion. Fate decreed otherwise.

Again, Eaton's ministerial career--like many others--does not lend itself to a ready evaluation. A devoted Christian minister does not concern himself with winning praise from his friends and acquaintances. Usually, he is content to carry on his work quietly, rather indifferent as to what his fellow man

may have to say about him when his work is done. If his service is in response to a divine call from his God and Saviour, he is more likely to be at grips more or less continuously with his own shortcomings and failures, knowing that the only weighing in the balance that matters will be when he is face to face with his Creator and called upon to give an accounting of his stewardship.

Furthermore, Isaac Eaton was not seeking to compile an impressive written record in connection with any phase of his life. Even when he wrote the historical summary for the minute book of the Hopewell church, he made it concise, giving only passing mention to his own response to a ministerial call from that congregation and his presence on the scene. It also must be remembered that he lived in an age when letter-writing was not widely practiced and the carrying and delivery of letters was so irregular that a lively exchange of letters was out of the question. With all communications written in long hand, letter-writing was a time-consuming task for even the most skilled. So there is no collection of Eaton letters to bolster the story of his life.

As for the Hopewell Academy, there are no known records of the school now in existence. It will be recalled that there was a period of five years between the closing of the Academy and Eaton's death and during that period the Eaton household moved to a new parsonage. It is safe to assume that many papers relative to the operation of the Academy, such as class rolls, students' grades, financial records, letters of inquiry

concerning admission, etc., were disposed of in preparation for the Eaton family's moving day, thus to be lost forever as a factual source of information concerning the Academy.

But in a more drastic sense, Isaac Eaton was a victim of irresistible forces and subsequent events that worked to his disadvantage historically. The reference, of course, is to the changed point of view adopted by his Hopewell church in 1835 when it withdrew from the Central New Jersey Baptist Association. At the same time, it was turning its back on the spread of formal theological training for Baptist ministers in which Eaton had been one of the chief exponents, taking the position now ~~that~~ the teachings of the Bible in that respect had been violated. As has been told, this led to a complete break with the main body of Baptists. Even this does not mean that Isaac Eaton's pastorate failed to remain as a cherished record in the history of the Old School Baptist church. His tombstone remained for many years below the pulpit of the church and to many who worshipped there after the 1830s it must have been a constant reminder of the cleavage from the things he advocated. Later, his tombstone was placed on the outer side of the east wall of the church, but this was not an act of disrespect. The custom of having tombstones within a church had gradually been abandoned, and the church cemetery was situated adjoining the church; hence, the new location for the gravestone was logical and well-chosen, even though slightly distant from his actual grave.

However, there was a break of about forty years during which the educational principles for which Eaton stood had no organized group of exponents in Hopewell. Not until the Calvary Baptist Church was organized in 1871 were the fires rekindled there, although fortunately those principles had been preserved by the vast majority of Baptists in the United States. The new church in Hopewell saw to it on numerous occasions that the anniversary of the founding of Hopewell Academy was marked by special observances. However, much depended upon the inclination of the successive ministers and their interest in the historical side of the denomination. Gradually special observances to keep alive the name of Isaac Eaton in Hopewell as one who had achieved greatness that reached far beyond the borders of the town were no longer. Then memories of Eaton at the scene of his major activity were really in grave danger of fading out.

However, that tendency is even more shocking when considered in respect to the bond between Eaton and the genesis of Brown University. That university, of course, has lost much of its Baptist character, particularly during the past fifty years, in line with the general trend for reduced emphasis on the religious forces that prompted the founding of colleges and universities. The relinquishment or subordination of denominational tie-ups served to widen the appeal for students. But in doing so, the tendency has been carried to such extremes that, in the case of Brown University, it has led to the view being expressed that sponsorship of the college by the Philadelphia Baptist Association, as well as the predecessor-successor

relationship between the Hopewell Academy and Rhode Island College (Brown University) is largely a product of the imagination. Those who have expressed such views have been disinclined to delve thoroughly into the historical records or have been careless with the facts, or have lacked a basic understanding of the independence of each Baptist church and the inability of any Baptist Association of churches to make commitments for its member churches.

It is true that the student body of the Academy did not transfer as a group to Rhode Island College. Likewise there is no formal document decreeing that the college was the successor to the academy. Actually, there was a two-year overlapping in the existence of the two institutions. Likewise, there was no resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Baptist Association, god-parent in a sense to both schools, indicating that the college had come into existence through direct kinship. Yet the facts are there to establish that Hopewell Academy was the forerunner and antecedent of Brown University.

There can be no dispute that Brown University was a Baptist college at the time of origin and for many years thereafter. The struggle to obtain a charter guaranteeing that control would be vested in Baptist hands made it crystal-clear that it was so intended and accomplished. If the Philadelphia Association had not designated James Manning to go to Rhode Island to survey the possibility of establishing a Baptist college there, the spade-work might never have been done. But because of its

distinctive characteristics, the Baptist denomination could not authorize the founding of a college, appoint a committee to bring it into being, and pledge funds to provide the necessary site and buildings. In the 1760s as well as today, there is no single Baptist church body to speak for all the Baptists. The Philadelphia Baptist Association, as the original grouping of a mere handful of churches in the Middle Atlantic states, was the parent organization but in no sense was it the pinnacle of a religious hierarchy--unknown in the 18th century as well as now--insofar as Baptists are concerned. But the Association could do little more than serve as the sounding board for the desires of leaders of thought within the denomination. It could make no definite commitments. Even the individual churches comprising the Association did not register a formal vote on the question whether a Baptist college should be inaugurated and a suitable location selected where a charter could be obtained. Individually, they could only regard a college undertaking as too vast for any single church to undertake. Since the Philadelphia Association as well as Baptist churches generally lacked the authority and the means to undertake such a task of sponsorship, leadership necessarily had to come from individuals, whose best opportunity to spread their views came during the Associational meetings.

