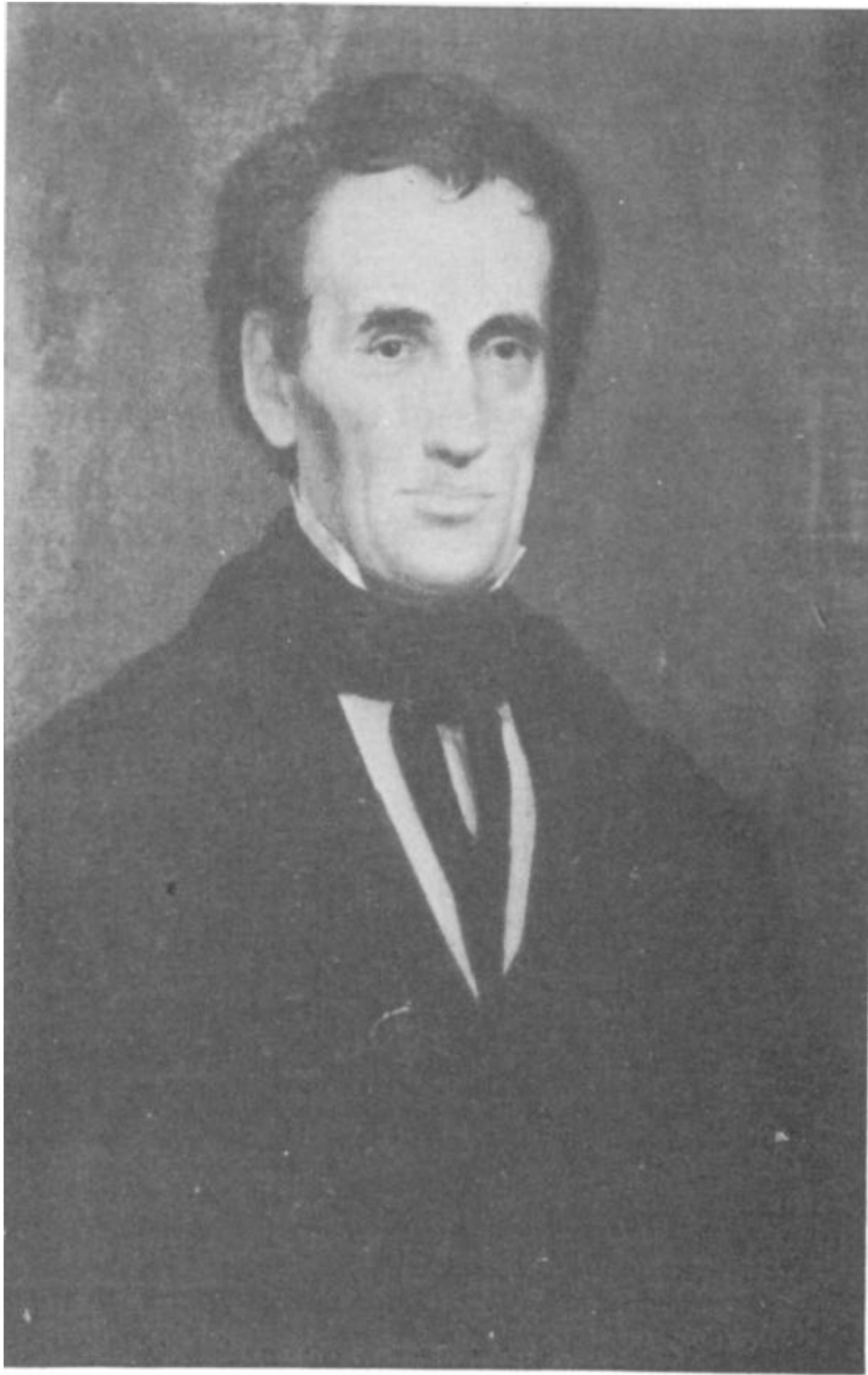


## **Walter Scott: Voice of the Golden Oracle**



**WALTER SCOTT**

**WALTER SCOTT**  
**Voice of the Golden Oracle**

*A Biography*

By

**DWIGHT E. STEVENSON**

Printed in the United States of America

## Foreword

**W**ALTER SCOTT is one of "the big four" in Disciple history. He ranks with Thomas and Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone among the most creative personalities of this distinctive American religious movement. Specifically, he fashioned its evangelistic method, the instrument of its amazing expansion. His spectacular success as an evangelist on the "Western Reserve, more than any other factor, led to the formation of the Disciples into a separate communion. He elevated the simple confession of faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, to a central position in the gospel, and under the name of the "Golden Oracle," advocated it as the creed of Christianity and the basis of Christian union.

Like so many of these religious pioneers, he pursued his purpose through a number of vocational channels. He was equally effective as teacher, evangelist, minister, editor, and author; and he did not turn from one to the other of these instruments but used them all simultaneously! The volcanic energy which welled up from the burning core of his purpose is staggering.

Prior to the present volume, only one other biography of Scott has ever been written, the one by William Baxter nearly seventy-five years ago. A new biography is offered at this time because 1946 is the sesquicentennial of Scott's birth, and because the day is now at hand for recapturing his evangelistic passion.

While writing this book, I have leaned heavily upon Baxter's work, but I have also used many sources not consulted by him. In many cases these sources would

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have remained unknown to me without information supplied by others, and, even when known, some would have been inaccessible without the aid of my friends. Numerous persons have devoted patient hours to research and have been eyes and ears for me in far places. It would take many pages to give a just account of their assistance, and because I do not have those pages, I am forced to do no more than list their names:

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D. E. S.

*Bethany, West Virginia*

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## CHAPTER I

# The "Gateway of the West"

**W**ALTER SCOTT, aged twenty-two, teacher of English and the rudiments of Greek and Latin, sat alone in his classroom at the Union Academy of Jamaica, Long Island.

The day's teaching was over, but a strange lethargy held him in his chair. Perhaps that was because it was spring.

Spring! In the year of 1819. America! It was only last summer that he had come. His ship had sailed into New York Harbor July 7, 1818. His Uncle George Innes, who worked in the United States Customs Office, had been waiting for him. Uncle George had given him a home, introduced him to friends his own age, and put him on the trail of this tutorship.

He liked teaching and he was meant for it. This was his first experience with the exciting privilege of shaping young minds, but it had been good. The boys liked him, too, he believed. Could it be that his Scotch burr fascinated them? No, surely not simply that. He had succeeded in making Latin fascinating in its own right.

This was the last day of the term, and he would not be back. He regretted that. He would miss the boys, and he was sorry to part with his uncle so soon after coming to know him; but he was going west!

Walter's first months had been in that part of America which looked out over the Atlantic toward the Old World, but his mind was not turned in that direction. Eyes all about him were set toward the West. The nation was leaning toward the Ohio and the Northwest Territory. Talk of it was on every tongue. Imag-



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inations were fired by it. There was not a town or village that had not said its farewells to friends and neighbors in order to commit them to that swelling westward river of migrants which flowed ceaselessly toward new lands. The urge to go west became a contagion sweeping the nation from New England to Georgia.

The young Latin tutor took the fever. City-bred and reared in a world where venerable tradition impressed the hold of the past, he burned with curiosity to see a world where men were hacking a new order of life out of the raw wilderness. Accordingly, he resolved to go there, to see it for himself, and, if he could find a toe hold in the land where all was future, to become a part of its exciting adventure. He was confirmed in his resolution when he ran upon an acquaintance of his own age who felt as he did. Together they planned it.

They would be called pioneers, he supposed. He did not feel much like one, nor, it must be admitted, did he look much like one. No rawboned, weather-hardened woodsman, he was slight and delicate. A high forehead crowned by raven-black hair, high cheekbones, a long nose with sensitive nostrils, and piercing, dark eyes gave him away as an imaginative intellectual. But even an intellectual can be curious, and curiosity engulfed Walter Scott. For nearly eight months he had heard almost no word of conversation that was not about "the West." What was this West like? He tried to picture it. But how could he picture it, he, a musician and teacher of Latin who had been reared in cities and who had never even seen a virgin forest! There could be no picturing of it until he had seen it. He had to see it! He would see it!

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Early the next morning, with small packs on their backs and their scanty savings in their pockets, the two young men set out on foot for Philadelphia and the Old Forbes Road to Pittsburgh. It was April, 1819.

From one end to the other, the Old Forbes Road was a long, ant-like column crawling ceaselessly westward. Only a few months before, the paving of this turnpike had been completed all the way to the headwaters of the Ohio. Before that, traveling had not been so pleasant or so rapid. Hard-pulling teams of horses hitched to covered wagons, faster stagecoaches, and plodding foot travelers made their way most of the year only by wading and struggling through a "road" which was little more than a glutinous river of mud. But make their way they did. There was no stopping their restless pilgrimage.

As Walter Scott lengthened his stride to the pace of the journey, he and his companion reflected that only a score of years earlier long trains of pack horses, roped in single file with their lone riders astride lead horses, had threaded their winding ways through narrow mountain trails.

The Old Forbes Road over which they were walking had been hacked through the wilderness by the British general, John Forbes, as he drove his armies across the Allegheny Mountains to capture Fort Duquesne from the French. His troops called him "Old Iron Head." It was in 1758 that he lay gasping out his orders from the litter that bore his sick body in the line of march. By sheer strength of will and with lashing tongue he goaded his six thousand ragged soldiers to their hardy task. After the capture of Fort Duquesne, it was "Old Iron Head" himself who had renamed it "Pittsburgh," after Pitt, the elder.

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Walter recalled that this volatile general had been a native Scotsman, and that he had died in Philadelphia only a few months after this campaign was completed.

Young Scott and his fellow traveler knew that the westward expansion had been growing rapidly since the Revolutionary War. It was as though that war and the War of 1812 had broken a dam and the pent-up populations rushed in to fill up the uninhabited places.

