CHAPTER SIX

MISSIONARY VOCATION OF THE PEOPLE AT HOME

For evangelical Calvinists, all of life was lived to the glory of God. One's job, one's family relationships, one's responsible citizenship in the community, were all settings in which one served God. This was a person's vocation: the living out of one's relationship with God in one's place in society.

Of all the many friends of mission in the United States, relatively few actually became foreign missionaries. However, the missionary ideal had an influence on all of them. The literature, institutions, and strategies employed in the recruitment of missionaries, persistently kept the missionary vocation before a large number of people. The many people who were prevented from fulfilling their intention to be foreign missionaries, influenced those whose lives they touched in favor of a missionary vocation. The popular interpretation of the missionary as a "higher level of Christian," inspired friends of mission to embody the qualities of the missionary life in their lives. Religious biographies of lay Christians in America, demonstrated through example how the missionary spirit had influenced their sense of vocation.

I. RECRUITMENT OF MISSIONARIES

The American Board produced and distributed much literature, and worked with several independent but related institutions, to recruit missionaries. The recruitment process itself had a strong reflex influence as it challenged many men, women, and children, to examine their duty regarding missions. This widespread self-examination with regard to duty led to strong support for missions, and a missionary attitude toward their vocation at home.

Missionaries, Ministers, Christians, and Duty

The Missionary Herald in 1832 published the observation of Bible commentator Thomas Scott (1747-1821), that, "a missionary, properly so called, is a minister of Christ, of a peculiar description."[1] The missionary preached to non-Christians, while other ministers preached to those who had heard of Christ, but the work of proclamation was the same. Scott concluded,

> The one object, then, of all ministers, should be the glory of God our Savior, in the edifying and enlarging of his church; and especially by promoting true religion, and the salvation of souls, in their respective charges or congregations. The general object of missionaries is the same: their particular object is, the salvation of . . . those who do not bear the Christian name.[2]

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[1] Thomas Scott, "The Special Office and Objects of a Missionary," MH 28 (1832): 373.

[2] Ibid., 374.

Two practical considerations followed from this conclusion. First, there was no special call to missionary service. It was the responsibility of a ministerial candidate to consider both the parish ministry at home and missionary service abroad. Second, the process of ministerial recruitment included missionary recruitment. In presenting to young men the need for ministers, the hundreds of millions of non-Christians who were dying without knowledge of the Savior were frequently mentioned. The institutions established to train ministers and finance their educations also served missionaries. Missionary John Scudder, in his several letters published by the American Education Society, urged young American men to consider the ministry, and pointed to the needs he saw around him in Sri Lanka and India, as reasons.

The followers of Edwards who began America's foreign missions did not believe in a supernatural "call from heaven" to the ministry. Ralph Emerson (1787-1863), professor at Andover Seminary, wrote in 1834,

> A young man is not to wait for an audible voice from heaven. Perhaps the use of the term *call* has led some weak minds to such a mistake. The most useful men since the days of the apostles. have heard no such call; while such as have followed an imaginary voice, have shown themselves blind enthusiasts.[3]

[3] Ralph Emerson, "A Call to the Christian Ministry," AQR 7 (1834-35): 158. See also: John L. Parkhurst, "What Constitutes a Call to the Office of Minister? and What to the Office of a Missionary?" SIA, Student Dissertations, vol. 11, pp. [1]-[4].

Dreams and visions, unaccountable impressions, certain Scriptures coming suddenly to mind, and remarkable acts of Providence, were also unreliable calls to ministry.[4]

Every young man who made a personal commitment to Jesus Christ, was to examine himself to determine if it was his duty to become a minister. John Scudder, in a letter from his mission in India in 1830 in which he called for the appointment of agents to speak to young men about the ministry, said:

> Let them endeavor to impress upon his mind, that as he has given himself to his divine Master, without any reserve, and publicly sealed his vows at the communion table, he is no longer at his own disposal; but is under the most solemn obligations, if his services be needed, to devote himself to the ministry of the word. When by these and similar arguments, they have prepared the way, let them put the question to his conscience, *In what way do you believe you can do the most good in the world, and thus glorify your Savior?* I believe this question would make many a young man cry out, 'Wo is me, if I preach not the Gospel.'[5]

All Christians were called to plan their lives by determining their duty to Christ. Only three factors were important: What are my talents? What are the needs? What opportunities do I have for service? The important "call" was the call to consecrate one's life to Christ as a Christian. The decision to become a minister or a missionary was a practical application of the fundamental call to be a Christian.

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[4] R. Emerson, "Call," 158. See also: "Foreign Missions," AQR 6 (1833-34): 78.

[5] John Scudder, "Obligation of Pious Young Men to Devote Themselves to the Christian Ministry," AQR 3 (1830-31): 318.

Examination of duty meant examination of one's strengths and weaknesses. The discussion of the personal qualities needed in a missionary began with the fifth letter of Melvill Horne's Letters on Missions. Horne listed as qualifications: piety, zeal, discipline, "more the active man than the contemplative," a sound constitution, "sincere, open, and affectionate," a good extempore preacher, and a catholic (not sectarian) spirit.[6] Horne also suggested that the work of translation of Scriptures and the study of other societies required that some of the missionaries should be well educated. Other lists of qualifications followed this pattern, with piety and zeal always leading the list. Experience soon added the qualities of patience, to work for years without seeing results,[7] and the humility necessary to work and live as part of an intimate community with other committed and strong willed missionaries.[8]

Because the heart is deceitful, the potential missionary had to carefully examine his or her heart. The missionary who embarked for the wrong reasons--

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6 Melvill Horne, Letters on Missions (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815), 86-92. This was a republication by the Society of Inquiry at Andover Seminary. Many of the dissertations by members of that society made reference to "H" in discussing missionary qualifications.

7 Horatio Bardwell, "Address of Mr. Bardwell," MH 19 (1823): 71; LMS, Directors, "Address from the Directors of the Missionary Society to a Candidate for Missionary Labours," EM 7 (1799): 531.

8 Bardwell, "Address," 69; Scottish Missionary Society, "Letters of Caution to those who Expect to Become Missionaries," MH 20 (1824): 382-83; 21 (1825): 25-26; David Abeel, The Missionary Fortified Against Trials. An Address Delivered in Park Street Church, Sabbath Evening, Nov. 23, 1834 (Boston: Perkins, Marvin, 1835), 8.

for adventure, romance, or fame--would soon become disappointed and discouraged, and would fail. A letter from the Directors of the LMS, widely reproduced in the United States, cautioned the candidate:

> What then were your inducements to offer yourself to this work? Were your passions excited by the solemnity of our public services, or the perusal of our addresses? Were you actuated by the consideration, that the office of a Missionary confers upon you a distinction, and raises you above the level of common Christians? The heart, Brother, is deceitful; examine its secret workings, and beware lest you should be under the influence of motives unsanctified in their nature, or insufficient to carry you through the conflicts to which you may be exposed.--It is only a sincere, deep, and steady love to Christ, and a desire to promote his kingdom among men, even at the hazard of your life, and by the sacrifice of worldly ease and interest, that form the foundation of the true Missionary character, and can sustain you under its unknown trials and unforeseen difficulties.[9]

The American Board wanted the best possible candidates to apply. However, by describing the qualifications in elevated terms, they ran the danger of discouraging persons who had too much humility to claim to be "above the level of common Christians." William S. Plumer (1802-1880), in a tract published by the Board in 1835, A Call to Personal Labor as a Foreign Missionary, advocated that possible candidates did themselves and the missionary cause a disservice when they were excessively demanding in their self-examination. The self-denial, patience, and faith needed in a missionary, were qualities that all

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[9] LMS Directors, "Address to a Candidate," 529-30. For other discussions of faulty motives, see: Scottish Missionary Society, "Letters of Caution," 54-55; "Foreign Missions," AQR, 80; Thomas Shepard, "What Are the Improper Motives by which a Missionary Is in Danger of Being Influenced in Devoting Himself to the Heathen?" SIA, Student Dissertations, vol. 1.

Christians should be cultivating.[10] In another tract distributed by the Board, Ought I to Become a Missionary, Reuben Tinker (1799-1854) pointed out that the love of home, kindred and country, which held many from volunteering, were far inferior to the love of Christ that constrained persons to go.[11] The American Quarterly Register, the journal of the American Education Society, also carried articles from American Board missionaries on the duty to be a minister or missionary.[12]

In determining duty, one had also to consider where one was most needed. The Board easily marshalled figures to demonstrate that there was a much greater need for Christian ministers in heathen lands than in the United States. This led mission advocates to assert that a candidate for the ministry should plan on becoming a foreign missionary, unless reasons were found to do otherwise. Tinker summarized: "It is our duty, unless specially prevented, to go on a mission; because the heathen have a claim to services which will not

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[10] William S. Plumer, A Call to Personal Labor as a Foreign Missionary (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1835).

[11] Reuben Tinker, Ought I to Become a Missionary (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1830).

[12] Scudder, "Obligation," 317-20; Gordon Hall, "Unpublished Letter of Gordon Hall," AQR 5 (1832-33): 18-21; John Scudder, "Letters of Dr. Scudder," AQR 5 (1832-33): 345-64; John Scudder, "Letter from Dr. Scudder," AQR 6 (1833-34): 299-300; John Scudder, "The Cries of the Heathen," AQR 9 (1836-37): 277-82.

otherwise be rendered."[13] Although this literature on the missionary vocation was addressed primarily to candidates for ministry, it addressed the common calling of all Christians, to determine their duty to Christ, and to do whatever was in their power for the evangelization of the world.

Female Missionaries

Harriet Lathrop, of Norwich, Connecticut, wrote in her journal,

> 21st [Aug. 1814]--When I reflect on the multitudes of my fellow creatures who are perishing for lack of vision, and that I am living at ease, without aiding in the promulgation of the Gospel, I am almost ready to wish myself a man, that I might spend my life with the heathen.[14]

It was not necessary for Harriet to become a man in order to become a missionary. Five years later, she departed for Sri Lanka as the wife of Miron Winslow.

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[13] Tinker, Ought I to Become, 11 See also: Scottish Missionary Society, "On the Duty of Becoming Missionaries to the Heathen," MH 24 (1828): 196; Ora Pearson, "How Shall a Student of This Seminary Ascertain His Personal Duty as to Engage in Missions," SIA, Student Dissertations, vol. 16, p. 4. Other tracts on the missionary vocation distributed by the Board included: "Foreign Missions," AQR; reprint, Ought I to Become a Missionary to the Heathen; Bird, Savior's Injunction; Abeel, Missionary Fortified; [Rufus Anderson], On Deciding Early to Become a Missionary to the Heathen, 2d ed. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1831). Agents and secretaries also frequently referred to an "Address of the Prudential Committee" which provided guidelines both for candidates and for those writing references, see: [Jeremiah Evarts], "Address of the Prudential Committee [Jan. 1828]," MH 24 (1828): 27-31.

[14] M. Winslow, Memoir of Harriet Winslow, 23. See also: E. Hooker, Memoir of Sarah Smith, 100.

Slightly over half of the missionary force of the ABCFM up to 1850 was female, most of them the wives of missionaries.[15] Generally they understood themselves as missionaries first, and wives second. Nancy Hasseltine, the first American missionary wife, wrote in her journal in 1810 concerning Adoniram Judson's proposal: "An opportunity has been presented to me, of spending my days among the heathen, in attempting to persuade them to receive the Gospel."[16] Her first thoughts of duty were not of cooking and cleaning for Adoniram, but of sharing the Gospel for Jesus. This response was characteristic of the missionary wives of the Board. To be a missionary wife was a very special calling--an occupation which a woman entered through marriage to a missionary.[17] Not only were they helpmates to their missionary husbands, but

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[15] From its beginning to 1840, the ABCFM had engaged 692 missionaries and assistants, of whom 366 (53%) were women. In 1850 the ABCFM had a missionary force of 395, of whom 169 (43%) were missionary wives, and 35 (9%) were single female assistants. Most of the single female assistants (24) were in American Indian missions. It was normal for male missionaries to be married. Samuel Worcester's arguments in favor of marriage, printed in a long footnote to a report of Prudential Committee activities (Samuel Worcester, "Missionary Notice," Panoplist 11 (1815): 179-80 n.) was reproduced as a footnote in the edition of Horne's Letters published by the Society of Inquiry. (Horne had advocated celibacy).

[16] Knowles, Memoir of Ann Judson, 37. See also: To Mr. N., 16 July 1811, [Woods], Harriet Newell, 117.

[17] Patricia Grimshaw, Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1989), xxi; Mary Zwiep, Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin, 1991), 9.

they--first of all--had a responsibility to communicate the gospel to native women, to teach school, and to teach domestic arts to women.[18]

Prospective missionary wives had to examine the same questions of duty, and needed most of the same qualifications, as the men. Women made a personal commitment to missions, prepared for a missionary career through study and experience, and then awaited the providential call from a male missionary candidate.

It was evident from the beginning, that many women were willing to go to the mission field as missionary wives. John Frost, the first agent of the Board, as he traveled about raising funds in 1812, reported to his former classmates at Andover, "I have seen + heard many ladies of respectability, talents, + piety, who would gladly go among the heathen."[19] Ministerial students encouraged each other to not entertain thoughts of marriage until their minds were made up about their future plans. Robert C. Robbins (1786-1825), an early member of the Andover Brethren, stated in a student dissertation to the Society of Inquiry,

> those who style themselves inquirers on this subject, ought not to entertain any hymeneal thoughts, which if prosecuted would debar them from engaging, personally, to be missionaries. They ought to keep themselves aloof from such engagements until they are satisfied respecting their duty.[20]

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[18] H. W. M., pseud., "Female Missionaries," RI 2 (1817): 311-12.

[19] John Frost to Society of Inquiry, 12 June 1812, SIA, ser. 2, box 2.

[20] Robert Chauncey Robbins, "A Dissertation on What Constitutes a Call to Be a Missionary," SIA, Student Dissertations, vol. 6, pp. [14].

But how should a missionary recruit a wife? Anne Bullard described such a search in the story, The Wife for a Missionary. This story is fiction, but considering the background of the author, and her practice in other books, it can be considered a description of the reality in general terms, and the presentation of a model for imitation. In this story the would-be missionary, Everett, has wisely postponed his search for his wife until his last year of seminary. His Aunt advises him,

> Seek first of all the direction of Heaven in this matter. Weigh well the character and qualifications of the lady you would marry. Ponder on them cooly and rationally before your affections become too much enlisted in her favor. Do not *fall in love*. It is absurd, inconsistent.[21]

Everett then began a search for a woman who was qualified by health, piety, and intelligence to be a missionary wife. This he did on his school vacation by visiting friends who had eligible sisters or cousins.

From the woman's point of view, the providential call to be a missionary wife was sometimes abrupt. Lucy Goodale (1795-1876) was raised in a pious farm family in Marlboro, Massachusetts, where her father was a deacon of the Congregational Church. Inspired by a local school teacher who believed women to be the mental equals of men, she studied at school and on her own, and then attended Bradford Academy. She next taught school near her home. Lucy was deeply interested in missions, and decided that she would go as a missionary if

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[21] [Anne Tuttle Jones Bullard], The Wife for a Missionary (Cincinnati: Truman, Smith, 1834), 19-20.

she had the opportunity. She shared these thoughts with a distant cousin, William Goodell (1792-1867), who was preparing for a missionary career at Andover Seminary.

It was still a shock when William rode up to her classroom one September day in 1819, told her that a would-be-missionary was leaving for Hawaii the next month, but was in need of a wife, and asked her to consider him. He reminded her of the Biblical Rebekah's response to a proposal by proxy, "I will go." (Genesis 24:58). He told her that in one week he would bring the candidate for missions and matrimony to her home; she could then decide for herself.