Morgan Edwards, with the more detached viewpoint of a newcomer upon the American scene, recognized the need for a Baptist college in the colonies and possessed the determination to wage a campaign for action. He capitalized on the swing that direction

exemplified by the founding of Hopewell Academy. At the same time, he recognized--as did Isaac Eaton himself--that the Academy had justified itself and performed a distinctive service, but that education on a college level was an essential for Baptist ministers of the future. Not only the men of vision were adopting this view, for among the young men there was a sense of urgency to make this dream come true. James Manning stood out in the latter group, not only as an advocate of such a college but as one qualified to take the initiative in the preparatory field work and in the administration of the college when it was ready to begin the training of its first students.

David Howell later summarized the matter as follows:

"Many of the Churches being supplied with able Pastors from Mr. Eatons Academy & thus being convinced by experience of the great usefulness of human Literature to more thoroughly furnish the Man of God for the most important work of the gospel ministry the hands of the Philadelphia Association were strengthened & their Hearts encouraged to extend their designs of promoting literature in the Society by erecting on some suitable part of this Continent a College or University which should be principally under the Direction & Government of the Baptists."

The expression of friendly interest by the Association as a body gave dignity and impressiveness to the movement. Manning, in going to Rhode Island, knew that he had moral backing of the Baptist churches. In passing, it is noteworthy that the same detachment was shown by the Association on the financial side. The Association was ready to urge and suggest to its

member churches that the college was deserving of support--as it also had said in the case of Hopewell Academy--but there was no grant of funds for the undertaking. The Association went so far in 1764 as to "inform the churches" that they "should be liberal in contributing." In 1766, the Association also "recommended warmly" the interest of the College, and in 1767 voted to request the churches to forward subscriptions for the college. In 1769, the minutes noted that all the ministers of the Association were explicitly enjoined to exert themselves in raising more for the same purpose. Yet the Association readily granted funds from a legacy left by Mrs. Elizabeth Hobbs, of Hopewell, to assist Charles Thompson to study at Rhode Island College. If the Association or its members had been indifferent or hostile to the new Baptist college, such action surely would have been withheld.

The Hopewell Academy had to display the ability of the "child" to crawl before any attempt to walk. The Academy was the logical experiment because conditions were just right in the 1750s for Isaac Eaton to bring together a group of aspiring students who hoped to become ministers. Yet Eaton as well as other advocates of the Academy never lost sight of the fact that the Academy was not the "cure-all" for the shortage of trained Baptist preachers. Academy training, which bore a strong resemblance to the "prep" schools of the 20th century serving as a stepping-stone to college studies, filled a proper niche but it was not the ultimate in educational hopes. Men like Isaac Eaton, Morgan Edwards and others could not ignore

the fact that Academy students like James Manning, David Howell, Samuel Jones and others, after carrying their studies as far as possible at Hopewell, entered the existing colleges such as Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania and others in order to round out their training.

Further evidence of the close tie between the new college and the Philadelphia Association is found in the fact that Manning, when he encountered difficulties in the writing of a suitable charter, turned immediately to representatives of the Association for advice and assistance. Samuel Jones, at the request of leaders of the Association, helped in drafting the college charter.

Also, no one doubted that such financial support as was being given to Hopewell Academy would be diverted as soon as a Baptist college came into existence. That was accepted as highly proper and logical since the Rhode Island undertaking was an extension of the work begun at Hopewell. The heritage of Hopewell Academy was to be the cornerstone of the new institution.

Isaac Eaton's friendly attitude toward the college also bears out the point that the two institutions were on most friendly terms. The strongest proof of this probably rests in the fact that his own son, Joseph, was one of the earliest students at the college. Eaton also was one of the incorporators and served on the board of trustees of the college. He also received a honorary degree from the institution in 1770. Personally, Isaac Eaton gave hearty support and he deserves to be considered as the man whose initial effort in the cause of

higher Baptist education was carried forward and enlarged upon in Rhode Island. With him were most of the men who had worked individually within their churches and by contact with their friends in obtaining contributions earlier to assist the Hopewell Academy. Now, many of them as trustees of the college, they were equally enthusiastic about procuring the money needed as the life-blood of Rhode Island College.

In summary, the facts recited show that it is an utter fallacy for anyone to say that there was no link, or only a vague tie at best, between Rhode Island College (Brown University) on the one hand, and the Hopewell Academy and the Philadelphia Baptist Association on the other hand.

Yet the memory of Isaac Eaton remains almost completely unhonored by the Baptist denomination. He lived a life of such great usefulness that it would seem a tribute in stone would be less fitting than a memorial that was closely allied to the day-by-day experiences of students on the campus of some college or preparatory school. The naming of a study hall, a dormitory on some college campus, or even the designation of a scholarship or a student-aid fund in his honor, would at least be a gesture in the right direction. And at Hopewell, some way should be found to honor Isaac Eaton and to preserve the Eaton homestead as a Baptist historical site. And if the day should come when the Old School Baptist Church and the Calvary Baptist Church were united, it would be a crowning achievement to keep alive the memory of Isaac Eaton.

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