The two young men felt the authentic thrill of pioneers, and yet they knew that other frontiersmen had gone before them. In general, these pioneers had surged out in three waves. First there had been the daring soldiers of fortune, reckless adventurers, lone hunters, and roving traders who sought the wilds because they were lured by the wilderness or because civilization repelled them. Walter Scott was in no sense such a pioneer, and he knew it. Nor did he belong to the second wave, made up of settlers who followed hard upon the heels of the first woodsmen. These settlers staked out claims, cleared forest, planted crops, built homes, and prepared to root in. While the settlers were doing this, life became "too crowded" for the frontiersmen of the first wave, and they pushed on into the wilderness still farther westward.

No, the young nephew of George Innes was not venturing into a world entirely without settlers. As he walked toward it, he expected to find homes, farms, cities, schools, and churches, for over two million Americans now lived west of the Allegheny Mountains.<sup>1</sup> Many of them had been lured by the generous Federal Land Law of 1800, which allowed them to buy small tracts with a down payment of fifty cents an

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acre and a promise to pay the balance of \$1.50 per acre over a period of four years.<sup>2</sup>

Scott was not that kind of pioneer. He belonged rather to the third wave. This was composed of the social organizers—teachers, ministers, editors, and businessmen, who would open academies, establish churches, publish newspapers, and furnish the commercial heart of towns and cities. These were the ones who would give structure to the vast national energy. "We," thought Scott, "are the formers of the social molds into which the flux of the people is pouring itself." To be a teacher in that new world where tradition was nonexistent and the future was everything was to live at the apex of opportunity!

America was not as yet in its great era of immigration. In the year of Scott's voyage from Greenock to New York, scarcely 8,000 had entered America from all ports. This movement to the West was a migrant, not an immigrant movement. The peoples of the East who had settled there were breaking up their homesteads and pouring westward. The whole nation had become an inland tidal wave.

"Look there!" said Scott to his companion as he pointed out a strange group on the crowded highway. It was a company of four, an elderly couple and a young couple. They had a cart but no horse. The elderly father, walking between the shafts, pushed his weight against a strap passed over his shoulder, across his chest and under the opposite arm. His son pulled at traces fastened to the end of the shafts. The young woman rode in the cart, which was piled high with belongings. The old woman walked, driving a cow! Before they had gone the full length of their journey, the two young men saw many groups like

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this one. The poor and the defeated made up a great section of this pilgrimage to "The Land of Beginning Again."

All day long the footwise Scott brushed past heavily loaded covered wagons, each drawn by six horses. They were called Conestoga wagons for the Philadelphia firm that built them. Their cargoes, which nestled low into the boat-shaped beds, ranged from 3,000 to 6,000 pounds. Their progress was slow. The two youths in their vigorous early twenties overtook and passed many of them in the course of a day, for such freight carriers averaged twelve or fifteen miles from morning till night, whereas foot travelers could cover from fifteen to twenty miles in the same time.

They also overtook and passed drovers with their herds and flocks of hogs and cattle, crawling along at the rate of five or six miles a day. There were, as well, scores of walkers, with whom they could strike up a conversation to sate their curiosity and beguile the hours.

Now and then Brahmans of the road charged by in egg-shaped stagecoaches. These fine vehicles, richly ornamented in gilt and luxuriously fitted out, carried twelve passengers, nine of them in the comfortable interior, and three more perched high in front with the driver. The rate of speed made by the stages was an envious ten miles an hour. Their horses were changed every twelve miles.<sup>3</sup>

Scott and his friend knew very well why they were not riding in one of these coaches. They felt their pockets and remembered that the fare from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh alone was \$20 for one passenger and twenty pounds of luggage, and that each hundredweight of luggage cost \$12 more.<sup>4</sup> It was some satis-

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faction to know that these swift queens of the road also carried the United States mails.

That overland walk from New York to Pittsburgh required nearly four weeks of continuous trudging. The two footsore pioneers drew up for the night in an inviting field, where they slept under the clear sky and the friendly stars. Sometimes they stayed in a settler's cabin and shared the simple friendliness and the happy hospitality of those who had come like themselves out of the East, but at an earlier day. Occasionally they took their night's repose at a great wayside inn. Built of stone, these great inns stood at intervals of a normal day's journey all along the way. Their central feature was a large hall with an enormous fireplace. This hall was dining room, parlor, and barroom. The fire was fed by logs hauled in through the wide door by horse, up to the very hearth! There, from time to time, the host poked the embers with a giant six-foot poker, turned the meat on a spit, or stirred the pot which hung over the hot coals. There on a cool evening gathered the travelers for stories and songs before retiring. Scott often charmed the ears of such a gathering and washed away the weariness with the liquid music of his flute, which he played with a skill bordering on genius.

In such an inn supper was thirty-three and one-half cents. Breakfast could be had for the same price, while dinner, served at noon, was a little more expensive. It cost thirty-seven and one-half cents.<sup>5</sup> In this same inn a few "bits" (one cent), "fippenny bits" (six and one-half cents), and "levies" (twelve and one-half cents) would buy a night's lodging.<sup>6</sup>

Rising on the morrow, the two companions were again at the seemingly endless task—walking, walk-

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ing. And yet, Scott was not tired. Each day held new surprises, and the scenery, to his city-bred eyes, was a never-ending source of delight. His wonder at the stretching miles of natural beauty sometimes became an uncontrollable singing ecstasy within him. He burst into song or raced from the road to hug the great trunks or tug at the leafy boughs. Every day the great panorama kept edging westward. The level lands of eastern Pennsylvania gradually yielded to rolling hills, and the rolling hills gave way to the giant ridges of the Allegheny Mountains. Up and down them they toiled. Then at last they were over the mountains, trending toward Pittsburgh.

A week later they arrived, tired but triumphant. It was May 7, 1819. The proud city which called itself the "Gateway of the West" was little more than an overgrown village. In 1800 it had numbered 1,565 inhabitants.<sup>7</sup> It now had 767 buildings, a steam mill that could grind five hundred bushels of grain a day, four glass factories, two cotton mills, a wire mill and iron foundry, together with several breweries and distilleries.<sup>8</sup> This town was wedged into a triangle where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers flowed together to form the Ohio. Across this wedge of land hundreds of thousands had beaten a path to the Ohio and its flatboats. For more than a dozen years, Pittsburgh had been an important shipbuilding center. Sailing vessels built in its docks were floated down the Ohio and Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico and out to sea. Many of them plied their trade on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.<sup>9</sup>

Even more thriving was the business of supplying flatboats. As early as 1788, nearly a thousand of these rafts had carried more than 18,000 men, women,

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and children down the Ohio in one year. This flood of migration surging through the "Gateway of the West" had been released by the Revolutionary War and was increasing with each season.

In such a city stood Walter Scott in May of 1819. At the tip of the triangle, the moving tide of humanity washed around and past him, his friend among them. After farewells, he stood and watched a while. Families boarded their newly possessed flatboats. Wagons, household goods, and livestock were all moved onto the decks. Taking to the water, they began poling their way farther into the sunset.

Walter Scott, ten months in America, stood where the formal East was melted down, became fluid, and flowed into the formless but forming West. Perhaps he could have a part in the shaping. But before he could do that, he must find lodgings and, what was even more urgent, a means of livelihood. Where should he turn? He was, after all, a schoolteacher. With all his walking, he had not left himself behind, nor the peculiar bents of his talents. Was there a school or academy in Pittsburgh?



## *CHAPTER II*

### **The Scotts of Thirstane**

**W**HEN Walter Scott introduced himself to George Forrester, a Pittsburgh clergyman and schoolmaster, who had his own academy, he was greeted warmly. His name had been made famous by the contemporary Scottish novelist and poet.

The inevitable question, asked by his host, was one to which the young teacher had long been accustomed: "Are you and the poet related?"

"Yes," he replied, "we are both members of the Scott Clan. The poet belongs to the House of Hardin. I am of the House of Thirstane. There is, also, the Ducal House, with Duke Beclough at its head. His name is also Walter Scott!"<sup>1</sup>

Walter Scott was born in the town of Moffatt, county Dumfriesshire, Scotland, October 31, 1796. His mother had been Mary Innes. She was a most sensitive and loving wife and mother. Deeply religious, she clung without wavering or question to the strict principles of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. His father, John Scott, was a music teacher by profession. He was a friendly, religious man of refinement and culture. His meager earnings from the teaching of music were stretched out to meet the demands of a large family, for John and Mary Scott had ten children. This happy brood was exactly balanced, there being five sons and five daughters! Walter was the fourth son and the sixth child.

Walter had soon displayed both brilliance and reverence, and his parents cherished him for the Pres-

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byterian ministry. To this end they had scraped and saved until he could be sent to Edinburgh to stay with his aunt and attend the university. He entered the college of arts in 1810, when he was fourteen, the usual age for going to the university.

His name was already well known at Edinburgh. Two young men of that name had matriculated in 1808, one in the arts and one in law. A Walter Scott had also entered in 1809! Still another was taking the first-year course in 1817.<sup>2</sup> Walter Scott, the poet and novelist, had attended there two decades earlier and was living in the city at this very time. His widely popular *Lay of the Last Minstrel* had been published in 1805. *Marmion*, released from the press in 1808, possessed such infectious rhythms that its lines were quoted everywhere, and *The Lady of the Lake* appeared in 1810, while young Walter was in his first-year course.

Even at this time, the name of Walter Scott was ancient. Sir Walter was proud of his lineage, and he often spoke and wrote about it:

My father's grandfather was Walter Scott, well known by the name of *Beardie*. He was the second son of Walter Scott, first laird of Raeburn, who was third son of Sir Walter Scott, and the grandson of Walter Scott, commonly called in tradition *Avid Watt of Harden*.<sup>3</sup>

Thus for eight generations, this name had rung in the ears of Scotsmen!