Lucy couldn't eat or sleep, and sought solitude for prayer. She finally decided she could not turn down an acceptable opportunity to be of help to the kin of Opukahaia. The following week, her cousin brought Asa Thurston (1787-1868) to her home. It was an extremely awkward time, as a number of relatives and neighbors had shown up to witness the unusual occasion. But the guests soon left, the two mission-minded young adults had an evening in which to get acquainted, and they decided to join their two commitments to missions in a covenant of marriage.[22]

Not all missionary marriage arrangements were as sudden as those of Asa and Lucy. The crisis occurred when the Board moved up the departure

[22] Prime, Forty Years, 56-58; Zwiep, Pilgrim Path, 18-19; Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, 1-3.

date, and the mothers of the intended spouses of Asa Thurston and his colleague Hiram Bingham said "No." In this crisis, the Brethren moved into action. They prayed and consulted; they put together their resources to buy a horse, and sent William Goodell on his "most delicate mission,"[23] to Lucy Goodale's school house.

Sybil Moseley (1792-1848) was a native of Westfield, Massachusetts. After her father died in 1810 and her mother in 1811, she began teaching school, and followed this profession to several small towns, eventually to Canandaigua, New York. A devout and enthusiastic supporter of missions, Sybil noted in her journal, 29 May 1815, that she hoped God would make her an instrument for preaching to the heathen. In December 1818 she received a proposal from a missionary candidate. Sybil was eager to go, but felt no affection for the man. A minister whose counsel she sought, advised her, "that if the Lord wanted her to go to the heathen he 'would make a way for her heart to go as well as her feet.'"[24] Sybil said "no."

On her twenty-seventh birthday, 14 September 1819, Sybil Moseley wrote in her journal her request for the new year, that "God would be pleased of his mercy to . . . open a door for me among the heathen."[25] Two weeks later, on 28

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[23] Prime, Forty Years, 55.

[24] Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, 14.

[25] Zwiep, Pilgrim Path, 23.

September, Sybil Moseley and her younger sister attended the ordination of the missionaries to Hawaii, at Goshen, Connecticut. When she had driven up to the parsonage the night before, and had difficulty understanding the directions to her lodgings, a kind man, Hiram Bingham, took her there. Hiram made prudent inquiries of half a dozen people who knew her, then asked secretary Worcester to set up a private interview. Hiram and Sybil were married 11 October, and embarked on 23 October.[26]

Missionary wives were devout evangelical Christians, usually well educated at a female academy or seminary that gave women an education comparable to men. Most of the wives were active in the local female missionary associations and in other benevolent activities, and were employed as school teachers. Their education gave them more self-reliance and self-esteem than the average woman.

Whenever the Board asked for single female missionaries they received a flood of applicants. Many of the "unsuccessful" applicants for the few single positions were introduced to male missionary candidates and become their wives.[27] For example, when missionary candidate Robert Hume (1809-1854) was having no success finding a partner in 1838, he wrote to Secretary

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[26] Prime, Forty Years, 59; Zwiep, Pilgrim Path, 20-23, 38-43; Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, 14.

[27] Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, 16-17.

Armstrong in New York that his prayers had failed, and he was ready to accept it as the will of Providence that he go out single. Armstrong replied,

> As to a female companion, when you have used all proper means + diligence, to obtain one and have failed, it will then seem to be the will of God, that you should go alone. But you must work as well as pray in this matter.[28]

Armstrong then indicated that a young woman interested in service as a single missionary, but open to the possibility of marriage to a missionary, would be visiting the city in a few weeks, and if Hume should happen to be there, he would introduce them.

A notice in the Missionary Herald or a visit to a female seminary was sufficient to recruit single female missionaries like Fidelia Fiske (1816-1864). One of the Board's most successful missionaries of either gender, Fidelia grew up on a modest farm in Shelburne, Massachusetts. Fidelia was a precocious child, reading Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana when she was six, and Timothy Dwight's Theology at age eight. Following a conversation with her mother when she was thirteen, Fidelia found peace in believing, and in 1831 she joined the Congregational Church. She taught district schools from 1833 to 1839, then went to Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Female Seminary as a student, and in 1842 stayed on as a teacher.

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[28] William Armstrong to Robert Hume, [between April and June] 1838, ABC, ser. 12.2, vol. 1.

Missions had also been part of Fidelia's growing up. Although only three years old when her uncle, Pliny Fisk, left for Palestine, "she retained a very vivid impression of the affecting scenes connected with his departure."[29] Missions were part of family conversation and childhood play. As soon as she could read, Fidelia became an avid reader of the Missionary Herald, "And it is still remembered with what eagerness the little girl used to climb up to the high case of drawers and take down the back volumes of the 'Herald' and the 'Panoplist.'"[30] When Fidelia was eleven, her uncle's former colleague, Jonas King (1792-1869), visited her family. "He placed his hands on Fidelia's head and told her she must go out as her Uncle Pliny did, and teach the heathen the gospel."[31] For most of her life, Fidelia expected to be a missionary. When missionary Justin Perkins visited Mount Holyoke in January 1843, looking for a single teacher for Persia, forty persons volunteered; Fidelia was accepted.[32]

The ideal of the missionary vocation had a strong influence on numerous female friends of mission, most of whom never had the opportunity to go. Women were reading the same missionary literature as the men. They were attending the monthly concerts, the anniversaries, and the departure solemnities

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[29] Daniel Taggart Fiske, Faith Working By Love: As Exemplified in the Life of Fidelia Fiske (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1868), 51.

[30] Ibid., 52.

[31] Ibid

[32] Ibid., 19-57.

in greater numbers than the men. In the first half of the nineteenth century, some women were receiving education comparable to men. For women more than for men, missionary work offered opportunities for service greater than found in the United States. As between two-thirds and three-fourths of the friends of mission were women, it is reasonable to estimate that there were proportionately more women than men committed to a missionary vocation. As only 52% to 53% of the missionary force was female, and many men committed to missions were unable to go, then there must have been even larger numbers of women committed to a missionary vocation, who never got to go. It was natural for women to transfer this missionary spirit to a classroom of school children, to her own children, and to the numerous benevolent and reform movements of the day. The experiences of female missionaries abroad increased for women at home the estimate of their own abilities, and encouraged them to take a larger role in life in the United States, especially in the area of social reform.[33]

Institutions

A network of institutions, only indirectly related to the American Board, maintained a high level of missionary enthusiasm among those who were the most likely candidates for missionary service. A majority of the participants in

[33] Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, 20.

these institutions did not become missionaries; dispersed across the United States, they promoted missions, approached their assigned duties with a missionary attitude, and lived a missionary spirit. This network of institutions both provided the recruits for missionary service, and dispersed advocates of missions across the nation. These institutions were the Brethren, the Societies of Inquiry, the American Education Society, and female seminaries.

The Brethren. The secret society that had launched the missionary movement, composed of young men committed to spend their lives as missionaries, continued to function at Andover Seminary. Other chapters were established at Princeton, Auburn, and Lane Seminaries. Similar secret Societies may have existed at Western and Bangor Seminaries, and at some colleges.[34] By 1840 the four official chapters had 383 names on their membership rolls, 146 of whom had already gone into missionary service under the ABCFM. When Brethren member Rufus Anderson became a corresponding secretary of the American Board, the secret society gained influence over the making of policy and the selection of missionaries. Brethren historian Calvin M. Clark remarked, "The Board was their child, and . . . they watched over it with the solicitous care of a mother."[35]

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[34] C. Clark, "The Brethren," 12-13; Pierce, "Society of Inquiry," 19-23.

[35] C. Clark, "The Brethren," 33.

As Brethren members became leaders of the Board, they used their positions in the Board to extend the Brethren. When Brethren member Artemas Bullard went to Cincinnati as a permanent agent of the Board, he requested that a few Andover Brethren transfer to Lane Seminary, to start a chapter there.[36] In 1836 ABCFM agent Bullard met with three Lane students, two of them transfers from Andover, to organize the Lane Brethren.[37]

The Brethren as a campus organization almost died out following the American Board's financial crisis of 1836-1842. The Lane Brethren lasted less than two years. At Auburn, the secret society was no longer functioning in 1843. There were no longer any Brethren on the Andover campus in the winter of 1845. On the Princeton campus there was only one member in 1848.[38] Efforts were made to revive the secret society on several campuses, but it never returned to its earlier campus influence.

Societies of Inquiry. Eight Andover students organized "The Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions," on 8 January 1811. The Society of Inquiry was dedicated to two kinds of inquiry respecting missions. First, it studied the various parts of the world, and their religious condition, to better prepare its members to go out as missionaries. Its second kind of inquiry was, "to enable us

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[36] C. Clark, "The Brethren," 11; Artemas Bullard to Rufus Anderson, 18 June 1833, ABC, ser. 12.1, vol. 5.

[37] Pierce, "Society of Inquiry," 21.

[38] C. Clark, "The Brethren," 7, 10, 12.

to ascertain our duty."[39] In other words, it helped students to examine their calling and their qualifications, to determine if they should become missionaries. Six of the eight charter members of the Society of Inquiry were members of the Brethren. The Society was a public organization with goals similar to the secret Brethren. The Brethren controlled the Society of Inquiry by always getting their members elected to key positions.

By the end of one year, the Society of Inquiry had thirty-three members. In a few years, it included practically the whole student body at Andover. Society President Ebenezer Burgess (1790-1870), in his Address of 1815, reported that the Society had originally been intended only for those who were seriously contemplating engaging in foreign missions,

> But it was soon found expedient to invite all to become members, who were interested in missions, with a view to aid them in ascertaining their personal duty, and more deeply to impress their minds with the importance of adopting measures for the diffusion of the gospel.[40]

The Society's leaders were convinced that no student should leave seminary, "without catching a spark of the missionary spirit."[41] Charter member Jacob Ide (1785-1880), who became pastor of the Congregational Church in Medway, Massachusetts, later wrote of the influence of the Society of Inquiry,

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[39] Pierce, "Society of Inquiry," 26.

[40] Ebenezer Burgess, "Address," SIA, Student Dissertations, vol. 1, p. [3].

[41] Ibid., p. [4].

> Even those who came to the conclusion, that it was their duty to abide in their own land, and to become pastors of churches here, were greatly quickened and profited by the examination of the subject of Missions. . . . They felt more the necessity of a spirit of self-denial in *their* work, and of the importance of doing something for the support of Missions.[42]

Society secretary Miron Winslow, in an 1818 letter to students at Union Seminary of Virginia, reported, "Those who have not found it their duty to become missionaries, have carried with them from the Society, a degree of knowledge and feeling on the subject of missions, which has doubtless increased their usefulness."[43] By 1833 the Society of Inquiry at Andover counted 827 present and former members, all of whom had drunk of the missionary spirit, and most of whom were scattered across the United States as pastors.

The Society of Inquiry at Andover developed a library, which by 1825 had about five hundred volumes. They arranged for the publication of several works on missions, some of which were produced by Society members. They corresponded widely with students at other schools in the United States and in England. In 1818, the secretary described their meetings in a letter to students at Union Seminary:

> We meet once in three weeks, when an hour or two is occupied in attending to dissertations, previously prepared by direction of the President, on some field of Missionary labour; or some subject connected with our personal duty with regard to Missions. Our Constitution likewise admits of free

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[42] [Loomis], Memoirs of American Missionaries, 19.

[43] Society of Inquiry, Andover, to Society of Inquiry, Union, 24 Feb. 1818, SIU, Correspondence received, vol. 1.

> discussion on Missionary topics. The meetings are opened and closed with prayer.[44]

The Society of Inquiry at Princeton Seminary was organized in March of 1814 with twenty of the seminary's twenty-one students as charter members. They maintained a library which had grown to 1,162 titles in 1836.[45] Their meetings, held monthly, were described by secretary John Johns (1796-1876) in an 1818 letter to students at Union Seminary:

> They are opened + closed with prayer by the Pres[ident] or some member of the society at his request. The members are then called on to relate such intelligence of recent revivals of religion as may be deemed interesting. After which an appropriate hymn is sung. The exercises of each meeting are a conference or debate + an essay, abstract or report.[46]

From its beginning, the Princeton group included an interest in home missions, and encouraged participation by persons intending to be parish ministers. The society also organized a well attended annual public meeting on missionary subjects.[47]

Societies of Inquiry were established at all major seminaries in the United States, and at many colleges. Although each society developed its own style of

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Society of Inquiry, Princeton, to Society of Inquiry, Union, 6 Feb. 1818, SIU, Correspondence received, vol. 1; David Bays Calhoun, "The Last Command: Princeton Theological Seminary and Missions (1812-1862)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1983), 82.

[46] Society of Inquiry, Princeton, to Society of Inquiry, Union, 6 Feb. 1818, SIU, Correspondence received, vol. 1.

[47] Calhoun, "Last Command," 73.

operation, there was considerable similarity based on their unity of purpose and frequent correspondence. They were student directed societies of research and discussion on the subjects of mission fields and duty. The Society of Inquiry at each college or seminary accumulated a library of missionary literature, many periodicals, and literature on other countries and religions.[48] Through correspondence, these societies maintained close communication with each other and with their former members who had entered the mission field. As most seminary students in the period 1815 to 1840 belonged to the Societies of Inquiry, most seminary-educated pastors of the succeeding decades were knowledgeable and interested in missions, and had seriously examined themselves on the question of duty.

As new educational institutions were formed, the American Board tried to kindle in them a missionary spirit. Artemas Bullard believed he could more effectively promote a missionary spirit and recruit missionaries if he provided the Society of Inquiry at each college or seminary in the West with a collection of missionary literature. He wrote to Rufus Anderson, asking for a list "of such works as should be owned by the Societies of Enquiry in the West."[49] Bullard then wrote letters to individual benefactors, asking for from one to two hundred

[48] "Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library of the Society of Inquiry," SIA, ser. 6; SIU, List of Missionary Books.

[49] Artemas Bullard to Rufus Anderson, 18 June 1833, ABC, ser. 12.1, vol. 5.

dollars to supply each Society of Inquiry in the West with a missionary library, and in this way secured libraries for twelve Societies.[50]

Following the detention of missionaries by the ABCFM in the period 1836-1842, and the accompanying decline of missionary interest on college and seminary campuses, the Societies of Inquiry became more general. Richard Pierce, historian of the Andover Society, observed,

> Thus as the year 1842 approached the Old Society of Inquiry had passed away and we see in its place a general all-seminary association of inquiry--not of those particularly dedicated to missions but an all inclusive information association.[51]

In 1845, when the ABCFM was trying to revive missionary interest among students, it published a tract titled, The Cultivation of the Spirit of Missions in Our Literary and Theological Institutions. In this tract, Edward Hooker outlined three ways to cultivate a spirit of missions in colleges and seminaries: (1) maintain a Society of Inquiry on missions; (2) study missions in the Society of Inquiry; (3) maintain a mission library. Hooker argued that cultivating a missionary spirit at seminaries, besides recruiting missionaries, would also influence those who became ministers at home:

> The spirit of missions is the true and proper spirit of ministry. In other words, that Christian student who has the self-denial and devotion to the cause of Christ, and the unquenchable desire for the salvation of men,

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[50] Artemas Bullard to John Tappen, 28 July 1835, ABC, ser. 12.1, vol. 5.

[51] Pierce, "Society of Inquiry," 44. A similar change did not occur at Princeton until 1859--Calhoun, "Last Command," 78 n.

> which are the grand elements in the missionary character, will, from this very circumstance, be the better fitted for the work of the ministry in his native land.[52]

This person will not only be a better minister, but "will also be the minister to be relied upon for awakening, strengthening, and extending a missionary spirit among his own people and in the churches around him."[53] Hooker was not talking just about fund raising, but about the spirit of personal consecration which the minister imbibed at the seminary Society of Inquiry.

American Education Society. The nature of higher education in the United States had changed. In stead of a few big colleges, a large number of small colleges had been created, dispersed across the country, with lower fees, and schedules adapted to the needs of students who had to work. The new college student in the early nineteenth century was poor, older than the student of former years, and was dependent on work and charity to get an education.[54] The new theological seminaries were providing education for ministry for the graduates of these colleges.

The American Education Society was organized in 1816, to enable persons of limited means to study at these colleges, in order to enter the ministry.

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[52] [Edward William Hooker], The Cultivation of the Spirit of Missions in Our Literary and Theological Institutions (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1845), 14-15.

[53] Ibid., 16.

[54] David F. Allmendinger, Jr. Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England (New York: St. Martin's, 1975), 3-5.

The needs for ministers were expanding with the country and with its foreign missions. Closely related from the very beginning, the American Board looked to the AES to provide the Board with missionaries, which it did. One example was Charles Robinson (1801-1847), who wrote to the AES from Thailand In 1837,

> Permit me, however, to state, that I should not now have been on heathen ground, had it not been for the assistance of your Society. . . . I had for a number of years earnestly desired to preach the gospel, especially to the perishing heathen; but no way appeared to be open. I endeavored to make it a subject of daily prayer, and frequently consulted my friends on the subject. . . . My desires constantly increased, till at length they became almost insupportable. In this state of mind I one morning endeavored to commit my cause to God alone, and firmly resolved to commence my studies, and pursue them until prevented by Providence. That morning the Rev. Louis Dwight, an agent of the American Education Society, called upon me and offered the assistance of your society.[55]

In 1827 the AES calculated that of 872 graduates of Andover, Princeton, and Auburn, who had become ministers or missionaries, 64% had been charity students. Of the 44 from Andover and Princeton who had become foreign missionaries, 33 (75%) had been charity students.[56]

America, and the world, needed ministers. In 1837 John Scudder calculated that of 50,000 young men converted to evangelical religion in America since 1826, only 2,000 had entered the ministry or were studying for it. For

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[55] Charles Robinson, "Letter," AQR 9 (1836-37): 395.

[56] "Important Questions Answered by Facts," AQR 1 (1827-29): 43. Ebenezer Porter indicated in 1820 that all of the missionaries of the ABCFM had received aid at some point in their studies.--Ebenezer Porter, A Sermon Delivered in Boston, on the Anniversary of the American Education Society, October 4, 1820 (Andover, Mass.: Flagg and Gould, 1821), 25 n.

Scudder, the needs of the heathen world called loudly for ministers; of those 50,000 young men 40,000 were probably still living; Scudder calculated that 8,000 of them should be studying for the ministry.[57] Whether one considers the actual ratio of one in twenty, or the goal of one in five, this select group was having the claims of duty to the ministry pressed upon it. The rest of the population was urged to support the AES in order to enable this group to become ministers.

The revivals of the Second Great Awakening produced candidates for the ministry and for missionary service. With the aid of the AES, an education was now accessible to any young man of moderate intelligence who was willing to work, no matter how poor he was or what his family background. The question of ministerial vocation was pressed upon most pious young men. These young men could now examine themselves with respect to their duty, with the knowledge that Providence no longer ruled out those options that required formal education.

Female Seminaries. At the same time that the missionary movement developed, another movement regarding female education developed, and among the same constituency. Influenced by the writings of Hannah More (1745-1833) on female education, Joseph Emerson (1777-1833) opened a seminary for women in Byfield, Massachusetts in 1816. Previously, affluent

[57] John Scudder, "Appeal in Behalf of Education Societies," AQR 10 (1837-38): 82-86.

women had received "ornamental" education--dancing, drawing, perhaps a little French--to make them more attractive to suitors. Now Protestant educators advocated a regimen comparable to men's. Education for both women and men should promote healthy bodies, inquiring minds, and devout souls. Emerson and his co-workers were convinced that women should cultivate their intellectual powers, and should prepare themselves to be useful in the world. There was no area of usefulness for women at the time to compare with missionary service.[58]

Emerson's seminary moved to Saugus in 1821, where he was also pastor, and to Wethersfield, Connecticut in 1824. Two of his students, who stayed on to assist him, were Zilpah Grant (1794-1874) and Mary Lyon (1797-1849). Zilpah Grant became principal of a female academy in Derry, New Hampshire, in 1824. She moved her academy to Ipswich, Massachusetts in 1828, and continued teaching there until 1839. She was assisted in this work by Mary Lyon. Grant had 1,458 students during her years at Ipswich; 20 became missionaries of the American Board.[59]

Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was established by Mary Lyon in 1837, and directed by her until her death in 1849. The school gave to its graduates competence and confidence. Mount Holyoke used the same textbooks as male

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[58] Elizabeth Donnan, "Emerson, Joseph," in DAB, 6:129-30.

[59] [Zilpah Grant], "The Ipswich Female Seminary," AQR 11 (1838-39): 375. See also: Sarah G. Bowerman, "Banister, Zilpah Polly Grant," in DAB, 1:576-77.

colleges, and the courses were as demanding. But the heart and soul of the community was piety. The routine of devotions, Bible study, and prayer meetings touched every student. Mary Lyon conducted revivals almost annually, and few students graduated without having experienced regeneration.

Founder Mary Lyon understood her school to exist "to advance the missionary cause."[60] At the request of John Scudder, Mary Lyon wrote down a summary of the missionary operations of the Seminary:

> In order to promote the missionary interest in our school, we have several arrangements. One of these is our Missionary Society. The object of this society is to increase our knowledge in relation to missionary operations. . . . This society is organized annually, and embraces all who wish to be regular attendants at its meetings, usually nearly all our school. The meetings are held once in two weeks, and are conducted by the teachers, who prepare themselves to give a connected history of some mission, aided by the use of missionary maps. Letters received from our missionary friends are read at these meetings, also any articles which may come to hand of unusual interest.
>
> We have also an arrangement by which half an hour is devoted weekly to giving instruction on the same subject to sections of about twenty by the section teacher. . . . Two missionary contributions are taken up during the year, when the duty of giving of our substance to send the Gospel to the heathen is inculcated, and the principles upon which this duty rests explained.[61]

Students and faculty gave generously of their meager resources for missions. The presence of the daughters of missionaries in the student body gave the other students realistic and personal insights into missionary life. Lisa

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[60] D. Fiske, Faith Working by Love, 55.

[61] Waterbury, Memoir of Scudder, 199-200.

Natale Drakeman, in a 1988 dissertation, described the missionary spirit at Mount Holyoke:

> They were taught that all had a missionary calling of some kind no matter whether it was overseas or at home, no matter how exalted or humble, they could all serve God by completing their work in a responsible or dedicated manner. The foreign missionary vocation, with all its attendant glory and sacrifices, represented a standard of dedication for the young women to emulate in whatever work they found before them.[62]

Mary Lyon had said, "A lady who has the genuine missionary spirit will carry it to the kitchen as well as to the monthly concert."[63]

Forty-three of Mount Holyoke's graduates from 1837 to 1849 became foreign missionaries, most as missionary wives, thirty-five with the ABCFM. Other graduates became teachers and homemakers, and directors of similar schools, spreading a similar missionary spirit across the land.

Missionary Recruitment and the American Board

Permanent agents of the American Board were expected to visit colleges, seminaries, and female seminaries to promote a missionary spirit, and to counsel with individual students. It was no accident that agent Horatio Bardwell made his home in Andover, and agent Artemas Bullard resided at Walnut Hills, Ohio, location of Lane Seminary. Both chose to be in frequent contact with students for

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[62] Lisa Natale Drakeman, "Seminary Sisters: Mount Holyoke's First Students, 1837-1849" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1988), 118-19.

[63] quoted in Ibid., 119.

the ministry. In instructions to William J. Armstrong when he became a permanent agent, Benjamin B. Wisner advised him:

> To obtain suitable missionaries is the great desideratum, not because funds are not greatly needed . . . but because experience proves that, just in proportion as Suitable men are obtained to be Sent forth, funds can by Suitable Efforts, be obtained.[64]

The Board was convinced that every person who made a missionary commitment had a circle of family, friends, and acquaintances, who would be influenced by the candidate's decision, to support missions with their money and their prayers, to become informed, and also to examine their own consecration to Christ at home. Wisner's letter continued, telling Armstrong to,

> From time to time visit the Theological Seminary + Colleges + academies in your field, and address and converse with the pious Students on the Subject of Missions:--not to persuade them to become Missionaries, but to convince them of the duty of <u>being</u>, whenever and however they shall be, employed in the Conversion of the world; and to bring them to exercise . . . and intelligently decide, the question, whether it is the will of God that they Should labor for the promotion of this great object in this country, or among Some unevangelized people.[65]

Because a person had to make his or her own personal decision, the appeal of the agents had to be broad, and non-coercive. According to Wisner's advice, every person should be called to become a supporter of the missionary cause; then it was up to them to determine whether they did this at home or abroad.

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[64] Benjamin B. Wisner to William J. Armstrong, 11 June 1834, CBFM Papers, box 1, folder 21. Copy: ABC, ser. 7, vol. 1, pp. 222.

[65] Ibid.

Such an approach would produce more missionary spirit than missionaries. It encouraged every one to self-examination with regard to duty. It also encouraged those who stayed at home to examine their stewardship and prayer life in the light of the missionary spirit.

Missionary Recruitment and Children

In Secretary Benjamin Wisner's initial instructions to William Armstrong, the new permanent agent was advised to give much attention to children:

> It is of the utmost importance to raise up a generation that will from their very childhood have contemplated the conversion of the world as this great work and formed the habit of working accordingly. Hence you will every where and continually make it a prominent object to get Children and Youth interested and engaged in the work of foreign missions. With this view, visit and address Sabbath Schools on the Subject of Missions, & strive to influence Sabbath School teachers to keep the Subject before the minds of the children.[66]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, evangelical Protestants were showing more attention to children. Sunday Schools started. Children were more often taken to worship. Books, periodicals and music for children were produced. Sermons were written specifically for children, who were being converted and admitted to the church.[67] The ABCFM promoted juvenile

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[66] Benjamin B. Wisner to William J. Armstrong, 11 June 1834, CBFM Papers, box 1, folder 21. Copy: ABC, ser. 7, vol. 1, p. 221.

[67] William Warren, Twelve Years with the Children: Mottoes and Echoes, in Morals and Mission Work (Portland: Hoyt and Fogg, 1869), 231-37; Asa Bullard, Incidents, 9.

missionary societies, and the juvenile literature of the MSSS. In the 1840s they turned to children increasingly as a strategy for long term missionary recruitment.

John Scudder, missionary to Sri Lanka and India, had written a number of articles and tracts encouraging young men to consider the ministry and missionary service. When the Board's financial crisis hit, and interest in missions evaporated from the colleges and seminaries, Scudder was deeply discouraged. He saw that the world still needed the gospel, and there were more openings for its proclamation. Who would go? If the current generation would not go, then the children must be cultivated for this purpose. While the Scudders were in the United States from 1842 to 1846, he took the opportunity to preach to the children. His biographer and brother-in-law wrote,

> He found the Christians generally, in this country, could not be made to feel the pressure of obligation to give the Gospel to the whole world, and that his only hope was to educate the next generation up to these important responsibilities. He resolved, therefore, that he would employ his remaining energies in preaching to the children of America, and so . . . raise up a generation to serve the Lord in this higher and nobler department of Christian consecration.[68]

Scudder generated considerable excitement among the children as he criss-crossed the country for several years. Here was a man from across the ocean, coming to town specifically to speak to the children! Rarely had they been shown such attention, or made to feel so important. One of his hearers reminisced sixty years later,

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[68] Waterbury, Memoir of Scudder, 182.

> It was when I was about fourteen or fifteen years old, that . . . the children and young people were invited to come to the village church and listen to an address to be made directly to them by the Rev. Dr. John Scudder, about his work as a missionary in India. What a day that was to us little folks! How we felt uplifted in importance! With what a new interest we now looked at the missionary from the far-off land, who had come to tell *us* of his field and work![69]

On a typical day Scudder gave three talks. He addressed a meeting of Christian mothers on the importance of guiding their children into Christian faith and duty. Then he addressed the children. Finally, he gave an address to the general public, making use of the recently published missionary maps.[70] In these tours, Scudder addressed over a hundred thousand children and youth. He wrote tracts, published by the ATS and ASSU, that spread the message further, and held it before his hearers longer.

Scudder's addresses were filled with descriptions of the misery of the non-Christian world. He described Hindu idolatry, with its wicked gods, human sacrifice, child-stealing, throwing babies to crocodiles, the worship of Juggernaut, self-torture, widow-burning, and infanticide.[71] After these tales of horror, Scudder addressed his young listeners:

> And now, my dear children, I wish to ask you a question. Do you not think that you ought to be very thankful to God for his great goodness in

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[69] Trumbull, Old Time Student Volunteers, 41-42.

[70] John Scudder, Report, [22 Dec. 1845], ABC, ser. 10, vol. 36, no. 221; M. T., pseud., "Dr. Scudder in Providence," BR 30 (24 Apr. 1845): 66.

[71] John Scudder, Letters to Sabbath-School Children on the Condition of the Heathen (Philadelphia: ASSU, 1843), 3-31.

causing you to be born in a Christian land, a land so different from that dark land of which I have been telling you? For, if you had been born in that land, you might long since have been sacrificed to idols, or have been murdered in other ways. . . .

My dear children, God expects of you some return for his goodness to you. . . . What he requires of you, in the first place, is to be sorry for all of the sins you have ever done; to leave off your sins; to give your hearts to Christ; to love him above every thing else, and to live to his glory. Now, my question is, have you done and are you doing these things? If not, you are ungrateful and wicked children, and if you die in your present state, you will be in a worse condition than those poor heathen children, who never heard of a Saviour. . . . O my dear children, repent today. Do not put off until to to-morrow. To-morrow may be too late. You may be lost *forever.*[72]

Always an evangelical preacher, Scudder's first concern was the salvation of his hearers. But he also urged upon them the ministerial/missionary vocation.

James A. Little (1837-1917) later recalled his experience with Scudder:

I recollect that in 1844, when I was scarcely seven years of age, I came in contact with Dr. John Scudder for the first and only time. . . .

On a dull, dark-looking Sunday afternoon in May, 1844, our Sabbath-schools were seated in the spacious galleries of the church, while a large audience of parents and friends filled the pews below. The object of this gathering was to hear the venerable Dr. Scudder address us children.

As for myself, I was in a front pew of the left-hand gallery, near the choir, and, as the doctor was speaking, I stood up, leaned over, and looked directly at him. Thus, unintentionally, I made myself quite a conspicuous object, and was made still more so when Dr. Scudder, who was urging the children to consecrate themselves to the missionary work, raised his voice and said, 'Perhaps a number of these children and youth now before me are yet to become missionaries--perhaps that boy yonder,' pointing to me, thus singling me out among hundreds of scholars, and causing many to look at me. I was somewhat abashed at being thus particularly noticed; yet, as I can well remember, though more than fourteen years have gone by since then, I said to myself in a moment, 'No! no! never! you are mistaken this time.'

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72 Ibid., 31-32.