Edinburgh's first-year course was not an easy one. It comprised five assigned subjects: Latin, Greek, logic, mathematics, and moral philosophy. In addition to these studies at the university, Walter kept up his music. He took instruction on the flute from the former master of the military band which had

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accompanied Sir Ralph Abercrombie on his expedition to Egypt. So apt a pupil was the young student that he soon surpassed his teacher and became the most accomplished flutist in Edinburgh.

He was also a talented singer, but his natural shyness eschewed vocal solos in public. On at least one occasion, however, he scaled this barrier. This was on New Year's morning, 1812, when he was sixteen years old. It happened during the traditional customs of greeting the New Year.

According to these customs, Scots used to watch the new year in at the home of their friends. At midnight, with the stroke of twelve, the guests rose, drank a few toasts, and shook hands all around as they gave utterance to their New Year's wish: "May the year that's awa' be the warst o' our lives."

As the company broke up, there often arose out of the animated talking a curious question: "I wonder who will be our first foot?" The first visitor to cross the threshold of a home on New Year's Day bore this graphic title. As "first foot" he stamped the luck of the year upon the whole household. This tradition filled the streets on New Year's Eve with happy, holiday crowds. Each person was intent on becoming "first foot" in the house of some friend.

On this particular New Year's, "Walter and his brother James had crossed the old Edinburgh bridge to put "first foot" in the house of a friend. They had recrossed the bridge on their way home when James missed his brother. Judging the crowds to be too thick for a search, he went on without him. But Walter did not come. Propelled by mounting fear, James raced back along the still crowded streets to the bridge. There a knot of rapt people was

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gathered. Out of its midst issued Walter's clear, rich voice singing one of Old Scotia's songs. Wondering why his bashful brother had suddenly become a street minstrel at midnight, he edged his way into the circle until he could see for himself. In after years, James delighted to tell the story:

The young singer was standing upon the stone steps of one of the shops near the bridge, and a step or two below him stood a blind beggar holding out his hat to receive the pennies which ever and anon in the intervals between the songs the crowd would bestow. All day long the blind man had sat and begged, and, knowing that the street would be crowded that night even more than it had been during the day, he hoped that night would yield him the charity which he had implored almost in vain through the livelong day. But the crowds were intent on pleasure and friendly greetings, and few responded to the appeal of him to whom day brought no light, and whose night was no darker than his day. Young Walter drew near, and his heart was touched by his mute imploring look, which had taken the place of the almost useless appeal, "Give a penny to the blind man." He had neither gold nor silver to give, but he stopped and inquired as to his success, and found that few had pitied and relieved his wants. His plan was formed in a moment; he took his place by the beggar's side and began singing, in a voice shrill and sweet, a strain which few Scotchmen could hear unmoved. The steps of nearly all who passed that way were arrested; soon a crowd gathered, and when the song ended he made an appeal for pennies, which brought a shower of them, mingled now and then with silver, such as never had fallen into the blind man's hat before. Another and another song was called for, and at the close of each the finger of the singer pointed significantly, and not in vain, to the blind man's hat; and thus he sang far into the night; and when he ceased, the blind beggar implored heaven's richest blessings on the head of the youthful singer, and bore home with him the means of support and comfort for many a coming day.<sup>4</sup>

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After his university days, the most exciting event that happened in young Scott's life was the arrival of a letter from America. This message from the other side of the Atlantic was from his mother's brother, George Innes, who had served in the United States Customs Service under Madison and was fortunate enough to retain his post when the administration changed with Monroe in 1817.

The letter carried a suggestion which set the Scott household to talking, for "Uncle George" had invited his sister to send one of her boys to America, promising to do all he could to gain a footing for him and to secure the way to his advancement.

The family fell in at once with George Innes' kind offer. It was decided that Walter was the one to go. He was the most talented of the sons and he was also the best educated. When making his way among the many hazards and surprises of America, Walter, it seemed to them, would find himself best equipped to survive and prosper.

Wrenching himself free of the bonds of tender affection which drew him toward parents, brothers, and sisters, Walter set his face toward America. He sailed from Greenock on "The Glenthorn" and arrived safely in New York Harbor July 7, 1818.

## *CHAPTER III*

### **"Frontier of the Soul"**

**W**ALTER SCOTT had been fortunate enough to find employment George Forrester, to whom he had been directed, proved to be something more than a schoolmaster. He was a Scotsman who, like himself, had come to America in answer to the call of the New World. He was also a lay preacher. Simple in manner, earnest, and thoughtful about his religion, he presided over a tiny congregation meeting in the courthouse.

Walter had been devout from his earliest childhood. Reared by his strict parents to have implicit trust in the Church of Scotland, he had been faithful in his attendance upon divine services and in performing his daily devotions. If he had not gladdened the heart of his mother by entering the Presbyterian ministry as she had hoped, it was not from lack of religious inclinations but because he had never grasped the whole matter of church and Scripture with one clear, luminous insight. Being of a logical nature, he could not act from pure emotion or blind habit; he had to see his course. Because he had never found a teacher who could enable him to do this, his faith had remained that of a pious but somewhat bewildered layman.

Walter learned that the religion of his principal and host was not cut upon the conventional Presbyterian pattern. Their discussions soon disclosed that. He found that Forrester knew the Scriptures intimately and that he did not; and, what was even more

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important, he learned that religion was a subject which could excite and engage the mind.

It was therefore out of something richer than custom that he walked with his new friend to meeting the following Sunday. What he found there excited him further. The members of the congregation greeted one another with "a holy kiss"! Had not Paul directed this in Romans 16:16? They washed one another's feet, for had not Jesus commanded it? (John 13:14). Moreover, he had arrived on Communion Sunday only to learn that every Sunday was Communion day. He heard no creeds recited. The service was simple and, wherever possible, in the language of Scripture. Infant baptism was not admitted. This church accepted as members only those who were old enough to decide for themselves that they wanted to be Christians and who, following that decision, were baptized by complete immersion. He discovered that this congregation was an independent unit; it was subject to no presbytery or synod, or to any other authoritative body outside itself. In fact, the whole notion of authority was centered with simple vigor in the Scripture, and that not in general but in specific terms. Here was a church determined to be guided by nothing that it could not find in the letter of the Bible. It was a "Haldane" church.

In 1799, two wealthy brothers, Robert Haldane and James Alexander Haldane, had withdrawn from the Church of Scotland in protest against its complacent respectability and its professionalized clergy. They had formed Sunday schools, institutes for the training of lay preachers, and had gradually evolved a simple theology and church order, which quickly spread, creating many small congregations in Scot-

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land, Ireland, and the United States. The Haldanes were, in fact, native citizens of Edinburgh!

Scott was now plunged into an all-engrossing quest. With George Forrester as eager guide, he examined the Scriptures minutely to see whether these things were so. He gave special attention to baptism, for if Forrester and his church proved to be correct on this point, his own infant baptism and his whole status as a Christian were brought into question. At the close of each day, he rushed from the classroom to the Bible. Far into the night, he and his host pored over it.

Days followed days, and weeks passed. Each Sunday Walter walked companionably with the Forrester family to church and then sat in the congregation avidly reaching for every word that was spoken. Aided by his knowledge of Greek, the young tutor studied all the New Testament references to baptism. *How* was baptism performed in earliest times? From this study he came away convinced. Baptism was by immersion only!

Well, then! There was nothing to do but to be baptized! And George Forrester immersed him. So great was the change of perspective wrought in him by these past few weeks, and by the decisive act which had brought all the discussion and questioning to a focus, that what he had formerly known seemed like a pale imitation of religion, if not a mistake altogether.

"I have now been converted to Christianity!" he exulted.<sup>1</sup>

In the months that followed, his discovery became a new point of departure for other intellectual adventures. He was not content to stop with a verification



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of the practice of the church which had now become his own spiritual family. He must show others the light he had glimpsed. 'The rapt listener of a few weeks before now became an apt teacher. When he could not reason and persuade in public, he did so in private.'

As winter wore on into the spring of 1820, George Forrester found his church requiring more and more of his time. Discovering in young Scott such an able teacher, he resolved to withdraw from the academy, leaving all in the hands of his assistant, so as to devote his undivided energies to his ministry.

With his teaching burdens increased, Scott's zeal for the study of the Bible was not relaxed. He gave more and more time to it. He felt the thrill of fresh discovery in each encounter with Holy Writ and he came back to its pages with joy. Questions were forming in his mind faster than he could answer them. How did the Holy Spirit operate in conversion? Was there one clear scriptural plan of salvation which would correct and reconcile the divergent practices of Christendom? How would one classify the teachings of Scripture? What was its central teaching?

His clear, logical mind began to discern an outline. The Bible contained "precepts, duties, ordinances, promises, blessings,"<sup>2</sup> which were meant to precede or follow one another in just that order. The disarranging of these, as in infant baptism, where an ordinance was made to precede both teaching and faith, accounted in no small degree for the confusion and disunity of the church.

The mystery of conversion, upon a fresh study of the Acts of the Apostles, was found to be no mystery at all. It was not, as his Calvinistic training had led

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him to expect, a matter of long and agonizing "seekings," or of strange signs and mystical feelings induced by the Holy Spirit, selecting some and rejecting others. A converted person was one who heard, believed, and obeyed! It was that simple.

So matters passed into the summer. Then tragedy came. George Forrester was drowned while bathing in the Allegheny River. Scott was left to steady a stricken family, to conduct an academy, and to minister to a shaken church. To the needs of the Forrester family he gave attention from natural sympathy, and to the church he gave what had rapidly become an overflowing passion. To his academy he gave what seemed to him to be no more than the crumbs of duty. He fretted to be free of it in order to devote all his energy to religious reforms.

This seething inner tension came to a crisis in the spring of 1821<sup>3</sup> when a pamphlet, *On Baptism*, written by a Mr. Errette and published by a Haldane congregation in New York City, fell into his hands. Bypassing the mode of baptism as no longer in question, this pamphlet went on to discuss the purpose or "design of baptism." It was a new idea! Scott had never thought of it before. He read with mounting exhilaration.