> He invited all who wished to purchase the little book in paper cover called 'Scudder's Letters' to come to the lecture-room the next morning. 'I'll be there,' said he, 'and will sell them to the children for six cents apiece.' I was very anxious to have the book, and so, having obtained the money from my parents, I started off before breakfast, and went around the corner to the church. I found the doctor alone in the lecture-room, seated beside a little table near the door. He began to converse with me in a kindly manner, again urging me to become a missionary. My only reply was that I never would. Perhaps I was a little obstinate in my manner. So I made my purchase and went out.[73]

The picture of the fifty year old Doctor Scudder, physician and minister, veteran of over twenty years of missionary service, patiently conversing with a seven year old boy in Philadelphia, is as vivid an illustration as one can draw, of the importance which the Board came to place on children. James Little did become a minister, serving Reformed, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches in the middle-Atlantic states from 1861 to 1917.[74]

Testimonies to the effectiveness of Scudder's tour were numerous. Juvenile missionary societies were organized, children gave to missions, children were converted, children resolved to become missionaries, persons of all ages became more interested in missions, and, in at least one community, his visit led to greater co-operation among several Protestant denominations.[75]

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[73] Waterbury, Memoir of Scudder, 203-04.

[74] Charles Ripley Gillett, ed. Alumni Catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 1836-1926 (New York: The Seminary, 1926), 103.

[75] Waterbury, Memoir of Scudder, 183-85, 190, 193-94, 205-07; John Scudder, Report [22 Dec. 1845], ABC, ser. 10, vol. 36, no. 221.

Scudder emphatically urged Christian mothers to begin talking to their children about missions, "when the formation of conscience begins,"[76] then, "by the time your children are four or five years old these principles will be so firmly imbedded in their minds that nothing in after life will be able thoroughly to root them out."[77] To Christian mothers who desired that their children come to faith in Christ, Scudder advised,

> Lay it down as an axiom, Christian mothers, that if you can only get the sympathies of your children thoroughly to bear upon the miseries of the heathen, you have one of the strongest reasons to believe that they will, with the blessing of God, turn their attention to their own miseries, and become heirs with you of the inheritance which is above.[78]

Besides advocating juvenile missionary societies and attendance of children at monthly concerts, Scudder also promoted the establishment of a monthly concert for children. He advised pastors: "Prayers in meetings held for children should never exceed four or five minutes, and the intelligence communicated should be of the most simple and stirring nature."[79]

In the long run, this appeal to children was effective. A secretary of the Board confirmed about twenty-five years later,

> In putting the question to the applicant for missionary appointment as to what first led him to entertain thoughts of going on a mission, the reply, in

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[76] Scudder, Redeemer's Last Command, 13.

[77] Ibid., 15.

[78] Ibid., 21.

[79] Ibid., 44. See also, 39.

> some instances, has been, 'Dr. Scudder's addresses and appeals to me when a child.'[80]

Scudder's success encouraged the Board in the following decade to appoint an agent to work primarily with children.

Scudder's approach was a long term strategy for missionary recruitment, but it appears to have worked. It also produced a deepening of faith in many among the hundred thousand children who heard John Scudder. It was a strategy which influenced the piety of American Protestants as long as those children lived. This appeal was a response to the increasing status of children in evangelical society, and carried that status further. After Scudder's tour, children had a permanent and significant place in America's foreign missionary movement.

Scudder made extensive use of the humanitarian argument for missions, with colorful descriptions of the horrors of non-Christian religion. This least abstract argument was most understandable to children. Scudder's success tended to increase the over-all use of this argument.

II. DETOURED MISSIONARIES

Not every one who wanted to be a missionary, became one. The archives of the ABCFM contain letters of application or serious letters of inquiry by 1837

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[80] Waterbury, Memoir of Scudder, 208.

from 92 ministers or students for the ministry who did not become missionaries. The records of the secret Society of Brethren, who required of their members a commitment to serve as missionaries, list 189 members by 1840 who did not become missionaries. Twenty-eight of these were also among the applicants to the Board. By 1840 there were also 36 missionaries of the Board who had returned to the United States, usually for health reasons. In addition to these 289 men, there were probably many others who wished to be missionaries, as indicated by occasional references in obituaries and memoirs. The interest in missions, and the missionary consecration to Christ, of these would-be missionaries, influenced others around them. The missionary movement affected the piety of the church at home, in the lives of these persons, and through them to others.

Roadblocks

There were several reasons why these would-be missionaries did not go. The most common reason was the health, either of the missionary or the

intended spouse.[81] William Armstrong reported to the ABCFM annual meeting in 1838,

> Experience has shown that firm health and a good constitution can hardly be overrated as qualifications for missionary life. This is a matter of special importance in female assistants. . . . Our missions have suffered more from the failure of health among the laborers, than from any other cause; and such failures, in many cases, have been owing to some early defect of constitution, or to seeds of disease sown in their native land.[82]

Board secretaries eventually requested references from physicians for the candidates and their intended spouses.

Another problem was debts. The missionary's stipend was a living allowance, inadequate to pay past financial obligations; candidates could not go overseas until all their debts from their education were paid. Many candidates therefore worked for a year or two before embarking. This was not always a simple matter. William W. Backus wanted to earn money by preaching to pay his debts. However he found that every church, on learning he did not intend to

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[81] For candidates troubled by poor health or poor health of intended spouse, see: Burr Baldwin to ABCFM, Aug. 1817, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 3, no. 6; Nathaniel Beach to William J. Armstrong, 1 June 1837, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 32; Caleb Butler to ABCFM, 16 Feb. 1838, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 57; Thomas Gordon to ABCFM, 12 March 1838, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 9, no. 14; J. D. Mitchell to ABCFM, 1836, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 11, no. 11; John N. Whipple, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 13, no. 24; William C. White to ABCFM, 18 Feb. 1832, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 13, no. 26. See also: "Mr. Solomon Maxwell," AQR 5 (1832-33): 98.

[82] William J. Armstrong, "Qualifications of Missionary Candidates," AR 1838:37.

stay, asked him to move on. He finally concluded, "I must either settle, or give up the thought of realizing anything by preaching."[83]

As it was a child's duty to care for parents in old age, a missionary candidate, and intended spouse, had to make arrangements with siblings for the care of parents; this generally required some degree of sympathy with the missionary cause from family members. Many candidates found it impossible to leave in the face of the united opposition of family and friends. When James M. H. Adams (1810-1862), student at Southern Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina, offered himself for missionary service in 1833 he noted,

> In deciding as I have, I have taken on myself a fearful responsibility; as it has been contrary to the advise of Parents who are in some degree enlightened on the subject; and a good deal interested in the cause. In opposition to the views, wishes + expectations of most, if not all, of the ministers in the Presbytery to which I am attached--And also the advice and wishes of most of my relations, whom I have consulted.[84]

James Adams later withdrew his offer, because of the decline of his mother's health, but added, "Whether I go to a foreign land or not, it shall be my constant

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[83] William W. Backus to ABCFM, 18 April 1836, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7 no. 17. For other candidates troubled by debts see: Abel L. Barber to ABCFM, 13 March 1833, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 24; Nelson Barbour to ABCFM, 1 June 1835, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 25; Nathaniel Beach to William J. Armstrong, 1 June 1837, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 32; Josiah B. Clark to Artemas Bullard, 29 Nov. 1836, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 8, no. 16 ½; J. D. Paxton to ABCFM, 1837, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 11, no. 33.

[84] J. M. H. Adams to Benjamin B. Wisner, 25 April 1833, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 6. For others prevented by family opposition or responsibilities see: Edward F. Cutter to ABCFM, 27 Dec. 1831, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 8, no. 37; George W. Hathaway to ABCFM, 20 April 1831, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 9, no. 39; John D. Shane to ABCFM, 19 July 1834, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 12, no. 17.

endeavor to promote that cause I so ardently love, and that so much needs friends in this portion of Zion."[85] True to his word, as soon as James Adams was settled in a parish, he subscribed to the Missionary Herald and ordered Missionary Papers to distribute in his parish.[86]

A letter from Brunswick, Maine pastor George E. Adams (1801-1875) asked a difficult question: "Is it right to send settled Pastors?"[87] A number of local pastors, deeply affected by the message of a visiting agent, engaged in serious reflection on this question.[88] In theory, a pastor was called to a church for life. However, in the early nineteenth century that pattern was changing, and pastors were moving more often. George Adams, after sharing his desires with his congregation, found that an increased interest in missions developed. Referring to a prominent member of his congregation, George Adams wrote,

> Whether I go or stay, I hope the agitation of the subject will benefit the cause. Mr. Upham, upon hearing of my plans, said he would give 100 $ a year for my support, should I go. Now he says he will give that sum to the Board in either case.[89]

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[85] J. M. H. Adams to ABCFM, 22 July 1833, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 6.

[86] J. M. H. Adams to ABCFM, 18 Dec. 1833, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 6.

[87] George E. Adams to ABCFM, 13 Feb. 1834, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 5.

[88] James Blakeslee to ABCFM, 20 Oct. 1834, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 37; Amasa Dewey to William J. Armstrong, 2 May 1836, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 8, no. 42; John W. Irwin to ABCFM, 1 Feb. 1833. ABC, ser. 6, vol. 10, no. 2; J. D. Mitchell, 1836, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 11, no. 11.

[89] George E. Adams to ABCFM, 13 Feb. 1834, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 7, no. 5.

After further correspondence with the Board, George Adams chose to stay in Brunswick, where he served as pastor for forty-one years.

Doctrinal issues seldom entered into consideration. However, after the experience with Judson and Rice, the Board did insist that candidates come to a final decision on infant baptism before they could be accepted. This was an obstacle for Elnathan Davis (1807-1881) and Timothy Dwight (1807-1835).[90]

Subsequent Careers

The careers in America of these persons intended for missions--ABCFM candidates, Brethren members, and returned missionaries--demonstrate a missionary vocation in America. These men lived disinterested benevolence, and through preaching, teaching, and writing, influenced thousands of others.

Of these 289 men personally committed to missions, who either did not go, or had returned by 1840, nineteen died before they could serve. Information can be found in seminary general catalogues on 216 of the remainder. These persons served a total of 3,528 years as pastors of local churches, 720 years as home missionaries, 495 years as educators, 440 years as agents or secretaries of societies, 134 years as physicians, 95 years as editors or printers, 80 years in business, 65 years in military chaplaincy, 25 years as institutional chaplains, 24

[90] Elnathan Davis to William J. Armstrong, 15 Aug. 1836, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 8, no. 41; Horatio Bardwell to Rufus Anderson, 10 Nov. 1836 and 28 Nov. 1836, ABC, ser. 12.1, vol. 4; Timothy Dwight to ABCFM, 28 May 1832, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 8, no. 55.

years in government service, and at least two lifetimes as farmers. In the year 1840 these persons were located in twenty-four of the twenty-six states,[91] three territories, and also in Canada, Texas, Hawaii, and on the high seas. A brief look at the careers of some of these intended missionaries and a few others known to have been committed to missions, demonstrates the wide and varied influence of foreign missions on the American church.[92]

Some of these persons have already been mentioned. Samuel Mills, of the Brethren at Williams and Andover, as explorer and promoter, had a role in organizing the ABS, UFMS, and American Colonization Society. Ezra Fisk, of the Williams Brethren, a Presbyterian pastor, was the moderator of General Assembly who wrote a circular letter on the Monthly Concert. Rufus Anderson, of the Andover Brethren, was a corresponding secretary of the ABCFM 1823-1866. Artemas Bullard and Chauncey Eddy (1796-1860), of the Andover

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[91] only Rhode Island and Arkansas excepted

[92] Not all had what Calvinists would call illustrious careers. John Humphrey Noyes (1811-1886) of the Andover Brethren practiced "complex marriage" at his perfectionist Oneida Community--Percy W. Bidwell, "Noyes, John Humphrey," in DAB 13:589-90. Louis Frederick Klipstein (1813-1878), who had applied to the Board when he was a student at Union Seminary in Virginia, married into wealth and wrote books on the ancient Anglo-Saxon language. In 1878 he was broke, drinking heavily, and begging for bread on the streets of Charleston, S.C.--George Harvey Genzmer, "Klipstein, Louis Frederick," in DAB 10:446-47. Henry James (1811-1882) of the Princeton Brethren became a Swedenborgian author and theologian--Ralph Barton Perry, "James, Henry," in DAB 9:577-79.

Brethren, and returned missionary Horatio Bardwell, also of the Brethren, all served as permanent agents of the Board.

Elisha P. Swift, secretary of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, 1831-1835, had applied to the American Board in 1815, and was received as a candidate.[93] Swift felt himself to be "under special obligations" to become a missionary, because of his dependence on charity for his education.[94] He worked for the Board as an agent in 1817 and 1818. Not able to go out as a missionary, Swift gave leadership of the WFMS, was an occasional instructor at Western Seminary, and pastor of Presbyterian churches in the Pittsburgh area, 1819-1833, and 1835-1864.[95]

Confronted by his father's death-bed wish that he not be a foreign missionary, Joseph Sylvester Clark of the Andover Brethren pastored a Congregational church in Sturbridge, Massachusetts, for eight years. Then, as secretary of the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society 1839-1857, he led Trinitarian Congregationalism's struggle for survival. He was also editor-in-chief of the Congregational Quarterly.[96]

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[93] Swift was received as a candidate, 22 Sept. 1815--PC 1:49. He was accepted as a missionary, 20 Sept. 1816--PC 1:60.

[94] Elisha P. Swift to ABCFM, 27 July 1815, ABC, ser. 6, vol. 3, no. 48.

[95] Princeton Theological Seminary General Catalogue, 1894 (Philadelphia: James B. Rodgers, 1894), 23; Alfred Nevin, ed., Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Encyclopedia, 1884), 880-81.

[96] Edward A. Park, "Joseph Sylvester Clark," Congregational Quarterly 4 (1862): 1-21.

Beriah Green, of the Andover Brethren, was a missionary candidate until his health deteriorated. Pastor of a Congregational church in Brandon, Vermont, 1822-1829, he promoted missions in sermons and numerous articles in religious journals. As a member of the faculty of Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio, 1830-1833, he wrote against Indian removal, and gave Four Sermons, which expressed an uncompromising abolitionist position. He presided at the organizational meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in December 1833. As president of Oneida Institute, Whitesboro, New York, 1833-1843, he directed an early experiment in inter-racial education. Beriah Green was an early supporter of the AMA.[97]

Eleazar Lord (1788-1871), who joined the Brethren at Andover, was completing his studies at Princeton when he had to withdraw for health reasons. He went into business in New York, where he was active in the voluntary societies of the day. He convened the meeting at which the New York Sunday School Union was organized, and as secretary and president, he actively organized Sunday Schools and edited material. He was also a charter member and first secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, a founder of Auburn Seminary, and a contributor to religious periodicals. Lord was Evarts' most important helper in the campaign to arouse public opinion against Indian

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97 Milton C. Sernett, Abolition's Axe: Beriah Green, Oneida Institute, and the Black Freedom Struggle (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University, 1986).

removal, organizing public meetings and petition drives, and personally urging editors to carry the William Penn articles and to write their own editorials.[98]

Henry Little (1800-1882), of the Andover Brethren, was briefly an agent for the AES and pastor of Presbyterian churches in Ohio and Indiana. But he spent most of his life as agent or secretary for home missions in the West, for the American Home Missionary Society, 1833-61, the new school Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions, 1861-69, and the reunited Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, 1869-82.[99]

Elnathan Davis withdrew his missionary candidacy to the ABCFM because of the secretaries' concern that his thoughts on baptism were not clear, but later had a full career in Congregational churches and in voluntary societies. After serving briefly for the Seamen's Friends Society in Germany, and as a home missionary in Indiana and Michigan, he pastored Massachusetts congregations for a total of twenty-eight years. He was also an agent and secretary of the American Peace Society (1845, 1850), an agent for the AMA (1865-67), and a member of the Massachusetts state legislature (1869).[100]

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[98] Hugh A. Moran, "Lord, Eleazar," in DAB 11: 405-06; Francis Paul Prucha, ed., Cherokee Removal, by Evarts, 12-19.

[99] Nevin, Presbyterian Encyclopedia, 433.

[100] Henry Lincoln Bailey, ed. General Catalogue of Hartford Theological Seminary 1834-1927 (Hartford: The Seminary, 1827), 33.

Ray Palmer (1808-1887) wrote to the American Board in 1834 that he had seriously considered missionary service, but finally decided against it. He was pastor of Congregational churches thirty-four years, and for twelve years the corresponding secretary of the American Congregational Union, where he helped over 600 congregations to erect buildings. Palmer also wrote devotional literature and hymns, including "My Faith Looks Up to Thee."[101]

Josiah Addison Cary (1813-1852) wrote to the Board in 1832 regarding his preparation for a missionary career, when he was at Williams College and president of both the Society of Inquiry and the secret Society of Brethren there. Cary did not become a foreign missionary, but expressed his missionary spirit as a teacher of the deaf and dumb in New York City (1832-51) and Columbus, Ohio (1851-52).[102]

Many others, who were not Brethren members, missionary applicants, or returned missionaries, had desired to be missionaries, but had to divert their missionary spirit into other activities. Asa Bullard, brother of Artemas, had intended to be a missionary to Africa.[103] In stead, he became a leader in Sunday School work, serving as corresponding secretary of the Maine Sabbath School Union, 1831-1834, and the MSSS, 1834-1874. Philip Melancthon Whelpley

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101 Frank J. Metcalf, "Palmer, Ray," DAB, 14: 191-92.

102 Princeton General Catalogue, 108.

103 Asa Bullard, Incidents, 125.

(ca.1794-1824), from the time of his conversion, wished "to devote himself to the work of a missionary of Christ to foreign lands."[104] However, the "providence of God set up insuperable obstacles." He became pastor of First Presbyterian Church in New York City, where he supported missions as a member of the Board of Managers of the UFMS.

Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844), raised on a farm in North Killingworth, Connecticut, found the peace of believing in 1801. His biographer noted:

> About this time, he became exceedingly interested in the short accounts which were published in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, of the operations of the London Missionary Society and the Baptist Missionary Society in England. These awakened in his breast a strong desire to become a missionary to the heathen; and he decided to devote his life to the missionary service, if God, in his Providence, should prepare the way. This purpose was afterwards greatly strengthened by the perusal of Horne's Letters on Missions.[105]

After completing college, and working a menial job at Yale College while studying theology with a pastor, Nettleton began to preach. His preaching was so effective that he was convinced to delay his entry into missionary service, and after a period of poor health he gave up his missionary dreams.[106] In stead, Nettleton became a popular itinerant evangelist.

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104 Gardiner Spring, "Rev. Philip Melancthon Whelpley," American Missionary Register 5 (1824): 322.

105 Bennet Tyler, Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Asahel Nettleton, D.D. (Hartford: Robins and Smith, 1845), 25-26.

106 Ibid., 44.

This review of the cases of 216 persons in three groups committed to missions, and a few others, accounts for only a small portion of the reflex influence of missionary recruitment. Keep in mind that *most* of the seminary students in this period participated in the Societies of Inquiry, many seriously examining their duty to missions. In addition, many of the graduates of female seminaries such as Mount Holyoke, who were at least as committed as the men, became teachers of children and youth across the country.

This diaspora of persons-committed-to-missions had an influence on the missionary piety of those around them. The tendency to approach their life work with a missionary's disinterested benevolence and self-denial is evident in these brief biographies. Scattered like yeast in the loaf of the American church, most of these persons remained interested in missions, were promoters of missionary piety, and carried a missionary attitude into their work. They applied their missionary spirit in different ways, and to different causes. Some were on opposite sides of certain issues. But each found a way to live the disinterested benevolence, self-denial, and zeal of a missionary at home.

III. THE MISSIONARY IDEAL

The missionary was portrayed and perceived as a heroic figure, a higher level of Christian, the ideal, or model Christian.[107] Like the martyr of the early

[107] See discussion in Phillips, Protestant America, 291-93.

church, and the monk of the medieval church, the missionary of nineteenth century Protestantism practiced the Christian ideal of self-denial on a higher level than most Christians. The model Christian--martyr, monk, or missionary--made incarnate to a particular community and a particular time the self-denying and self-emptying ideal of Christ. The sacrifice of home, family, and country, and the willing acceptance of hardship, to publish the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ, as an act of love for one's fellow human beings, inspired those who stayed at home. The friends of mission at home could sacrifice in small ways, as the missionary sacrificed in big ways. The friends of mission could practice self-denial in order to give financial support to the missionary. The same friends of mission at home could also practice a missionary's disinterested benevolence toward spiritual and material need in one's own community. The missionary vocation became part of the lay Christian's life, as
that believer identified with the missionary personalities and their higher calling.

Identification with the Missionary

David Abeel, while on leave in the United States in 1838, preached on the missionary spirit. He pointed to the missionary as the embodiment of the missionary spirit, which included, "faith, prayer, self-denial, deadness to the world, charity, beneficence, heavenly-mindedness, a willingness to submit to

sufferings and hazards, and a supreme regard for the glory of God."[108] Abeel then outlined the ways in which the missionary's life influenced the missionary supporter. First, it presented an exemplary life that inspired imitation. Second, there was a feeling of "sympathy"--an identification with the feelings of the missionary. Third was the duty of co-operation: the supporter, through prayers, contributions, and aiding recruitment, was a co-laborer with the missionary.[109] Abeel named *imitation, sympathy,* and *cooperation*, as ways in which the friend of mission identified with the missionary. Other friends of mission expanded on one or more of these aspects of identification.

Samuel Nott, Jr., one of the first company of missionaries, and the first to return, advocated *imitation* in an 1834 sermon: "Whatever the missionary or public agent or even apostle is bound to do, the same substantially is every Christian bound to do."[110] Every Christian was called to live entirely devoted to Christ, and therefore entirely devoted to the work of Christ, which was the conversion of the world. This the Christian practiced by having constant and

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[108] David Abeel, "Happy Influence of Foreign Missions on the Church," NP 12 (1838): 166.

[109] Ibid. Abeel also made two other points, not as relevant to this discussion: Fourth, study of missionary labors diverted the mind from petty doctrinal disputes and united Christians in the direct confrontation of evil. Fifth, the greatness of the cause, "expands the mind, liberalizes the soul, elevates the aim, arouses faculties and feelings," as nothing else could.

[110] Samuel Nott, Jr., "The Heavenly Vision: or, The Christian Living for the Conversion of the World," AQR 6 (1833-34): 270.

growing care for his or her own personal piety, by serving Christ in one's own immediate sphere at home, and by supporting missions.[111]

The friend of missions imitated the missionary by working for the conversion of the world, beginning in one's own family. Nott, who wrote the first book of children's sermons, explained in the preface,

> I heard a popular and pious minister the other day well remark, that the best test of a man's missionary spirit, was in his own family; and that there was little hope of exciting, and especially of keeping alive, a desire to send the gospel to the ends of the earth, in the minds of those people who have not yet the zeal and perseverance to go the length of their own firesides, to carry its peace and piety to their own flesh and blood. A real desire that the gospel should be preached to *every creature,* will show itself at home; and every parent who feels it, will be a minister of mercy to his own children.[112]

The supporter of foreign missions was to be a missionary to his or her own children. Parental guidance of children and support for foreign missions were but two aspects of the one "desire that the gospel should be preached to *every creature."* Every Christian occupied a mission station and was a colleague of the missionaries in the work of sharing the Gospel.

The friend of missions also imitated the missionary through self-denial and personal consecration to Christ. Beriah Green explained this in an 1830 book review in the Quarterly Christian Spectator:

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[111] Ibid., 267.

[112] quoted in: Review of Sermons for Children: Designed to Promote Their Immediate Piety, by Samuel Nott, Jr. Christian Advocate 1 (1823): 132.

> We have read . . . the declaration of the Savior . . . *'whosoever* he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.' But on what principle of interpretation this startling assurance is applied exclusively to the christian missionary, we are at a loss to determine. . . . The truth is, that every christian is held by obligations, sacred and strong; . . . to consecrate his entire being--whatever he is and hath--to the service of his Savior.[113]

The friend of mission participated in the missionary's sacrifice through acts of self-denial in order to support missions.

The idea of *sympathy* with the missionary was expressed by Leonard Woods, at the ordination of the first missionaries in 1812, when he addressed the missionaries:

> Our earnest affections and prayers will constantly attend you. We shall share with you, in every peril you will encounter by sea and by land. All the success you obtain, and all the joys you partake, will be *ours.* Every sorrow that melts you, and every pang that distresses you, will also be *ours.*[114]

The people at home participated vicariously in missions through prayer and by keeping informed, so that the missionaries' experience was their experience.

Through *co-operation* the friend of mission worked with the missionary, raising funds, talking up missions, and praying for the missionary. Co-operation entailed imitating the missionary's self-denial in order to give to missions, which created even stronger feelings of sympathy. Through imitation, sympathy, and

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[113] [Beriah Green], Review of Letters on Missions, by William Swan, Quarterly Christian Spectator 2 (1830): 632-33.

[114] Woods, Sermon, Feb. 6, 1812, 28.

cooperation, the friend of missions lived the missionary life.

Missionary as Crusader

The missionary movement was often portrayed as a "crusade" to conquer the world for Christ. Some missionary hymns of "conquest" created an air of militancy and encouraged a stronger sense of discipline in the support of missions. It should not be surprising that Reformed Christians, who looked to the Psalms as the model for hymn-writing, should compose hymns to a victorious God, with military allusions. One of the many hymns expressing this "conquest" theme, from a British collection of missionary hymns and reprinted widely in America, is as follows:

Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!
Put on thy strength--the nations shake!
And let the world, adoring, see
Triumphs of mercy wrought by thee,

Say to the heathen, from thy throne,
'I am Jehovah--God alone!'
Thy voice their idols shall confound,
And cast their altars to the ground.

No more let human blood be spilt--
Vain sacrifice for human guilt!
But to each conscience be applied
The blood that flow'd from Jesus' side.

Almighty God, thy grace proclaim,
In every land of every name;
Let adverse powers before thee fall,

And crown the Saviour--LORD OF ALL.[115]

The triumph of the warrior God of the Psalms was here seen in the final success of the missionary movement. It was a non-violent war of conquest, conducted not with swords or guns, but through proclamation of the Word of God. It was not a war to conquer and subjugate the peoples of the world, but rather to destroy the idols and altars to which humanity was enslaved, and to liberate the people, through "the blood that flow'd from Jesus' side." In this hymn the Lord is the warrior to whom all credit is given for victory. The missionaries, who proclaim God's grace, are not even mentioned.

American Protestants sang their praises to the God of the missionary movement, confident that God directed, and would win this holy war. The missionaries were simply the soldiers--the crusaders--marching as directed by their Commander-in-chief-God. The missionary movement was the ultimate--the final--revolutionary war--overthrowing the spiritual forces of oppression and liberating the peoples of the world to that perfect freedom which is eternal life.

Gordon Hall, writing to the Society of Inquiry at Andover in 1815, alluded to the crusade of Peter the Hermit and to more recent crusaders--English crusader for prison reform John Howard (1726-1790) and English crusader against the

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William Shrubsole, "Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!" in Chr Ps, 193 (no. 181, vv. 1-3,6); in Hymns for the Monthly Concert, no. 27; in Ch Ps, 471 (no. 505, does not include v. 3). For other hymns of a militant and triumphant Christ see: Chr Ps, 132-33 (no. 144), Ch Ps, 475-77 (nos. 515-521).

slave trade Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846). He was calling on the Andover students to have a crusader's zeal in promoting missions:

> But, alas! it seems to be thought enough that a few missionary sermons be preached and printed in a few scattering counties; and that by them Christians will learn their duty!
>
> It was not thus, that England was convinced of the sin of the slave trade--it was not thus, that all Christendom was roused to a zeal, which sacrificed property and life in visionary plans for plucking Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels, and for planting the banner of the cross upon the walls of the holy city, by a crusade.--O that a Peter, a Clarkson and a Howard, might arise in the churches to plead the cause of the unevangelized nations with a zeal proportionate to the magnitude of that cause! In awakening the churches to this work, let every minister be a Peter, every candidate for the ministry a Clarkson, and every deacon a Howard. Then, something would be done.[116]

Hall in this letter was calling for a crusade in the United States--for "a zeal proportionate to the magnitude of the cause"--to arouse the people to support foreign missions. For Hall, missions could not be promoted half-heartedly. This was the one great cause of the day, and it could be accomplished only by zealous efforts to mobilize masses of people to make the deep sacrifices necessary to accomplish the goal. In this kind of a crusade, the friend of mission at home became the crusader--a soldier of the Lord's Army, doing one's job in the battle against idolatry. The crusader at home was called upon to marshall the self-denial and discipline of a soldier to cary out the domestic operations of the foreign missionary movement.

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116 Bardwell, Memoir of Hall, 134-35.

While Hall called for a crusade in America, others saw the work of missions overseas as a crusade. The missionaries were to lift the cross in every land, and to bring all nations to bow before Christ. Daniel Huntington (1788-1858), preaching to an auxiliary in 1823, spoke of the missionaries in Palestine, and said:

> Theirs is a *crusade* in which all hands and hearts should be engaged--for which every soldier of the cross should put on the armor of light--to which the great Captain of salvation calls us forth--and which, whatever conflicts, delays, or losses may intervene, is sure to terminate in a victory that no expense of treasure or of blood could too dearly purchase. . . . Ours, my brethren, is indeed a *holy war.* We send forth, not a host of knights and soldiers, clad in steel, and burning with the thirst of fame and vengeance, to destroy men's lives, and to rear the standard of the cross amid the scenes of carnage and desolation, which proclaim the very spirit of the gospel fled--but a band of harmless heralds, ambassadors of peace--bearing glad tidings of good things--publishing salvation--reconciling their fellow sinners to each other, and to their offended God.[117]

Huntington called for a crusader's zeal and sacrifice on the part of his hearers. He called the missionary movement a *"holy war."* Missions were better than crusades--nobler--in that they were non-violent and expressed disinterested benevolence. Samuel H. Cox (1793-1880), in his 1849 ABCFM anniversary sermon, similarly described the missionary movement as a "magnificent and protestant crusade--not of war and chivalry and superstition, but of wisdom and truth and communicative goodness."[118]

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[117] Huntington, Duty, 9.

[118] Cox, Bright and Blessed Destination, 43.

In a period of time when romantic literature was on the increase, idealizing the vocation of knight, the missionary movement portrayed the missionary as an even more noble knight. The missionary was a soldier of peace, armed only with the Word of God, bent on nothing less than world conquest. Men and women together embarked to the far corners of the earth, to vanquish the powers of darkness, and to establish the millennial kingdom of God. What image could be more noble, more idealistic, more quixotic?

Missionary as Martyr

The missionary was very much like a martyr of old--sacrificing all that was comfortable and familiar in order to witness to the love of Christ. And that sacrifice was in fact a witness (μαρτυρια), to those at home, of the power of God in human lives.

There were two actual incidents of missionary martyrdom in the first forty years of the Board's history. On 28 June 1834, Batak natives on Sumatra killed Samuel Munson (1804-1834) and Henry Lyman. On 29 November 1847, Cayuse Indians massacred Marcus Whitman (1802-1847), his wife Narcissa (Prentiss) Whitman (1808-1847) and twelve others at their mission station of Wailatpu in Oregon Territory.