After quoting Scripture in support of each proposition, this pamphlet asserted that the purpose of baptism was the remission of sins:

From these several passages we may learn how baptism was viewed in the beginning by those who were qualified to understand its meaning best. No one who has been in the habit of considering it merely as an

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*ordinance*, can read these passages with attention, without being surprised at the wonderful powers, and qualities, and effects, and uses, which are there apparently ascribed to it.<sup>4</sup>

What! Was baptism then something more important than an ordinance? He continued to read:

If the language employed respecting it, in many of the passages, were to be taken literally, it would import, that *remission of sins* is to be obtained by baptism, that an *escape from the wrath to come* is effected in baptism; that *men are born the children of God* by baptism; . . . that the Church of God is *sanctified and cleansed* by baptism; that men are *regenerated* by baptism; and that the *answer of a good conscience* is obtained by baptism.<sup>5</sup>

He continued. It was a literal interpretation of these scriptural passages, out of their settings, that had caused the church to attach so much efficacy to infant baptism. Baptism was more than a symbol or ordinance. It was a positive Christian action! Scott found himself startled into agreement that it was "in baptism that men professed, by deed, as they had already done by word, to have the remission of sins through the death of Jesus Christ."

Here was the key that completed his thought on one phase of the gospel. He not only had achieved knowledge of the manner of baptism; he had also grasped its design. With both the form and the purpose of baptism settled, he was one step nearer the whole gospel.

Suddenly the restlessness and yearning of all the preceding fall and winter crystallized into one clear line of action. He would dismiss his academy, take leave of his church, and set out on foot for a personal

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visit to the congregation from which this pamphlet had issued!

His action was as resolute as his decision. Taking little thought of how he would earn his living or what would happen to the school and local church, he gathered a bundle together, said his farewells, and set out. The intensity of his purpose reduced to insignificance the protracted days and nights on the road and the discomforts of the long hike. Just two years after he had crossed the ridges of the Allegheny Mountains going west, he was recrossing them in the opposite direction. But he was not retreating. He was still looking for a frontier. This time it was a frontier of the soul.

In New York he was reunited for a time with his Uncle George, and made his home there while he investigated the life of the Haldane church in that city. The Errette pamphlet had led him to expect an aggressive, growing church, much interested in evangelism. Instead he found a conservative, cautious, and stagnant body stubbornly defending the tenets of the Haldanes and unwilling to go with him upon further explorations in the direction of more radical reform. How was it that this church, which outwardly seemed to be thoroughly scriptural, was so sadly lacking in the spirit which had characterized the New Testament church?

His disappointment weighed heavily upon him. But it also drove him. There was something lacking in his reconstruction of the early church. What was it? His head was fairly bursting with thinking about it, and his eyes were weary from their long hours of prying into the Scriptures.

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It was while he was in the midst of this gloomy and chaotic mental rummaging that a letter came from the father of Robert Richardson, one of his most promising pupils in the Pittsburgh academy. They missed him greatly. All efforts to fill his vacant chair had come to naught, and the boys, to say nothing of their parents, were impatient to have him back. If he did not care to resume his old position, perhaps he would be interested in a smaller school, a private one conducted for his son Robert and several other very apt pupils from the families of friends. They had already conferred about it and had subscribed a salary better than anything he had seen before. Would he not come back to them? At his present stage of discouragement and puzzlement, he was more than half inclined to accept. His reply was tentative, and noncommittal.

Snatching at the hope of finding what he sought in other cities, he took again to the road. This time he was headed for Paterson, New Jersey, where he found a small, dispirited church in a very low condition. With sinking spirits but unrelenting purpose, he trudged on to Baltimore, and finally to Washington, D. C, where the same story was repeated. His last straw of hope had proved as worthless as the others.

"Having searched them up," he said some years later, "I discovered them to be so sunken in the mire of Calvinism, that they refused to reform; and so finding no pleasure in them I left them. I then went to the Capitol, and, climbing up to the top of its lofty dome, I sat myself down, filled with sorrow at the miserable desolation of the Church of God."<sup>6</sup>

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To Walter's sorrow there was to be added a desolation even more immediate, for on June 17, 1821, his father, John Scott, died of a sudden illness while on a visit to the town of Annan, Scotland; and his mother, sensitive Mary Innes, when she heard the news, was so stricken by grief that she died on the very next day.<sup>7</sup> Walter felt as alone as Elijah and all the orphans of the world.

## CHAPTER IV

### The "Golden Oracle"

**T**HERE was nothing to do but to return to Pittsburgh, accept the private school which Mr. Richardson had so graciously offered him, and continue his religious quest alone.

The program of studies to which he directed his fifteen select pupils was a rigorous one. His rules for the classroom are summed up in three words—*obedience, order, accuracy*. Carrying his students through the Greek and Latin classics, as was in keeping with the pedagogy of the day, he was content with no stumbling translations but only with fluent mastery.

Remarking some years later upon his teacher, Robert Richardson said:

He took especial pains to familiarize the students of the ancient tongues with the Greek of the New Testament, for which purpose he caused them to commit it largely to memory, so that some of them could repeat, chapter by chapter, the whole of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John in the Greek language.<sup>1</sup>

He also required the memorizing and reciting of long sections from the Greek and Latin classics. Although this was "irksome to those of feeble memory" it was nevertheless exacted with rigor.

But Scott was something more than a stern preceptor. An innate sympathy enabled him to gain insight into the minds and feelings of those under his charge and to make himself their friend. He had tact, wit, and intuitive perception of character. These sea-

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soned the inflexible discipline of the classroom and made him popular with his pupils.

In this school, moral training was regarded as an, objective equal to knowledge, and the weaving of one into the other was done with such skill and naturalness that one pupil remembered some of the lessons long afterwards.

"I would sometimes invite him to walk out of an evening to my father's garden in the vicinity of the city," said Robert Richardson, "but his mind could not be divorced, even amid such recreations, from the high theme which occupied it." Richardson goes on to say:

Nature, in all its forms, seemed to speak to him only of its Creator; and although ... he sought ever to interest himself in the things that interested others, his mind would constantly revert to its ruling thought; and some incident in our ramble, some casual remark in our conversation, would at once open up the fountain of religious thought, which seemed to be ever seeking for an outlet.

Thus, for instance, if I would present him with a rose, while he admired its tints and inhaled its fragrance, he would ask, in a tone of deep feeling, "Do you know, my dear, why in the Scriptures Christ is called the Rose of Sharon?" If the answer was not ready, he would reply himself: "It is because the rose of Sharon has no thorns."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, Walter's spare hours and other hours stolen from sleep in the dead of night were abandoned to his private search. Was there in the Bible one gospel or many? Was there only one divinely authorized plan of teaching the Christian religion? What was the central teaching of Scripture? These and other questions ruled his thoughts. And every day he committed



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a new portion of the Bible to memory and stored it away in the spacious archives of his mind.

His sifting of the New Testament was done in the Greek language. "When he returned to the current English versions, they seemed to him archaic, flat, or inaccurate. This Book had come alive for him, and he wanted it to live for others, in their own speech. So thinking, he projected a plan to translate the entire New Testament from Greek into the clear and unambiguous English spoken by his contemporaries. After laying out the prospectus, he carried it to the printer, a Mr. Butler, in the city of Pittsburgh. He had not rightly estimated the expense of such an undertaking, and to his dismay soon heard from the lips of Mr. Butler such a figure of costs as blocked his plan completely. "My means are wholly too limited. I must abandon the attempt."

It was, in consequence, a matter of delight to him when Alexander Campbell, no later than 1826, published just such a translation of the New Testament as he had envisioned.

His study of the Bible was greatly advanced by the library of the late George Forrester. He pored over such volumes as Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels*, *Benson on the Epistles*, John Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, and the books of the Scottish independents, Glas and Sandeman.

He was excited to read in the books of Robert Sandeman, who, after coming to America, had died in Danbury, Connecticut, in 1771, that it is within the power of every man to believe the gospel and obey its commands to his own salvation. He read with ready agreement that faith preceded repentance, and that faith was nothing more mystical than the belief of

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clear evidence. It was the result of the testimony of the New Testament. Faith was believing evidence, and it came before repentance. What a simple and satisfying view of faith! To follow this line of thought—and he did follow it—was to desert the prevailing notion that depraved man was incapable of faith unless he was of the elect and until the Holy Spirit came upon him, enabling him to believe. To pursue this course was also to cast doubt upon the pattern of conversion almost universally accepted: a long, agonizing repentance followed by a sublime feeling of divine forgiveness, to issue in the relating of this subjective "experience" before the assembled church in order to elicit the favorable vote of the membership.

*The Reasonableness of Christianity*, written by the noted British statesman and philosopher, John Locke, more than a hundred years before, was no less rewarding. Christianity, this book declared, is a revelation but it is not therefore out of accord with reason. It could not have been originated by the human mind, but once it has been disclosed, the human mind can grasp it, for Christianity is reasonable, and the profession and practice of it are to be undertaken in a reasonable way.

As he read on, he found himself in agreement with statement after statement. Creeds, canons, and councils are superfluous as centers of religious authority. The New Testament is the only court of appeal, and reason its only arbiter. A study of the New Testament will disclose that the essential article of faith is the acknowledgment of Christ as Messiah. If a man really accepts Christ, he has accepted all his teachings! The authority of Christ is established by

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evidence which appeals to reason, and this evidence is of three sorts: (1) his miracles, (2) his fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, and (3) the testimony of Scripture. *It was possible to sum up the whole Christian life as the law of faith in Christ!*

With such help, his searching of the Scriptures had found a center. This Holy Book contained one truth which is the sun to which all other Christian truths are planets in a spiritual solar system. This truth is that *Jesus is the Christ*. It is the "Golden Oracle"! This "Golden Oracle" is the creed of the Christian, the bond of Christian union, and the way of salvation.