The Missionary Herald and the Annual Reports carried accounts of their deaths. A memoir of Munson and Lyman was published in 1839 and republished

in 1843. The National Preacher printed a memorial sermon by Leonard Woods for Munson, Lyman, and three other recent Andover graduates who had died. It was almost a half century after their deaths before a biography of the Whitmans was published.

None of the literature treated these four martyrs as being in any way a higher level of Christian than anyone else. The Missionary Herald and annual reports were actually apologetic, assuring the readers that Munson and Lyman had not acted recklessly, that this was a rare occurrence, and that the Board had been considering closing the Oregon Mission before the massacre.[119] It would appear that the act of being killed for the faith was not as significant as the act of wearing one's self out for the cause of Christ, or dying early from a tropical disease.

The actual act of martyrdom was not in being killed for the faith, nor even in dying in missionary service. The act of missionary martyrdom was in sailing away from the dock--in leaving behind family, friends, and the comforts of American civilization. This was the act that elevated the missionary into a "higher level of Christian" in the eyes of the friends of mission.

Pliny Fisk had drawn the parallel between death and dockside departure in his farewell sermon in 1819:

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[119] In its annual report, the Board criticized Lyman and Munson for violating Board policy and travelling armed with weapons--AR 1835:75.

> If any circumstances can affect the mind in health, as it is affected by a near prospect of death, it is perhaps thus affected with the prospect of leaving for life all who have ever been known, and all that has ever been seen. This prospect brings eternity near.[120]

The missionary was a martyr when the missionary ship vanished over the horizon, for the missionary had left behind "all who have ever been known, and all that has ever been seen."

Departure Solemnities

When John and Fanny Scudder (1795-1849) left New York in 1819, for Sri Lanka by way of Boston, a large crowd filled the dock at Fulton Street and the deck of the ship. Jared Waterbury (1799-1876), brother of Fanny and biographer of John, described the emotional impact of the occasion:

> Men could not but feel, as they contemplated the sacrifice, that there was a moral heroism in the consecration. They who saw Dr. Scudder on that day, so jubilant, with a face radiant as if some sudden joy had taken possession of him, were obliged to acknowledge the triumphant power of a Christian's faith.[121]

One young man who observed the scene, James Brainerd Taylor (1801-1829), wrote in his journal that evening,

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120 Pliny Fisk, "The Holy Land an Interesting Field of Missionary Enterprise: A Sermon, Preached in the Old-South Church Boston, Sabbath Evening, Oct. 31, 1819, Just Before the Departure of the Palestine Mission," in Sermons of Parsons and Fisk (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819), 38. Also found in Bond, Memoir of Fisk, 96.

121 Waterbury, Memoir of Scudder, 31.

> This morning . . . I saw a missionary and his wife take their departure from this port for India, to declare among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ. . . .
>
> They have left all, and followed their Savior. They counted not the blessings of home, and friends, and even their own lives, . . . that *they* might 'win Christ,' and win others to him. . . .
>
> I had the pleasure of being introduced to Dr. and Mrs. Scudder. He appeared cheerful; Mrs. Scudder was bathed in tears, but yet rejoicing. . . . Just as the steamboat was moving off, one of the Doctor's friends, who came too late to go on board, called out and bade him adieu, wishing him a pleasant passage. I shall never forget Dr. Scudder's looks, or his words. As he spoke, his eyes kindled, and his cheek glowed with the ardor of christian benevolence. He waved his hand, and with a benignant smile on his countenance, said, 'Only give me your prayers, and that is all I ask.'
>
> I have felt, since this morning, as though I would be willing to forsake my ever-dear father and mother, brothers and sisters, and country, for my Savior's sake and the Gospel's. . . . And I have . . . felt the importance of crying, 'Lord, make me to know my duty, and give me a heart to perform it.'[122]

Taylor left his work to study for the ministry.

The events surrounding the departure of missionaries--sometimes called "solemnities" or "spectacles"--made a deep impression on the spectators. As in the case of James Brainerd Taylor, many were moved to self-examination to consider their duty to missions. Some who did not become ministers or missionaries, increased their prayers and financial support for missions and their missionary approach to the world around them. In a sense, the missionaries were images, or icons, of Christ, sacrificing family, country, and comfort for the

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122 John Holt Rice and Benjamin Holt Rice, Memoir of James Brainerd Taylor (New York: ATS, [1837]), 16-18. See also: Waterbury, Memoir of Scudder, 31-32; John Holt Rice, "Call to Ministry," RI 17 (1832-33): 257-58. The ATS published 46,787 copies of the Memoir of Taylor by 1850.

cause for which Christ sacrificed his life. With regard to its impact on the piety of the faithful, the dock at Fulton Street was a miniature Golgotha--a scene of disinterested benevolence and self-denial. The piety of American Protestants emphasized the Cross; the departure of missionaries made that Cross incarnate in the early nineteenth century.

The American Board did not invent departure solemnities; in this area, as in so many others, they followed the example of the London Missionary Society. An interdenominational service of "designation" for the first LMS missionaries, 28 July 1796, marked the beginning of a season of special prayer, which continued until the missionaries departed, on 10 August, and included the Lord's Supper on the eve of departure, and dockside solemnities.[123] The emotions engendered by saying farewell, perhaps forever, the disinterested benevolence of the missionary cause, christian unity felt as a foretaste of heaven, and the sacrament of Holy Communion, bringing to mind the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ on the Cross, all magnified each other in producing an emotional experience of enduring force.

In the life of the American Board a sequence of events evolved, preparitory to departure, which Horatio Bardwell recorded in his diary in 1815. He was ordained on 21 June, married 11 July, said farewell to his family 10 August, shared the Lord's Supper in saying farewell to the Seminary and

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123 "Missionary Society," EM 4 (1796): 342; "Missionary Society," EM 4 (1796): 382. As most of their missionaries were not ordained, a service of "designation" was devised.

community of Andover 1 October, and embarked 23 October.[124] Although there were many variations, a similar series of events was repeated by most missionaries. With each step in the process more people became emotionally involved in the missionary movement. The series of events commonly held as the missionaries prepared for departure, were (1) ordination, (2) wedding, (3) activity around the point of embarkation, (4) farewell missionary meeting, and (5) dockside solemnities.

(1) Ordination. The ordination of the first American missionaries in 1812 was planned hurriedly, but had emotional power. William Goodell, then a nineteen year old student at Phillips Academy in Andover, later recalled walking to Salem for the ordination service on one of the coldest days in that winter:

> The Church was filled to its utmost capacity. . . . The interest manifested was universally very deep. God was there, and in that great assembly there was at times, a stillness 'like the stillness of God, when he ariseth in silence to bless the world.' At times the whole great assembly seemed moved as the trees of the wood are moved by a mighty wind.[125]

The missionary ordination in 1815 was held in Newburyport, in the largest house of worship in Massachusetts. Following the service and a half hour recess, the meeting house was filled again by nearly 700 communicants for a full

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[124] Horatio Bardwell, "Diary," [17]-[20]. Horatio Bardwell Papers, 1815-1862. Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.

[125] Prime, Forty Years, 44. See also--S. M. Worcester, Samuel Worcester, 2:130-37; "Ordination," Panoplist n.s., 4 [7] (1811-12): 425-26; FTR, 35.

service of the Lord's Supper. Evarts, who had proposed the service of communion,[126] reported in the Panoplist,

> To many, we trust, it was a season of sweet communion with their ascended Savior, and long to be remembered with gratitude. The view of so many communicants, assembled from various and distant churches, united in so solemn an act of fellowship, never to partake this feast together again on earth, brought impressively before the eye of faith the scenes of a future and invisible world; and to the humble believer, imparted some pleasing foretaste of the future fellowship of the redeemed around the throne of God and the Lamb.[127]

William Goodell, who interrupted his studies at Dartmouth College to attend the ordination, wrote in his journal, "To sit at the Lord's table with so many of the redeemed servants of Christ, assembled from various places, seemed next to being in heaven."[128]

Missionaries were often ordained in groups, and the Lord's Supper was usually administered. In 1817, when Sereno E. Dwight asked to be ordained as pastor of Park-street Church, Boston, in company with a group of missionaries, the service was long. A full ordination service for Dwight, with Lyman Beecher preaching, was followed by a one hour intermission, after which the missionaries were ordained, a collection for missions taken, and the Lord's Supper administered. The whole service was punctuated with appropriate hymns,

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126 S. M. Worcester, Samuel Worcester, 2:306.

127 [Jeremiah Evarts], "Ordinations," Panoplist 11 (1815): 332.

128 Prime, Forty Years, 46. Horatio Bardwell wrote in his journal, "May the solemnities of this day never be erased from my mind."--Bardwell, "Diary," [17].

anthems and prayers.[129] Most missionary ordinations were only slightly less elaborate. Prominent preachers, large crowds, the Lord's Supper following an intermission, and deep emotions came to be expected.

(2) Wedding. Marriage services were more intimate and usually not widely reported. The one exception was the marriage of Hiram Bingham and Sybil Moseley in 1819. Noteworthy because of the brevity of the courtship and the popular interest in the Hawaii Mission, the vows were exchanged during a prayer meeting at Joel Hawes' church in Hartford. It was reported in the press,

> We have on no occasion witnessed in this city, so large an audience for Divine Worship. After singing an appropriate Psalm, and Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Flint, the Rev. Hiram Bingham, (one of the Mission) and Miss Sybil Mosel[e]y, of Westfield, Mass., (late a resident of Canandaigua,) presented themselves in the broad aisle, and were married by the Rev. Mr. Hawes. A solemn, elegant, and appropriate address prepared for the occasion, was pronounced by the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, Principal of the asylum for the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. We have seldom witnessed more solemn exercises, and never, a more attentive audience.[130]

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129 "Interesting Ordination," BR 2 (26 Aug. 1817): 149; "Order of Exercises for the Ordination of S. E. Dwight," BR 2 (2 Sept. 1817): 153. In 1822 an ordination service was held at the anniversary of the American Board. The ordination service began at 10:00 A.M., the Lord's Supper followed a recess of half an hour, and the annual sermon was given in the evening--"Ordination of Missionaries," MH 18 (1822): 334-35; Prime, Forty Years, 71. In 1826, when Rufus Anderson was ordained with four missionaries at Springfield, it was reported that about 500 people received Communion--"Ordination of Missionaries," MH 22 (1826): 197. For other accounts of missionary ordinations see: "Ordination of Missionaries," Panoplist 14 (1818): 571-72; Prime, Forty Years, 51-52; "Mission to the Sandwich Islands," Panoplist 15 (1819): 526-27; "Ordination," MH 17 (1821): 397.

130 "The Sandwich Mission," BR 4 (23 Oct. 1819): 174.

(3) Activity Around the Point of Embarkation. The weeks and days before the departure of missionaries were a time of preparation and promotion. In December of 1830, while a group of missionaries bound for Hawaii awaited their departure from New Bedford, Massachusetts, the three ordained missionaries preached thirteen times in area churches, and secretary Evarts gave two addresses.[131]

In Richmond, Virginia, interest in missions was first aroused in 1833 when Mary Robertson (1808-1849), a native of Virginia, was preparing to depart as a missionary wife. William J. Armstrong, then pastor of First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, reported to ABCFM secretary Wisner:

> There is evidently a growing interest in the work of missions among us. Our last monthly concert was attended by twice as many persons + the collection was twice as great as we have ever had before.
>
> Miss Mary Robertson, an accepted missionary of your board, who is to go out to Ceylon as Mrs. Apthorp has been spending the winter among us + many of our good ladies have been much employed in preparing clothing &c. for her, on her voyage, + after her destination.[132]

The Board made use of embarkation preparations to arouse interest in a community. Many women became personally involved in preparation, and the missionaries became known personally to a large number of people. For this reason, as many different locations as possible were used for embarkation.

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[131] "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 27 (1831): 60.

[132] William J. Armstrong to Benjamin B. Wisner, 16 April 1833, ABC, ser. 12.1, vol. 5, part 2.

(4) Farewell Missionary Meeting. A special prayer service was held on 17 February 1812 in Philadelphia, the evening before the embarkation of Gordon Hall, Luther Rice, and Samuel and Rosanna Nott. Independents, Presbyterians, and Baptists joined in prayers, hymns and addresses, and tears were shed.[133] It became customary to hold a "Farewell Service" in the city of embarkation as close to the departure time as could be planned.

Before the mission left for Hawaii in 1819, three days of services were held at Park-street Church, Boston. Missionaries Bingham and Thurston and native Hawaiian Thomas Hopu ("Hopoo") preached. One correspondent reported, "It was a most affecting spectacle to see a native of Owhyhee preaching the gospel to the citizens of Boston and calling on them to repent and believe in Jesus Christ."[134] The mission organized itself into a congregation, secretary Samuel Worcester read the Instructions from the Prudential Committee to the missionaries, and the newly organized congregation administered the Lord's Supper to between five and six hundred communicants, while a large crowd watched.[135]

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[133] "Sailing of the Missionaries to India," CEMRI 5 (1812): 159.

[134] "Mission to the Sandwich Islands," Evangelical Recorder 2 (1819-21): 65.

[135] "Mission to the Sandwich Islands," Evangelical Recorder, 65-66; "Mission to the Sandwich Islands," Panoplist, 527-28. Concerning other missionary farewells, services for the departure of the missionaries to Sri Lanka in 1819, "deeply interested the feelings of a large audience."--"Departure of Missionaries," BR 4 (12 June 1819): 95. Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, bound for Palestine in 1819, preached farewell sermons at Andover Seminary, and then in Boston both preached, received Instructions, and

William Goodell and Isaac Bird were supposed to leave for Palestine from New Haven in December 1822. Because of some mix-up with the owners of the ship, they left from New York, and because of bad weather they were detained almost two weeks. On Sunday, 1 December, when Goodell preached in the afternoon and Bird in the evening, it was reported, "the house was much crowded, as several clergymen, wishing to give their sanction to the Mission, and to be present on the occasion, attended with their congregations."[136] Judging from the almost daily services that were held, and the number of pastors who gave addresses or prayers on those occasions, numerous clergy were given the opportunity to be publicly associated with this popular mission. Even the secretaries of the UFMS were involved. At a service on Thursday the fifth, Jeremiah Evarts read Instructions and the Lord's Supper was celebrated. These events caused an increased interest in missions in New York City. The desire of

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shared the Lord's Supper with large crowds before departure--Morton, Memoir of Parsons, 218-19; "Mission to Jerusalem," BR 4 (6 Nov. 1819): 183. For Levi Parsons' personal farewell to his family see: Morton, Memoir of Parsons, 216. For the accounts of a series of departures of the UFMS Osage Mission, as it traveled west, see: "Extract of a Letter from a Lady in Philadelphia, to Her Friend in This City, in Relation to the Mission Family, Dated April 29th, 1820," American Missionary Register 1 (1820-21): 25; William F. Vaill, "Letter from the superintendent of the Mission Family, to the Corresponding secretary, Dated 'Carlisle, May 3,'" American Missionary Register 1 (1820-21): 26-27; "The Great Osage Mission," American Missionary Register 1 (1820-21): 321-33, 342-44.

[136] "Palestine Mission," American Missionary Register 3 (1822-23): 233-34.

the clergy to be associated with this mission drew even greater attention to the events.[137]

At farewell services for missionaries to Hawaii in December 1830, besides the Instructions and the Lord's Supper, a farewell address was delivered by returned missionary Samuel Nott, Jr.[138] Parting advice from returned missionaries became an occasional feature at farewell services.

As the novelty of missionary departures wore off, the farewell services were simplified. The Lord's Supper was dropped, and one "Farewell Missionary Meeting" was sufficient. The central event on this occasion was the reading of the Instructions by a secretary of the Board. Appropriate hymns, prayers, addresses, and a collection rounded out the service.[139]

When Fidelia Fiske, left Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1843, to go to Persia, all were affected. One of the students, describing Fiske's farewell meeting and personal farewells at the school, wrote,

> Shall we ever forget how affectionately she emplored her sisters in Christ to live faithfully for him? How tenderly she entreated the impenitent to listen to mercy's call? . . . But that hallowed hour passed away, and a sadder one

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[137] "Palestine Mission," American Missionary Register, 233-38; Prime, Forty Years, 72-73.

[138] "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 27: 60.

[139] For accounts of these later farewell meetings see: "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 32 (1836): 268; "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 32 (1836): 317; "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 33 (1837): 43-44; "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 33 (1837): 93; "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 39 (1843): 185; "Farewell Missionary Meeting," BR 31 (19 Nov. 1846): 186; "Farewell Missionary Meeting," BR 33 (16 Oct. 1848): 162.

> came. It was the parting hour, and we gathered around to bid her a last adieu. She wept not herself, but smiled sweetly and said, 'When all life's work is done we shall meet again;' but tears and stifled sobs were our only reply.[140]

Within three weeks of Fidelia's departure, almost fifty of the students at Mount Holyoke were converted, leaving only six unawakened, and those who were already pious were inspired to seek a higher degree of holiness.[141]

(5) Dockside solemnities. Nothing moved eyes to tears and hearts to self-examination like the dockside departures. These events were scheduled by the weather, the tides, and the sea captains, not by the Prudential Committee. The people who came were gathered on short notice.

When Horatio Bardwell and his colleagues embarked on 23 October, 1815, solemnities were held at dockside in Newburyport:

> The day was very pleasant. A large concourse of people assembled on the wharf at which the vessel lay, and on the adjoining wharves, and at other places which commanded a near view of the scene. The deck of the vessel was filled with visitors, mostly females, the particular friends of the missionaries, assembled to bid them a final farewell. The time approaching when it would be necessary for the vessel to avail herself of the tide, between 1 and 2 o'clock, P.M. the Rev. Dr. Spring addressed the throne of grace. . . . A missionary farewell hymn was then sung to the tune of Old Hundred. Many were deeply affected and bathed in tears. After the hymn, the visitors on deck immediately stepped on shore; the brig left the wharf,

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140 D. Fiske, Faith Working By Love, 65.

141 Drakeman, "Seminary Sisters," 139-40. See also: [Mary C. Whitman], "Revival of Religion in Mount Holyoke," BR 31 (14 May 1846): 77.

spread her sails to the breeze, and quietly entered on her course, followed by the gaze of many deeply interested spectators.[142]

The experience of Goodell and Bird in New York in 1822 was not unusual. When word was received to board ship, about thirty or forty friends went to the missionaries' lodgings. After songs, prayers and words of solidarity, the whole group walked to the dock, gathering more spectators on the way.[143]

In spite of the unpredictable timing of dockside services, there was a simple common pattern. At waters edge, a sizable crowd, gathered at any hour of day or night, joined in prayers and hymns. Sometimes a Scripture would be read, and a few remarks made by a secretary or a minister.[144] Almost always, the familiar parting song was sung:

Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love;
The fellowship of kindred minds
Is like to that above.

When we asunder part,
It gives us inward pain
But we shall still be join'd in heart

142 "Departure of the Missionaries," Panoplist 11 (1815): 533; see also: Bardwell, "Diary," [20].

143 "Palestine Mission," American Missionary Register, 238; Prime, Forty Years, 73.

144 For descriptions of dockside solemnities see: "Sailing of the Missionaries," Panoplist 13 (1817): 483-84; M. Winslow, Memoir of Harriet Winslow, 95; "Mission to the Sandwich Islands," Panoplist, 528; "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 27: 60-61; "Embarkation of Missionaries," MH 28 (1832): 27-28; "Ordination and Departure of Missionaries," MH 30 (1834): 267; [Louisa Hawes], ed., Memoir of Mrs. Mary E. Van Lennep, Only Daughter of the Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D., and Wife of the Rev. Henry J. Van Lennep, Missionary in Turkey (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1860), 194-95.

And hope to meet again.[145]

Another parting hymn, sung by Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston at their departure in 1819, went,

When shall we all meet again?--
When shall we all meet again?--
Oft shall wearied love retire;
Oft shall glowing hope expire;
Oft shall death and sorrow reign,
Ere we all shall meet again.

When the dreams of life have fled;
When its wasted lamps are dead;
When in cold oblivion's shade,
Beauty, power, and fame are laid;
Where immortal spirits reign,
There may we all meet again.[146]

Numerous hymns and poems were written for and about dockside solemnities. It is not clear how many of these were actually used in that setting. But whenever they were read or sung, they revived the sights and sympathies of the affecting scene. One hymn, from the Society of Inquiry collection of 1823, made use of the visual symbols of the scene at dockside:

God, o'er wind and waves presiding,

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[145] John Fawcett, "Blest be the tie that binds," in Chr Ps, 197 (no. 195, vv. 1,4); Hymns for the Monthly Concert, no. 86, vv. 1,4.

[146] Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; or The Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands 3d ed. (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington, 1849), 63-64, vv. 1,3. According to tradition, this hymn was composed by three Indians on leaving Dartmouth College in the eighteenth century--Theron Brown and Hezekiah Butterworth, The Story of the *Hymns and Tunes* (New York: ATS, 1906), 265-67.

Saints' defence and sinners' friend,
Yonder ship at anchor riding,
To thy charge our pray'rs commend,
O preserve her
Safely till her voyage end!

See our youth their country leaving,
Fir'd with zeal and clothed with smiles,
See their hearts for Pagans heaving,
See, and sanctify their toils!
Bid them scatter
Seed divine on heathen soils.[147]

The dockside departure was an occasion where, "Every heart beat high, with emotions better conceived than described."[148]

Each public solemnity lifted before the people a living symbol of the missionary spirit. The emotional impact of these events endured much longer than the reading of an article or the hearing of a sermon. People so aroused would act. People also reflected on "duty," on the sacrifice of Christ commemorated in the Lord's Supper, and the sacrifice of the missionary life visibly witnessed at dockside.

IV. SPIRIT OF MISSIONS AND CHRISTIAN VOCATION

147 "God, o'er wind and waves presiding," in Hymns for the Monthly Concert, no. 88, vv. 1,2. For other departure hymns see: Hymns for the Monthly Concert, nos. 75-78, 82, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91; Ch Ps 482-84 (nos. 533-36).

148 "Departure of Missionaries," BR, 95.

The reflex influence of missions worked to affect the common understanding of Christian vocation through (1) the recruitment process, (2) detoured missionaries, and (3) the idealization of the missionary. This affect is seen in the biographies of lay Christians influenced by the foreign missionary movement. These biographies, as models, in turn influenced others.

Living the Missionary Spirit at Home

Sarah Ralston (1766-1820) of Philadelphia had two careers. As the mother of fourteen children, eleven of whom survived her, she had little time for anything else but motherhood for much of her life. "She felt the great importance of preparing them for the duties of life, and especially of educating them in the fear of God."[149] When her children got older, and some of the older daughters could help with the younger children, Mrs. Ralston found it possible to become active in public affairs. In the period from 1814 to her death, she organized and served as president of the Female Bible Society of Philadelphia; organized an Orphans Society and supervised construction of an orphanage; established an Indigent Widows' and Single Women's Society, and supervised the construction of a Women's Asylum. Jacob J. Janeway (1794-1858), in his obituary of Sarah Ralston, pointed beyond this outward activity, to her inner relationship with God:

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Jacob J. Janeway, Obituary: Mrs. Sarah Ralston, Presbyterian Magazine 1 (1821): 76. Sarah Ralston's career is also described in: Page Putnam Miller, A Claim to New Roles (Metuchen, N.J. and London: Scarecrow, 1985), 10-16.

> The religion of Mrs. Ralston was the religion of the gospel. It consisted, not in a show of outward devotion, not in mere external virtue; but in those great internal principles prescribed in the gospel; such as faith in Jesus Christ, contrition of heart on account of sin, love to God and man.[150]

Sarah Ralston was not a typical American woman; through birth and marriage she was part of the new nation's affluent mercantile aristocracy. However she applied her Christian convictions to her station in life, and used her resources and opportunities to do good. Sarah Ralston was a leader in the new movement of women's voluntary benevolent societies, expanding women's sphere, and finding vocational fulfillment in charitable work, as men found it in their jobs. Sarah Ralston's two careers--mother and philanthropist--were each valid in their own time. Within the boundaries proscribed by society and circumstance, a devoted follower of Christ could find ways to express love to God and one's fellow human beings. In the name of Christian benevolence, those social and legal boundaries could be expanded.

Benjamin B. Wisner, as pastor of Old South Church in Boston, compiled the memoirs of the widow of his predecessor, Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Susan Huntington.[151] In an introductory essay, James Montgomery said,

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[150] Janeway, "Sarah Ralston," 82.

[151] The third edition, in 1829, indicated that two previous editions of 2,000 each had been sold in America, at least two editions in Edinburgh, and at least three editions at Glasgow.--Wisner, Memoirs of Susan Huntington, [iii]. A fourth edition was published in 1833, and in Glasgow a 7th edition in 1832--NUC 261:263.

> There were no extraordinary incidents in her brief existence; she was endowed with no special talents: but on account of these very deficiencies, (defects they were not,) something *more excellent,* yet *attainable by all,* having been found in her, she may be presented as a model to others passing through the same ordinary circumstances, whereby they may form themselves to meet every change, till the last.[152]

Susan (Mansfield) Huntington (1791-1823), was the daughter of one minister and the wife of another. When her station in life became that of minister's wife in the metropolis of Boston, she looked upon this as her calling from God. She wrote to her sister-in-law, "But I do think that the Lord has placed me here; he it is who calls me to the arduous duties in which I am now to engage."[153]

Motherhood soon became part of Susan's calling. She studied for this calling by reading literature on child-rearing, and many of her letters were devoted to the subject of the nurture and discipline of children. Susan Huntington's understanding of duty was not confined to family. At the time of her death she was involved in eleven different female benevolent societies, many of which she had taken an active role in initiating or leading.[154] Preceding her marriage, and continuing through it, she had an ardent longing "for the universal promulgation and reception of that religion which alone can make men happy."[155] She read with interest and recommended the literature of missions, including the

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[152] Wisner, Memoirs of Susan Huntington, xix.

[153] Ibid., 24.

[154] Ibid., 96 n.

[155] Ibid., 6.

memoirs of Harriet Newell, Henry Martyn, and Samuel Mills, and Conversion of the World.

Susan believed in staying within women's sphere. But she took exception to a publication in which the author stated, "Thought is the characterizing feature of men, and feeling of women," and her protest was published in the Boston Recorder.[156] Susan Huntington firmly believed that it was within women's sphere to read theology, to have opinions, and to express those opinions in personal correspondence, and in groups of women.

Susan Huntington faced a difficult personal crisis--a crisis of vocation--when her station in life changed. After her husband's death, she saw another--Benjamin Wisner--take his place in the church, and Mrs. Wisner assuming her role in the life of the church. When she finally had to vacate the parsonage, she had literally lost her place in society. Resolving "to live one day at a time,"[157] she continued her career as a mother, active woman of benevolence, and devout Christian. In this popular Memoir, the reader examined a young woman's efforts to understand and to do her duty. For Susan Huntington, "women's sphere" was not a limitation but an opportunity. It included both heart and mind, both following and leading, both home and community. Whatever her station in life, she could

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156 Ibid., 131-34.

157 Ibid., 160.

give glory to God by being a caring mother and by being active in benevolent activity.

Susan Huntington differed from Sarah Ralston, in that Susan pursued her careers of motherhood and philanthropy simultaneously rather than sequentially. Also, Susan did not have the security of affluence, and lost the status that came with her husband's position. These two women both believed that woman's place was not confined to the home; women could pursue voluntary missionary careers in their communities.

Moses Brown (1742-1827) of Newburyport, Massachusetts, was an American success story, rising from small beginnings to great wealth. Leonard Woods noted in his funeral sermon,

> But he was not, like most other successful merchants, so immersed in his worldly business and cares, and so occupied with his schemes for the acquisition of wealth, as to be neglectful of the wants and sufferings of the poor. He remembered what it was to be poor; and through all the years of his prosperity, he cherished a tender and generous sympathy for those who were placed in that condition from which divine providence had raised him up.[158]

Brown's tender and generous sympathy was expressed in personal acts of generosity, in the forgiveness of debts, and in large gifts to benevolent organizations. His gifts to Andover Seminary were a major factor in that school being able to provide leadership for transforming the religious life of America.

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158 Leonard Woods, "Duties of the Rich," NP 1 (1826-27): 173-74. The sermon was published, reprinted in the National Preacher, and had excerpts printed in the Missionary Herald.

Moses Brown was not a typical wealthy American, but he was a useful model for the wealthy. Those who had acquired wealth could give significantly for benevolent objects. The vocation of the wealthy included earning money in order to do good.

Joel Hawes published in 1839, Memoir of Normand Smith; or the Christian Serving God in His Business. This was, "A brief memoir of a plain but intelligent man; of one who cultivated a warm and active piety in the midst of an extensive business, who lived to do good."[159] Hawes noted that there were plenty of memoirs of famous people, but, "We also need memoirs of men distinguished for their piety and usefulness in the ordinary pursuits of life. For the greatest part of vital, faithful piety in the world is to be found in the middling classes of society."[160]

Normand Smith (1800-1833) was a saddler, who started out with nothing, and prospered. All that he didn't need of what he earned, he gave to charities, and he practiced self-denial in order to give more. Active in his church, and generous with his time, Smith organized and taught Sabbath School among Afro-Americans and other poor of the city. He took time for his family, and incorporated his apprentices into his family, hoping to convert them.

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[159] Joel Hawes, Memoir of Normand Smith; or The Christian Serving God in His Business (New York: ATS, [n.d.]), vii-viii. This biography was first published by Spalding & Storrs of Hartford. By 1850 the ATS had produced 27,861 copies.

[160] Ibid., 3.

At one point, Normand Smith thought he should leave his business, to devote full time to his church work. His pastor, Joel Hawes, advised him,

> The Lord has plainly indicated how you are to glorify him in the world. He has greatly prospered you in your business; the channels of wealth are open and their streams are flowing in upon you, and it would be wrong for you to distrust or diminish them. Let them flow rather wider and deeper. Only resolve that you will pursue your business from a sense of duty, and use all that God may give you for his glory and the good of your fellow-men; and your business, like reading the Bible or worship on the Sabbath, will be to you a means of grace; in stead of hindering, it will help you in the divine life, and greatly increase your means of usefulness.[161]

For Hawes and Smith, business could be as much an act of piety as reading the Bible. An important part of giving glory to God was giving the profits to projects that glorified God through service to humanity. In other words, the accumulation of wealth could be a sacred duty, if that wealth were used to do the work of God.

Normand Smith was living a missionary life as a saddler. Through giving to missions,[162] his labor was carrying the Gospel to the non-Christian world. He did not neglect his family, church or community. His vocation was more than a matter of fulfilling the duties of his station. In every aspect of his life he reached out to share the love of Christ. Normand Smith represented the "middling classes" and Moses Brown the wealthy. But what was said of them could be said

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[161] Ibid., 10-11.

[162] Normand Smith, Jr. left a legacy to the ABCFM of $2,400--MH 32 (1836): 196.

of people of any economic background. Their labor was a "means of grace" when its fruit was used to extend the Redeemer's kingdom.