In the school at Richardson's, it came time for examination, an exercise which was conducted in public. His pupils made such an excellent impression upon the assembled parents and citizens that there arose an immediate clamor that the school should be opened to the public. Reluctantly, Scott yielded. There were one hundred and forty applications! Most of these were from the homes of Scotch Presbyterians, who wanted the young master to teach the Westminster Catechism as part of the curriculum. Walter was pleased that they should want religious instruction, but at the present stage of his own pilgrimage he was as set as steel against creeds and catechisms. It was finally agreed that all instruction in religion would come directly from the New Testament, a chapter of which would be read and expounded every Saturday morning. Desiring to make the most of this and to see that its lesson stuck, the zealous teacher took a piece of chalk and wrote over the entrance, on the inside of the school, where all could see it as they left the building, the words of the "Golden Oracle":

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### JESUS IS THE CHRIST

Robert Richardson, who was thirteen at the time Walter Scott undertook his education,<sup>3</sup> had previously studied in the academy of Thomas Campbell while the author of the *Declaration and Address* had lived and ministered in Pittsburgh during the year 1816.<sup>4</sup> It was then that the Richardson family struck up a warm friendship with Thomas Campbell and later with his son, Alexander, who often came to visit in their spacious and hospitable home.

Alexander Campbell paid such a friendly visit in the winter of 1821-22, and there Walter Scott met him. Campbell was thirty-three; Scott was twenty-five. They were decidedly different from each other both in temperament and appearance, but they were immediately drawn into a compact of affection which was to last for the next forty years.

Campbell was tall, vigorous, and athletic; Scott was of average height, slender, and without muscular strength. Campbell's hair and eyes were light; his glance was straight and piercing. Scott's hair was black; his eyes were dark and lustrous, and their keen intelligence was mellowed by softness. Campbell was alert and communicative, even when listening. Scott was abstracted and sometimes enveloped in sadness. Campbell was coldly logical. Scott also was logical, but he had a warmth of feeling which was as tender and sensitive as that of a child.

In their approach to a problem, their methods also contrasted. Campbell was given to wide generalizations, to grouping facts under sweeping principles. He delighted in analogies and relations. Scott possessed an analytical mind, dividing a subject into finely balanced parts. His thought was inclined to

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be somewhat mechanical, and often legalistic. This tendency was in conflict with the artistic, often erratic, oscillation of feeling which charged every idea of Scott's with electric current. He was at once clear but excitable, rationalistic but moody. No such inner tension seemed ever to tear at the vitals of Campbell; he was self-consistent, imperturbable, resolute, and unemotional.

Nevertheless, the two men were drawn magnetically to each other. At long last, Walter Scott's search for a kindred spirit had found a welcome hearth. There was in his finding all the solace and joy of a homecoming. They were thinking along the same lines, both seeking the reform of a desolate church, both intent upon the primitive Christian order, the destruction of creeds, the elevation of the New Testament, and the investiture of religious experience with reason.

They had read the same books—Sandeman, Haldane, Locke. They held the same views on faith, on Christ, on the Bible, on baptism, on church order! In fact, Alexander Campbell had successfully debated Rev. John Walker at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, on the subject and action of baptism as recently as March of the previous year.

In late September or early October of 1821, John Tait, of Rising Sun, Virginia, had carried with him from Mrs. Robert Forrester of Pittsburgh, a copy of the Errette pamphlet on Baptism which had occasioned Walter's sudden trip to New York. Tait stopped on his way home for a visit with Alexander Campbell and, in the course of his visit, showed him the pamphlet. Campbell read it and was so arrested and delighted by it that Tait left the booklet with

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him.<sup>5</sup> The two men were therefore thinking together not only on the mode but also on the purpose of baptism. That was only a few weeks before Campbell's meeting with Scott.

Scott now learned of the formation of the Christian Association of Washington in 1809, the publication of the *Declaration and Address* in the same year, the organization of the Brush Run Church, and Campbell's "Sermon on the Law" at Cross Creek, Virginia, in 1816.

Although Campbell was then within the bosom of the regular Baptist church, his views were so completely at variance with those of most of his fellow ministers that he was constantly in danger of being cast out. Meantime, his itinerant preaching was winning an ever widening and ever more appreciative hearing for the principles of church reform. A flame had caught, and, although it had not become a prairie fire, it was slowly spreading.

Campbell was conducting, at this very time, a school in his own home at Buffaloe (later Bethany), Virginia (now W. Va.). He called it the Buffaloe Seminary. It had opened in 1818 and it had yet two more years to run before its close. His father, Thomas Campbell, was helping him with the teaching. It was not very long until Scott met the elder Campbell and found in him a man of very similar temperament, whom he cherished from the very beginning as the most saintly man of his acquaintance.

From this time forward, Campbell and Scott were in constant communication, by letter, by messenger, and by mutual visitation. On the lonely road there was now a companion—a robust, able, and aggressive champion of church reform.

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During all this time, Walter, in addition to his duties at the school, was also acting as pastor of the little church that met every Lord's Day in the courthouse. Perhaps the most influential convert of these years was a young man of twenty-three, Samuel Church, who had been reared a Covenanter and who had become a member of the independent church conducted by Rev. John Tussey in Pittsburgh. His presence among the independents showed Church to be a young man of self-reliance and thoughtfulness, for he had taken his stand only after an examination of Scripture had convinced him of the error of the Covenanters' theology.

When he ran upon Scott, only two years his senior, he discovered that his own investigation of the Bible had been cursory beside that of the young teacher. Having opened the Bible under his guidance for a few hours, he was convinced on the subject of baptism and was immersed. The two became staunch friends.

Samuel Church, inspired by Scott's example, became a close student of the Scriptures, reading them through so many times that he knew almost the whole of them by heart. At the age of forty, he had read the New Testament one hundred and fifty times and the Old Testament seventy-five times. He grew in the habit of carrying about with him a small Bible, which he read everywhere when he had a few moments of leisure.

The fruit of all this reading soon made Church one of America's foremost authorities on the contents of the English Bible. Alexander Campbell was moved to say, "I would rather trust Samuel Church in any subject that could be settled by the common version of the Bible than any other man within my knowledge."<sup>6</sup>

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Although he had been without much formal schooling, Church's private studies made him effective in the teaching and preaching of the Christian message. These abilities soon resulted in the gathering of a small congregation and the establishing of a second church in Allegheny City. This church grew until it outstripped Scott's in membership. For thirty years it prospered under the leadership of its original pastor. Working side by side with his able convert, at the same tasks in the same city, Walter Scott had found another companion of the Way.

In the first month of 1823, a third and still more important companion was added. Five miles from Pittsburgh there lived a "once wealthy farmer" by the name of Whitsette, whose daughter Sarah exercised upon Walter an irresistible charm. At the time of their acquaintance, she was a Covenanter Presbyterian, but the young Scotsman soon succeeded in persuading her to accept all his views, so that she not only became a member of his church but also consented to share his life. They were married, January 30, 1823.<sup>7</sup> If Sarah was born to wealth and reared in it most of her life, that part of her career was over; for her newlywed husband was poor at the beginning and continued to be poor until the end.

Alexander Campbell's success in his debate against Walker and his disappointment at the absence of ministerial candidates from his school led him to close Buffaloe Seminary in the spring of 1823 in the hope of reaching a wider audience through writing and by public debate. A debate with Rev. W. I. McCalla was in the making for the fall, and a magazine was projected for midsummer. Campbell had discussed the magazine with Walter Scott and had asked him



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to become a regular contributor. It had been the budding editor's thought to call his journal the *Christian*, but Scott prevailed upon him to change this to the *Christian Baptist* for the sound business reason that it would be more likely to find a ready circulation among the Baptists under this title. Campbell assented. A prospectus was published while the young editor prepared his first issue and awaited subscribers.

This prospectus read, in part:

The "Christian Baptist" shall espouse the cause of no religious sect, excepting that ancient sect called "Christians first at Antioch." Its sole object shall be the eviction of truth, and the exposure of error in doctrine and in practice. The editor acknowledging no standards of religious faith or works, other than the Old and New Testaments, and the latter as the only standard of the religion of Jesus Christ, will, intentionally at least, oppose nothing which it contains, and recommend nothing which it does not enjoin. Having no worldly interest at stake from the adoption and reprobation of any article of faith or religious practice, having no gift or religious office or any worldly emolument to blind his eye or to pervert his judgment, he hopes to manifest that he is an impartial advocate of truth.

Walter Scott was happy to join forces with such "an impartial advocate of truth" and did so in the very first issue of the *Christian Baptist*, which appeared July 4, 1823, contributing an article entitled "On Teaching Christianity."

In four articles, which ran in succeeding issues of the new magazine, Scott presented his matured reflection on the intent of the Scriptures as he had come to see it. All articles were signed "Philip" for he was conscious of being on the threshold of a new religious reformation, in which movement he thought

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of his friend Alexander Campbell as the Luther and himself the Melancthon.

"Is there one way, and only one, of preaching Christ to sinners!" "Philip" asked. "I answer in the affirmative, there is but one authorized way of making Christ known to men, in order that they may believe and be saved; and now it is my business to show, by Scripture, that this is the ease."<sup>8</sup>

"Dear Lord, when I reflect that I have spent twenty years of my life under the noisy verbosity of a Presbyterian clergyman without receiving the least degree of light from the holy word of God! Our blessed Saviour did not treat mankind as modern ministers do—scold and insult them for not believing or having faith in a proposition, for which they are no way careful to adduce the proper evidence."

"The gospel is a question of fact."

"The members of the Church of Christ are united to one another by the belief of a matter of fact, viz: *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.* . . . The Scriptures propose the belief of this fact ... as the only means for increasing the body or church of God."

"Times without number we are told in Scripture that the grand saving truth is, that 'Jesus is the Christ.' This is the bond of union among Christians —the essence—the spirit of all revelation. All the Scriptures testify and confirm this simple truth, that 'he that believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten by God.'"

"We shall see that the heavens and the apostles proposed nothing more in order to convert men from the error of their ways and to reduce them to the love and obedience of Christ."<sup>9</sup>

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It was the vision of the "Golden Oracle" in print.

Walter Scott, lonely pilgrim in quest first of a place, then of a purpose, and finally of persons who would share it with him, now had all three. With companions of the Way, he strode forward in confidence— Alexander Campbell, Samuel Church, and Sarah. Blessed Sarah! On November 19, 1823, she presented him with a new and a very dear companion, a baby boy. The fond parents proudly named him John Passmore Scott.<sup>10</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### Beyond the Ohio

**F**OR two years and a half after the birth of John Walter and Sarah Scott continued to live in Pittsburgh, teaching school, ministering to the Church of Christ, and writing occasionally for the *Christian Baptist*.

John was a year and ten months old when his sister Emily was born on September 24, 1825.<sup>1</sup> The fine balance of the family—one man, one woman, one boy, one girl—must have pleased the analytical mind of Scott as much as the presence of an infant daughter warmed his heart!

For some reason the church which Walter had inherited from Robert Forrester did not grow. At length, its young minister became convinced that it would not grow and that he should turn his attention elsewhere. He talked it over with Sarah, and they decided to move to Steubenville, Ohio, and in the late spring or early summer of 1826, the transfer to the town on the Ohio River, forty miles south of Pittsburgh, was accomplished. It was probably not an accident that the distance between the new Scott residence and that of Alexander Campbell was only fourteen miles.

A congregation and a school were soon gathered about the young preacher-teacher.

John Quincy Adams had followed James Monroe as president in 1825. The Monroe Doctrine had been in effect nearly three years. A nation growing in all directions, north, west, and southwest, had now

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expanded the roll call of states to include Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri. Ohio itself had become a state in 1802, following Virginia's and Connecticut's cession of the Northwest Territory to the Federal government. From the Ohio to the Mississippi, America was bustling frontier.

In 1825 the Erie Canal, which had been eight years in digging and which had cost \$7,000,000, connected Albany with Buffalo, New York, over 363 miles of water. Trade and travel between East and West were greatly stimulated, and the nation grew westward at an accelerating pace.<sup>2</sup> In 1820, Congress had greatly stimulated the purchase of land claims by abolishing the credit system and reducing the rate to \$1.25 per acre.<sup>3</sup>

Walter Scott was making a new beginning as part of a nation which awoke every morning to the sense of adventurous newness.

Into his hands at Steubenville came the July issue of the *Christian Baptist*, carrying an article on "The Millennium," which he had written while still in Pittsburgh. This and a succeeding article in the September number<sup>4</sup> show the development of a new facet of "Philip's" thinking. Stirrings of millennial expectancy were yeasting in the nation at this time, and Scott shared with Campbell and many others an intense interest in the subject.

"Mankind are [*sic*] certainly moving on the horizon of some great and eventful change, into the center of which all society must inevitably and speedily be carried," he wrote. Anticipating the end of the old social order and the inauguration of a new one, he

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continued, "God has designs of high favor toward man and will vouchsafe him an age of happiness, in which the entire sum of physical, moral and intellectual good which can be enjoyed on earth, will be granted."

The theme, added to his former preoccupation with the "Golden Oracle," was one to which he would return.

Late in August, 1826, Alexander Campbell and his father stopped at the Scott home to invite Walter to attend a meeting of the Mahoning Baptist Association at Canfield, Ohio, Friday through Sunday, August 25-27. The Wellsburg church, with which Campbell was then identified, had held membership in this association since 1824, and Campbell himself had first attended the ministers' meetings of this group in June of 1821 at Warren. The ministers were hospitable, and the churches were friendly. The *Christian Baptist* had enjoyed a good circulation among them from the beginning. Campbell promised that his friend would find much to cheer his heart in such a fellowship.

Scott consented. While riding toward the meeting, about sixty miles to the north, he reflected that there were three parties then struggling to restore original Christianity: the first of these, calling themselves "churches of Christ," were independent Haldane and Sandemanian congregations having little or no fellowship among themselves; the second, calling themselves "Christians," had risen and spread out of the labors of Barton W. Stone of Kentucky, and their evangelists were busy in Ohio; the third, then lying uneasily within the bosom of the regular Baptist church, was composed of those associated with his present companions.<sup>5</sup>

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The section of Ohio into which they were riding was the Connecticut Western Reserve. This region, also called "New Connecticut" because it had been claimed by the state of Connecticut before the Revolutionary War, included about three million acres bounded on the north by Lake Erie, on the east by Pennsylvania, on the south by the 41st parallel, and on the west by Sandusky and Seneca counties. It embraced the counties of Ashtabula, Trumbull, Lake, Geauga, Portage, Cuyahoga, Summit, Medina, Lorain, Erie, Huron, and the northern part of Mahoning. The Reserve extended about 120 miles from east to west and averaged about fifty miles from north to south.<sup>6</sup> Its settlers had come largely from New England and in matters of religion were predominantly Baptist and Methodist.<sup>7</sup>

The Mahoning Association was the Baptist organization of the Western Reserve. It had been organized in 1820 by Adamson Bentley, who was minister of the church at Warren for twenty years (1811-31). Originally composed of ten churches, with a total membership of 375, it had in 1826 sixteen churches reporting 578 members.<sup>8</sup> Two churches were not represented that year—the ones at Hartford and Youngstown. With these in attendance the previous year, the membership was listed at 623.<sup>9</sup>

The Association itself had a confession of faith or a creed, and each of the member churches was required to present an acceptable creedal statement before it could be voted into membership. These creeds were thoroughly Calvinistic, having developed from the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, which was the work of the Baptist Association meeting in that city, September 25, 1742. The special flavor of Bap-

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tist theology at that time is shown by a few extracts from the creeds of various churches within the fellowship :

"We believe man to be a fallen creature and in a fallen state and in his Present estate he is not able in and of himself to Recover himself to a State of happiness."<sup>10</sup>

"We believe that before the world began, God did elect a certain number of men unto Everlasting Salvation, whom he did Predestinate to the Adoption of Children by Jesus Christ.

"We believe that the work of Regeneration, Conversion, Sanctification and Faith: is not an act of Man's free will and Power, but of the Mighty, Efficacious and Irresistible Grace of God."<sup>11</sup>

"Faith and repentance are not terms or conditions of Salvation. They are the fruits of Regeneration, the exercises of a New heart, and evidences of our adoption, and although they are commanded of God, are Nevertheless wrought By the Special influence of his Spirit, and Graciously Promised to all his Elect."<sup>12</sup>

Resulting from this belief in the total depravity of human nature, election, predestination, and special operation of the Holy Spirit in conversion, stress was laid upon *feelings* associated with the *converting experience*. Membership in a church was gained only after such a satisfactory supernatural experience had been related. For those who could not achieve or produce such feelings, there were long agonizing periods of "seeking." The effect upon sensitive members of such a community was to strain sanity almost to the breaking point, and the reaction upon the evangelistic and missionary spirit of a church was deadening.



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The first honor of the annual meeting of the Association was accorded to the minister asked to deliver the opening sermon. He was chosen one year in advance. Alexander Campbell had been named to do this for the forthcoming meeting. The Bethany editor had risen to this position of eminence in the Mahoning Association largely through his magazine and also through his published debates. The Walker debate had been published in 1821, and the McCalla debate had been issued in book form in 1824. Adamson Bentley, upon reading the Walker debate in 1821, was so impressed by it that he took Sidney Rigdon with him and the two of them visited the successful debater in his home. Here they remained for two days, during which time they became thoroughly imbued with Campbell's views. By 1825 the Mahoning Association was so thoroughly sown with the writings and so thickly populated with the students and converts of Campbell that it was more "Campbellite" than regular Baptist.<sup>13</sup>

Evidence of Campbell's influence is abundant in the minutes of the Association. The Bethesda church at Nelson divided over his views as early as 1823, and both groups were received by the Association of 1825!<sup>14</sup> In the August meeting, 1823, one of the two churches at Palmyra asked, "Is the Law of God given to Moses or any part of it binding on the unregenerate at this day?" This question concealed a conflict between the orthodox Baptist position of a "level" Bible and Campbell's view, expressed in his 1816 "Sermon on the Law" and elsewhere, that the Christian dispensation had annulled the Law of Moses. The Association dodged between the horns of the dilemma by answering, "All the Law given by

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God to Moses is obligatory upon the unregenerate so far as it is promulgated by Christ."<sup>15</sup>

The affronted church at Nelson was licking at the wounds of her recent domestic struggles when she asked in the same meeting:

"Is it apostolic practice for churches to have confessions of faith, constitutions, or anything of like nature?"<sup>16</sup> This, being too "hot" to answer, was postponed to the following year, when the Nelson church restated its question, phrasing it in three parts:

First, will this Association hold in its connection a church which acknowledges no other rule of faith and practice than the Scriptures? Second, in what manner were members received into the Churches that were set in order by the Apostles? Third, how were members excluded from the same churches?<sup>17</sup>

These questions also were postponed for another year! In 1825, the following replies were given:" One: Yes. On satisfactory evidence that they walk according to this rule. Two: Those who believed and were baptized were added to the church. Three: By a vote of the Brethren."

In these questions and answers and their treatment by the Association from 1823 to 1825 can be discerned a growing influence of the principles of the Reformation.

In 1824 New Lisbon had asked, "Is it Scriptural to licence a Brother to administer the word and not the ordinances," thus reflecting *Christian Baptist* support of a lay ministry. Randolph had inquired, "Can Associations in their present modifications find their model in the New Testament?"<sup>18</sup> These, together with the query from Nelson, were tabled until the

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following year, when New Lisbon received this answer, "We have no such custom taught in the Scriptures"; and Randolph had this reply, "Not exactly."