Robert Ralston (1761-1836) of Philadelphia was a highly successful merchant. Because of this, he was able to be a philanthropist. "With increasing wealth he increased in kindly feeling and liberality of benefaction."[163] Ralston had been a corporate member of the ABCFM since 1812. The husband of Sarah Ralston, he had founded the Philadelphia Bible Society, and through correspondence for that cause, he had developed a network of mission advocates across the country before the American Board. When missionary candidates Hall and Newell went to Philadelphia late in 1811 to study medicine, Ralston was appointed the Board's agent to take care of their expenses. It was Ralston who learned of a ship sailing to India, and who encouraged the intended missionaries to return to New England to consult with the Prudential Committee. Ralston was also a pioneer in organizing Sunday Schools and the American Colonization Society.

Ralston had been an active member of Second Presbyterian Church since 1786, and a ruling elder since 1802. He was a person of prayer, observing daily personal and family prayer, and worshipping regularly at church. Cornelius

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Cornelius C. Cuyler, Believers, Sojourners on Earth, and Expectants of Heaven: A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Robert Ralston, Esq. (Philadelphia: W. S. Martien, 1836), 28.

Cuyler (1783-1850), who delivered Ralston's funeral sermon, drew a connection between his personal piety and his active piety:

> If he was the ardent friend of the Bible cause, he was also in the daily habit of reading the book with holy reverence, deep attention, and heart-felt interest. . . . If he laboured to supply the destitute, both at home and abroad, with the Gospel, and the ordinances of God, it was because he had found it good in his own experience to wait on God in them.[164]

For Robert Ralston, a missionary spirit was the natural result of a personal piety--the inference being that it should be the same for everyone.

David I. Burr (1783-1838), for many years ruling elder of First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, was quiet, but firm in his beliefs, kind to those in need, and a supporter of the benevolent operations of the day. He had been chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Board of Foreign Missions, from its creation to his death. He was "perhaps the largest contributor . . . in the state," to the ABCFM.[165] William Armstrong, in his funeral sermon, lifted up Burr as an example of consecration to Christ. Armstrong said that every person had some "commanding object or pursuit" that consistently shaped their lives. This "ruling purpose" may be wealth, power, fame, or pleasure. For the Christian, it was Christ:

> To please and honor Christ, and to be like him, is that purpose. To this everything else is subordinate in his judgment, every thing else is made

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[164] Ibid., 30-31.

[165] William J. Armstrong, Supreme Devotedness to Christ. A Sermon, Occasioned by the Death of David I. Burr (Richmond: Wm. Macfarlane, 1838), 14.

> subservient in his plans. He looks at Christ, and his affections kindle, and his heart glows with esteem, and gratitude, and desire. Conformity to Christ, communion with Christ, this is the luminous point where his hopes centre, and his desires and efforts terminate.[166]

The results of a life devoted to Christ were (1) *"persevering effort in the cultivation of personal holiness,"* and (2) *"to seek for others . . . the same blessings in which he finds his own happiness."*[167] This latter effort was not just in the great benevolent movements of the day, but in the little things, as well. "As a parent, a brother, a friend, a neighbor, a church member, he will live unto Christ."[168] Armstrong described the dedication of the mother, the Sunday School teacher, the Christian visiting the poor, sick, and dying. Devotion to Christ was using whatever one had, wherever one might be, for the glory of God:

> He who is supremely devoted to Christ, will esteem it his privilege and honor, no less than his duty, to give his influence and efforts in the sphere where God has placed him and according to the means he has bestowed upon him, to the instruction of the ignorant, the relief of the degraded, the reformation of the erring, and the salvation of the perishing, all over the world.[169]

The missionary spirit was the spirit of supreme devotion to Christ. Living for Christ as a parent, friend or neighbor, was of one piece with the salvation of the perishing all over the world. The missionary vocation and the Christian vocation

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[166] Ibid., 3.

[167] Ibid., 6-7.

[168] Ibid., 7.

[169] Ibid., 8.

were one: using one's influence, wherever one might be, with the same single-minded devotion to Christ.

In the lives of Sarah Ralston, Susan Huntington, Moses Brown, Normand Smith, Robert Ralston, and David Burr, we see a missionary spirit becoming an increasing part of one's vocation. Fulfilling the duties of one's station in life was more than tucking one's children in bed at night--it was praying for their salvation, studying child care, and organizing Maternal Associations. It was more than treating one's apprentices fairly--it was bringing them into family prayers and witnessing to them. And somehow the new voluntary societies fit into everyone's "station in life"--male or female, rich, middling, or poor, urban or rural, adult or child. Everyone could do something for the spread of the Gospel. A person's work, family life, and service to the cause of Christ in the community, were all parts of the missionary vocation at home.

Christian Vocation and Politics

The Christian lived for Christ in one's job, family relationships, and church and benevolent activities. There was one other, more controversial, aspect of Christian vocation: the application of faith to citizenship. This was controversial for a couple of reasons. Many persons in the Puritan tradition were critical of the tendencies of the new American democracy. They condemned "party strife." They saw politicians advancing personal or group interests, rather than serving

God and seeking the common good. Also, attempts by the religious to apply their convictions in civic life were condemned by the non-religious as an attempt to renew a religious establishment. As a result, many evangelical Protestants kept away from politics, choosing in stead to work for a reformation of society through voluntary associations.

But sometimes the ventures of the benevolent came into conflict with the political authorities. In the controversy over Cherokee removal, the friends of mission did their duty as Christian citizens through political action and failed. After the removal of the Indians evangelical Christians moved in two directions with regard to the Christian vocation of citizenship. The leadership of the ABCFM, holding to the priority of world evangelization, shied away from any political involvement. Others transferred their concern for the Indians to the slaves. They attempted to practice disinterested benevolence in civic life. For the abolitionists, Christian vocation meant living the missionary spirit in business, family, church, *and politics.* They had joined the party strife of the new American democracy, and had identified the cause of Christ unequivocally with one particular interest--that of the slave.

These two attitudes are represented in the lives of Theodore Frelinghuysen (1787-1862) and Arthur Tappan. Frelinghuysen, who as a Senator championed the cause of the Cherokee, later devoted his energies to voluntary societies, including the ABCFM. Tappan, who had been a big giver to

the American Board, later transferred his money and energy to the abolitionist cause.

William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879) had written of Frelinghuysen,

> Be not dismayed. On God's own strength relying,
> Stand boldly up, meek soldier of the Cross;
> For thee ten thousand prayers are heavenward flying;
> Thy soul is purged from earthly rust and dross.
> Patriot and Christian, ardent, self-denying,
> How could we bear resignedly thy loss?[170]

But Frelinghuysen did lose. His greatest battle as Senator from New Jersey was a simple amendment to the Indian bill, requiring that the Indians could not be removed without their consent. While Jeremiah Evarts labored outside the Senate chamber to mobilize public opinion, Frelinghuysen labored within that chamber for the same cause. For both it was the battle of their lives, and they threw themselves into the struggle, holding back nothing. Ultimately, statesmanship would lose to partisanship, and Biblical principles of justice would give way to greed for gold and land.

As a young lawyer in Newark, New Jersey, Frelinghuysen was strongly affected by the preaching of Edward D. Griffin, and professed his faith at the Second Presbyterian Church in 1817, where he later became a ruling elder.

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170 quoted in, Talbot W. Chambers, Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, LL.D. (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1863), 71. For more information on Frelinghuysen see: Robert J. Eells, "Theodore Frelinghuysen, Voluntaryism and the Pursuit if the Public Good," American Presbyterians 69 (1991): 257-70.

Frelinghuysen was regularly a Sunday school teacher in his local church, and often spoke to promote the movement. He once said to a meeting of friends of Sabbath Schools,

> After all, we must, however wise or great in our own estimation or in the estimation of others, become as little children in order to enter the kingdom of heaven. The simple facts of the Gospel are the foundation of our hope. This is my experience. I have tried to study the mysteries of our religion. . . . But when I think of myself, a sinner before God . . . I forget these deep things of God; faith clings to one precious truth, and hope adds to it another, and they are these: Jesus Christ loved me and died for me, and I feel in my poor sinful heart a responsive throb of love to him.[171]

Although Frelinghuysen became an influential politician and educator, he never gave up his child-like faith. Theodore was Attorney General of New Jersey, 1817-1829, and United States Senator, 1829-1835. In 1844 he was a candidate for vice-president of the United States, running with Henry Clay (1777-1852), and they lost. In later life, Frelinghuysen was an educator, chancellor of the University of the City of New York 1839-1850 and president of Rutgers College 1850-1862.

When he left the Senate, Frelinghuysen considered going into the ministry, but New York Presbyterian pastor Gardiner Spring (1785-1873) advised him,

> Your present influence and standing at the bar and in civil life *are* against the change. . . .
>
> Our Master needs laborers in Church and State. Such is the feeling and such are the institutions of this country that ministers of the Gospel can

[171] Chambers, Memoir of Frelinghuysen, 135.

> get very little influence on the state, and therefore there is the more need for men who are qualified and have the spirit of ministers to retain their political influence.[172]

When Frelinghuysen moved to New York City in 1839, he affiliated with a Reformed Dutch Church in that city, and became more active in the national voluntary societies, many of which were based there. The ABCFM was the first benevolent society to which he had ever contributed. He became a corporate member in 1826, and served as president from 1841 until his denomination withdrew in 1857. Frelinghuysen was elected a vice president of the American Bible Society in 1830, and president 1846-1862. He was president of the American Tract Society 1842-1848, and a vice president of the American Colonization Society for many years.

Biographer and former Princeton Brethren member Talbot Chambers (1819-1896) described the Christian vocation of Theodore Frelinghuysen,

> As a civilian, statesman, and patriot, he did his full duty on earth, yet held perpetual communion with God in heaven. . . . True to his clients, to his party, and to his country he was also true to the Gospel and the Cross in every situation. He was not a different man at different times . . . but his religious faith interpenetrated his whole life, and gave to it its characteristic tone. He was just as much a Christian in the court-room, or on the floor of the Senate, or at the hustings, as in his closet, or the Sunday-school, or a prayer-meeting.[173]

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[172] Ibid., 170-71.

[173] Ibid., 267.

Theodore Frelinghuysen, Sunday-school teacher and Senator, was a consistent Christian. The faith he cultivated in the closet, he lived in all of life. His duty as a statesman had to conform to his duty as a Christian. His religious faith interpenetrated his civic life. His action in opposition to Indian removal was an appeal to justice--to defend the just rights of the weak against the selfish greed of the strong. Frelinghuysen was a "Christian statesman" in the Puritan tradition, serving the people by serving God first. However, he served after the dis-establishment of religion. While he could not in any way appear to promote the state support of religion, he labored for the state to embody the principles of justice and integrity derived from religion.

Frelinghuysen was not an abolitionist, and he credited his defeat for the Vice-Presidency to the abolitionists. After he left the Senate and the Cherokee were removed, Frelinghuysen pursued his convictions through voluntary societies, rather than through political action. He placed priority on the transformation of society through the transformation of individuals, rather than through legislation.

After the failure of the fight against Indian removal, many persons who had first expressed their sense of Christian vocation in politics on that issue, shifted their concern to slavery. Linda K. Kerber, in a 1975 article, listed Lydia Maria Child (1802-1880), John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), James G. Birney (1792-1857), and James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) as abolitionists who first got

politically involved over Indian removal.[174] Beriah Green could be added to that list.[175] For Beriah Green it was a missionary understanding of his Christian vocation that led him into abolitionist politics. In 1838 he wrote to Gerrit Smith (1797-1874):

> I am well convinced that God, the God of the Oppressed, calls us into the field of politics; and we must obey. I enter without any very great reluctance; as I am clear on the point of duty. And Politics is with us a Sacred Concern.[176]

Arthur Tappan embodied the transition of the lay missionary vocation from conventional missionary activity to agitation on slavery. Arthur Tappan became a wealthy New York businessman, and gave of his fortune and his time for the expanding voluntary enterprises of good works. Tappan made his fortune in the dry goods business. His two business principles were (1) the same price for everybody, and (2) cash or short credit only. His brother Lewis wrote of him, "Prosperity did not seduce him into personal or family extravagances, or induce him to hoard riches. On the contrary, it led him to reflect seriously upon his obligation as a STEWARD of the Lord."[177]

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174 Linda K. Kerber, "The Abolitionist Perception of the Indian," Journal of American History 62 (1975): 274.

175 Sernett, Abolition's Axe, 22.

176 Ibid., 109.

177 Lewis Tappan, ed., The Life of Arthur Tappan (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1870), 62.

Arthur Tappan became a member of John Mason's Presbyterian Church in 1816. He was an active funder and organizer, and held various offices, in the ABS, AES, ASSU, ATS, American Home Missionary Society, a New York Magdalene Society, societies to aid the poor of New York City, the American Seamen's Friends Society, and the Sabbath observance, temperance, and anti-slavery movements, among others. After the demise of the UFMS he also became a significant contributor to the ABCFM and an honorary member. He was also a major benefactor of Auburn Theological Seminary, Oneida Institute, and Oberlin College.

Not content to be a big name and a big giver, Arthur Tappan personally distributed tracts, taught Sunday School, and visited people in prison. He was active in organizing free Presbyterian churches--that is, churches without pew rents. He and his brother Lewis were instrumental in getting revivalist Charles G. Finney to come to New York, and promoted his evangelistic efforts.[178]

In Arthur Tappan's life, one sees three ways in which a prosperous Christian could give one's self for Christ: (1) conducting business on Christian principles, (2) giving generously to worthy causes, (3) actively participating on every level of the benevolent, religious, and reform movements of the day.

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Information on Arthur Tappan is from: L. Tappan, Life of Arthur Tappan; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1969); Phyllis Mary Bannan, "Arthur and Lewis Tappan: A Study in New York Religious and Reform Movements" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1950).

In 1830, Arthur Tappan provided bail for abolitionist journalist William Lloyd Garrison, and began supporting his work. When the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized in 1833, Arthur Tappan was elected president. When Arthur Tappan went bankrupt in 1837, his philanthropy ended, and he devoted more time to his personal financial crisis; his brother Lewis became the more active of the two in anti-slavery activity. Lewis Tappan aroused anti-slavery opinion by publicizing the case of the Africans of the *Amistad*, slaves who had mutinied. When the AMA was organized in 1846, Arthur Tappan was named to the Executive Committee and Lewis was named treasurer.

The Tappan brothers were philanthropists in the tradition of Robert Ralston and Moses Brown, with one exception. The Tappans applied their missionary zeal to a cause that was highly controversial and ultimately political. The anti-slavery cause became their most important mission. With unwavering zeal they pursued their anti-slavery mission through every means possible.

Like Frelinghuysen, the Tappans were consistent Christians. They applied their Christian convictions to every aspect of life, including their citizenship. Unlike their predecessors, the Tappans and other abolitionists identified the cause of God with one particular partisan position, and pursued that cause in a partisan manner. They accepted the idea that a democratic society worked through competing interests exerting their influence, and they joined the fight.

The missionary spirit had influenced the common understanding of vocation. According to the concept of the priesthood of all believers, every person was a minister. Now every person was a missionary. This was a more aggressive stance. Every person's vocation now went beyond simply fulfilling the duties of one's station, to reach out with disinterested benevolence and do more. Wherever one could do good, it was one's duty to do good. A missionary spirit filled one's hours of labor, when a portion of the profits were committed to the expansion of the Redeemer's kingdom. The home was an important mission station in which the Christian practiced and proclaimed the Gospel. Through benevolent societies, persons of every station in life joined in missionary work. Even one's citizenship could be offered to God, as an occasion not simply for the administration of justice, but for the active expression of benevolence.