The Youngstown church in 1825 had asked, "Was the practice of the primitive church an exact pattern to succeeding ages, and is every practice for good to be receded from which was not the practice of the primitive saints in their peculiar circumstances!" The Association answered: "It is the duty and high privilege of every Christian church to aim at an exact conformity to the example of the churches set in order by the Apostles and endeavor to imitate them in all things imitable to them."<sup>19</sup>

The Hiram church in August of 1824 had renounced its covenant, articles of faith, and constitution.<sup>20</sup>

At New Lisbon, articles of faith were read in one of their monthly meetings, in accordance with long-established practice. One of the members, bored with the long-repeated reading and also rebellious against the whole paraphernalia of creeds, asked to have the third article read again. The clerk complied with his request: "We believe the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice in religious things."

"Brethren, do we believe that article?" he asked.

"Certainly, most certainly," several replied.

"What, then, is the use of the rest?" he insisted. The creed had been read in that church for the last time!<sup>21</sup>

Yes, Campbell was confident that to one like Scott, intent upon the restoring of the New Testament church, the Western Reserve would appear a field ripe to harvest.

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When Scott arrived at Canfield and heard the statistical reports of the churches, he could see that the harvest was ripe in still another way. It had not been growing in numbers. Sixteen churches reported a total of eighteen baptisms and six additions by letter, while during the same period thirteen had been dismissed, twelve had been "excluded," and eleven had died. Numerically the churches were going backwards!

Plainly, the restoration of the "Ancient Order" in the church was not enough. Principles of reform were abroad, but these churches suffered from the common defect of Scott's church in Pittsburgh and of all the churches he had visited in the east—"not growing they were suffocated."<sup>22</sup> Something more was needed. What could it be? For a long time Scott's mind had been on the trail of that lacking element which if added would resurrect "the aggressive element of the Gospel." He felt close upon the answer, but as yet he could not quite grasp it. If Campbell had been honored as the first preacher of the convention, Scott was the second, for he was asked to preach at ten o'clock on Sunday morning, August 27. He preached from Matthew, chapter 11, speaking with such eloquence that many who had never seen either man went from the meeting supposing that they had heard Campbell.<sup>23</sup> That Scott should have been accorded this honor is singular in view of the fact that he was not a member of the Association, and not even a Baptist! Among those who heard this sermon was A. S. Hayden, who said that Scott's "fancy, imagination, eloquence, neatness, and finish as a preacher and a man attracted his attention, and fixed him forever on his memory."<sup>24</sup>

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Scott returned to Steubenville and to a family which on December 6, 1826, was increased by the birth of a third child, a second son, William Adolphus.

While the children of his body were being born, brain children were also coming to birth. In the *Christian Baptist*,<sup>25</sup> under date of February 5, 1827, and again on June 4, there appeared two articles over the name of "Philip" on "Experimental Religion." In these he undertook to show that religious "experience," of which Calvinists had always made so much, was not a matter of mystical conversion but of moral fruitage following conversion. "We are born of the Holy Spirit when our spirits are holy."

Whereas Calvinism had turned the gospel wrong end foremost, insisting, "Unless ye receive the Spirit ye cannot believe," the scriptural position was that Christian experience begins after hearing, believing, and obeying the gospel.

During the next six months the surface of his mind was engaged with the two ideas of the Messiahship and the millennium, while the depths of his thought grappled with the missing element in the Reformation. The former came to a head in the decision to begin publication of a magazine called the *Millennial Herald*.

The editor of the *Christian Baptist* wrote, in the issue of June 4, 1827:

Mr. Walter Scott, now of Steubenville, Ohio, has issued proposals for publishing a monthly paper, at one dollar per annum, to be entitled *The Millennium* [sic] *Herald*. The best recommendation we can give of the probable ability with which this work may be edited and of its public utility if suitably encouraged, is, that brother Scott is the author of those essays signed "Philip" in the *Christian Baptist*. The first number to appear in July next, if suitably encouraged. A. C.<sup>26</sup>

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Things had gone so far that the budding editor had published a prospectus of the periodical and had even gathered a goodly number of subscribers. He had intended to discuss the two subjects of "The Ancient Gospel," which was centered in the Messiahship, and "The Millennium."

"I had vacated my school for the purpose of having the first of these numbers printed, when an interview with Brother Campbell carried me to the Western Reserve, August, 1827."<sup>27</sup>

John Secrest and Joseph Gaston, two preachers of Stone's "Christians," were having much success as evangelists in Ohio. This had stirred Campbell, and he intended to see that it stirred the Mahoning Association. If events took the happy turn which he anticipated, Campbell knew that Scott would soon be installed as evangelist of the Association and that this turn of events would also, rather obligingly, dispose of a potential rival in the publishing field!

Uprooting him from his editorial desk, Alexander carried off his friend Walter to the 1827 meeting of the Mahoning Association at New Lisbon, August 23-25. There surprising things transpired.

Saturday morning the Braceville church, through its minister, Jacob Osborne, presented the following proposal to the convention:

We wish that this association may take into serious consideration the peculiar situation of the churches of the association, and if it would be a possible thing for an evangelical preacher to be employed to travel and teach among the churches, we think that a blessing would follow.<sup>28</sup>

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Whereupon the meeting voted: "That all the teachers of Christianity present, be a committee to nominate a person to travel and labor among the churches, and to suggest a plan for the support of the person so appointed."<sup>29</sup>

When the committee met, the voice of Alexander Campbell was heard to suggest the name of Walter Scott. The members turned to him to ask whether he would accept. Taken by surprise as he had been, he was startled to see that he could find no objection. In fact, an inner wisdom whispered that this was the pointing finger of Providence. He consented.

The result of the meeting is recorded in the minutes:

The committee, to which was referred the nomination of a person to labor among the churches, and to recommend a plan for his support, reported as follows:

1. That Bro. Walter Scott is a suitable person for the task, and that he is willing, provided the association concur in his appointment, to devote his whole energies to the work.

2. That voluntary and liberal contributions be recommended to the churches for creating a fund for his support.

3. That at the discretion of Bro. Scott, as far as respects time and place, four quarterly meetings for public worship, be held in the bounds of the association this year; and at these meetings such contributions as have been made, in the churches in those vicinities, be handed over to Bro. Scott, and an account be kept of the same to be produced at the next association; also, that at any time and in any church, when and where Bro. Scott may be laboring, any contributions made to him shall be accounted for to the next association.<sup>30</sup>

The response of the association was immediate: "*Voted*, That the above report, in all its items, be adopted."<sup>31</sup>

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Up to this time, there had been an "almost entire neglect of evangelization on the part of the few [i.e., Mahoning] churches which were originally connected with Mr. Campbell in his reformatory efforts." In fact, these churches "had not a single itinerant preacher, and, although they made great progress in biblical knowledge, they gained comparatively few converts."<sup>32</sup>

The corresponding letter to other associations, written that year by Alexander Campbell, informed other Baptists of the move on the Mahoning River, "We have found that too much indifference to the use of the means for the conversion of our fellowmen and contemporaries has hitherto prevailed amongst us, and by the favor of God, are determined to be more attentive to this grand object than before."<sup>33</sup>

"Walter Scott, when he left Sarah, had been pouring all his energies into the projected *Millennial Herald* and was prosperously settled in a school and a church. The tight little family group was cozy and happy. Walter returned from the Association to break the news. It would mean abandoning the periodical, resigning the church, breaking up housekeeping, and moving to the Western Reserve, where, at best, the future was uncertain and the absence of husband from wife and father from fond children would be long and painful.

There was never a doubt in the mind of either as to what he should do. They saw it as Providence and viewed the appointment with a mixture of awe and sadness.

Walter at this time was thirty-one. John, the eldest child, was not quite four; Emily was just two; and William was nine months. His going would leave a



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heavy burden upon Sarah! Besides, it would subject them both to the loneliness of those greatly in love. He tore himself away like a soldier who bids farewell before the battle. In his own words—

I immediately cut all other connections, abandoned my projected Editorship, dissolved my academy; left my church, left my family, dropt the bitterest tear over my infant household that ever escaped from my eyes, and set out under the simple conduct of Jesus Christ to make an experiment of what is now styled the Ancient Gospel.<sup>34</sup>

## CHAPTER VI

### A Light Shining Out of Heaven

**W**ALTER SCOTT returned at once to the Western Reserve. His examination of the recent past of the Mahoning Association left no doubt that he was needed. In this year of his appointment, all the churches in the Association had reported only 34 baptisms. At the same time they had recorded 13 exclusions, 14 dismissals, and 4 deaths! Other years had been a little better. The year previous to Scott's first visit to the Reserve, 1825, showed 16 baptisms. In 1824 there were 29; 1823 showed 40; 1822—48; 1821 was better—there were 63! And 1820 was best of all; there were 103. Closer examination, however, showed that 75 of these were from two churches, 56 of them being from Adamson Bentley's congregation at Warren, and 19 from Bazetta. The Baptists had not been doing much baptizing!

And he, Walter Scott, had been employed to shake them out of a lethargy seven years old, and a Calvinistic quiescence older still by far. Unless he could stop them from stating the gospel "wrong end foremost" he could do nothing. Faith, it was clear to him, was not the mystical fruit of the Spirit in the soul of one formerly depraved and incapable of believing; faith was the natural response to hearing; it was believing the evidence. Baptism was not a mere sign of an inward change of state; it was an act, completing personal obedience to Christ, and remission of sins followed upon it. *Then* came Christian experience! After one had become a Christian! That was where the Holy Spirit came in—when life

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was made morally holy. But how could he say all this so as to overturn age-old prejudices, capture a hearing, and win souls? Galloping his new horse into his field of labor, he was thinking hard all the way. How could he do it?

Exercising his prerogative to call four quarterly meetings annually to set him forward in his new work, he called the first one to meet at Braceville on September 16, 1827.<sup>1</sup> Braceville was the natural place for the meeting, for it was the church of Jacob Osborne, the man who had introduced into the Association the proposal for an evangelist. Braceville had been the center of agitation.

The meeting went well, with Scott, Bentley, and Osborne as the speakers. The impression was favorable; the financial response was adequate. Walking in the grounds just after the session, the three speakers fell into a serious conversation, stimulated by a remark in Bentley's sermon.

Jacob Osborne turned to Walter and asked, "Have you ever thought that baptism in the name of the Lord is for the remission of sins?"

Had he ever thought about that! He could speak at length on it; but, desiring to hear what his friend was going to say, he held himself in abeyance and motioned him to go on.

"It is certainly established for that purpose," Osborne continued. "It holds the same place under the gospel in relation to pardon, that the positive institution of the altar held to forgiveness under the law of Moses; under that dispensation the sinner offered the prescribed victim on the altar and was acquitted, pardoned through the merits of the sacrifice of Christ,

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of which his offering was a type. So under the gospel age, the sinner comes to the death of Christ, the meritorious ground of his salvation, through baptism, which is a symbol of the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ."

"Very well," said Scott, "it is evidently so." He was thinking furiously, but not as Bentley and Osborne fancied. He was close upon the quarry now!

After a while Osborne said to Bentley, "You have christened Baptism today."

"How so!" asked Bentley.

"You have termed it a remitting ordinance."

"I do not see how we are to avoid the conclusion with the Bible in our hands," said Bentley.<sup>2</sup>

Bentley had done little to enforce this conclusion in his own church, although he had been thinking about it for years. It was one thing to have *reformed views* about the church and quite another *to reform church practice* on their pattern.

Bentley, Osborne, and Scott were a fortunate combination, for it was while the three were together a few days later at Howland that the last piece of Scott's stubborn puzzle dropped into place. Osborne had preached and during the sermon he had said, on the basis of Acts 2:38, that no one had the promise of the Holy Spirit until after baptism. The three men were again talking after meeting.

"You are the boldest man I ever saw!" exclaimed Scott to Osborne. "Don't you think so, Brother Bentley!"

"How so!" asked Bentley.

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"Why, he said in his sermon that no one had a right to expect the Holy Spirit till after baptism."<sup>3</sup>

To Osborne and Bentley it was a commonplace observation, and the day was a common day, but to Walter Scott it was Pentecost, and God had spoken.

Alexander Campbell had insisted that the New Testament is the constitution of the Kingdom of Christ. And, if the ancient order is to be restored in the church, citizens must be received into the kingdom just as they were received by the apostles.<sup>4</sup> But Campbell had not been definite. How were citizens received into the kingdom? Now, Scott knew. It was a matter of accepting the evidence for the Lordship of Christ and of acting on his authority. This, in distinction from the emotionalism and subjectivism of a Calvinistic conversion, was pre-eminently a rational matter. It was objective, and it could be acted upon immediately.

Without making every conversion a new miracle of direct intervention by the Holy Spirit, what the Master said could be relied upon and acted upon with assurance that such obedience brought one into full citizenship in the kingdom. Conversion no longer rested on feelings. The long agonizing periods of seeking were over forever. A Christian messenger could present the evidence for the Messiahship of Jesus and expect to get the immediate obedience of his hearers. This he could do on the rational grounds that Jesus had promised remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and eternal life to all who obeyed him.

Now, the pattern was revealed. After the evidence of Jesus' Messiahship was presented, first came *faith*, or the believing of the evidence; then followed in

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logical order, *repentance, baptism, the remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and life eternal.* There were three things for man to do: believe, repent, be baptized. There were three things that God, through Christ, promised to do: remit sins, bestow the Holy Spirit, grant eternal life. Here were all the elements of the ancient gospel, as preached by the apostles; and this was their proper order. Just as one needs all the right letters to make a word and then must arrange them in the proper order to spell that word correctly, even so one needs for the restoration of the gospel both the right elements and the right arrangement of these elements. Those doing these things in that sequence constitute the ancient order; they are the church!

A shaft of heavenly radiance had wedged its way into his life. The long quest which carried him back over the Allegheny Mountains to New York and Washington was over! The gloom that enveloped him because of "the miserable desolation of the church of God" was dispelled! Now, he knew why the churches which were following the primitive order could still be suffocating. The ancient order and the ancient gospel were two distinct matters. The ancient order referred to the life of the church, but the ancient gospel to entering the church. The gospel preceded the church; and the ancient order without the ancient gospel is necessarily barren. But unite the two! The expansion of the kingdom is bound to be incalculable !

In his ecstasy, Scott now saw the whole panorama of the Reformation. First had come the plea for the

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union of Christians on scriptural grounds. This had involved an attack on creeds, confessions of faith, articles of government, and the restoration of the New Testament to a position of authority. Second, Calvinistic conversion, with its subjective tokens of regeneration and evidences of pardon, had been abandoned. Infant baptism had gone the way of Calvinism. Next came the restoration of the ancient order in the church. And, finally, in this eleventh hour, there had come the restoration of the ancient gospel!

The present century, then, is characterized by these three successive steps, which the lovers of our Lord Jesus have been enabled to make, in their return to the original institution. First the Bible was adopted as sole authority in our assemblies, to the exclusion of all other books. Next, the Apostolic order was proposed. Finally the True Gospel was restored.<sup>5</sup>

Scott's instinct for neatness was satisfied to note that these three stages had been accomplished by three men. Thomas Campbell had pleaded for union on the Bible alone. Alexander Campbell had disclosed the order of the primitive church within that Bible, and he, Walter Scott, had discovered the ancient gospel, or the good news of how to enter the church. Yes, at last, the Jerusalem gospel was in his grasp!

The key of knowledge was now in his possession. The points which before were dark or mysterious, were now luminous. It cleared away the mist, and let in the day just where all had struggled for ages, and many had stranded. The whole Scripture sorted itself into a plain and intelligible system in illustration and proof of this elementary order of the gospel. The darkened cloud withdrew. A new era for the gospel had dawned.<sup>6</sup>

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Once he was in possession of the missing something which had eluded him for the past five years, Walter's heart throbbed to share his transporting discovery with his wife, and his throat ached to preach this gospel. He decided to go home. Previously he had bought a plot of land in Canfield, and a house was being erected to receive his family as soon as it was ready. A visit to Steubenville could serve a multiple purpose: he could tell Sarah his secret; he could try out the revolutionary approach on a church near Steubenville; and he could prepare his family for the moving<sup>7</sup>

"With buoyant confidence and straining expectancy, Scott preached his first sermon on the new plan. It failed! His audience was taken by surprise. Surely he was, however amiable, a deluded enthusiast! This sounded so different from anything they had come to expect as "gospel" that it seemed to them like a new religion. Some of Scott's hearers were amazed, others were moved to pity, and some to scorn.

The rejected evangelist was plunged into gloom and invaded by uncertainty. His hopes had run so high and they had been blasted so dismally! But surely he had not been mistaken. His study of the Bible, which had engrossed him since he first met Forrester eight years ago, could not have misled him. No. The gospel had been revealed to him, but he had failed as its messenger. The thought drove him to his knees. He prayed: "This is thy word; I am thy servant.... I believed, therefore have I spoken. I am greatly afflicted. ... I believe his word, and I will preach it again!"<sup>8</sup>

During the next few days, while he was physically busy moving his household to Canfield, his mind was engaged with furious thinking and incessant praying.



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Then came the time for the trial within the bounds of the Mahoning Association. He felt that his whole future was hanging on the outcome. It was at New Lisbon, on November 18, 1827, in the very meeting, house where the Association had commissioned him only two months before. His sermon was taken from Matthew 16:16: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." The Golden Oracle! This was the fact which the four Gospels were written to establish, he said. Type and prophecy had pointed to it all down the ages. When Peter had proclaimed it, Christ had promised to him the keys of the kingdom, and these had been delivered into his hands on Pentecost. These keys were nothing other than the conditions upon which men should be admitted to the kingdom. When it became clear to the assembled multitude on Pentecost that Jesus was in truth the Christ, they cried out in great and earnest agony, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?"

Then with flashing eye and impassioned manner, as one who would carry the whole present back into that inspired past or make that hallowed moment live in a hushed present, Scott answered, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."

"The conditions are unchanged! The Word of God means what it says!" the preacher challenged. To receive the word of God is to obey, and to obey is to do what three thousand anxious souls did in response to the invitation of Peter. Scott spoke with power. The force of his impassioned yet lucid presentation gripped his hearers.

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At this point a lone man entered the door at the back of the meetinghouse. The church clerk saw him and started. What a pity he had not come in at the beginning!

The man was William Amend, a devout member of the Presbyterian church in the community. He had been reading his Bible and, quite independently, had come to hold many of the views of the Reformers, without knowing whether others thought as he did. Among other convictions, he came to feel that infant baptism was not sanctioned in the Bible and that baptism was by immersion. He had gone to his pastor with the request that he be immersed. The minister had been reluctant. Such an action might unsettle the congregation. Baptism wasn't essential to salvation, anyway. But, since Amend kept on insisting, he would baptize him privately; then no one need know or be unsettled by it!

Amend was disgusted. He decided that he would not be baptized at all until he could find a minister who thought as he did; but he despaired of ever finding him.

A short time before this he had read the second chapter of Acts aloud to his wife, in the course of which he exclaimed:

Oh, this is the gospel; this is the thing we wish, the remission of our sins! Oh, that I could hear the gospel in those same words as Peter preached it! I hope I shall some day hear, and the first man I meet who will preach the gospel thus, with him will I go.

Two days before Scott's coming to New Lisbon, someone had invited William Amend to attend the meeting, and he had halfheartedly decided to go. Hav-

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ing so long failed to find what he was seeking for and having been disappointed in preachers so often, he had not gone with much enthusiasm, and he was late. When he entered the church, the sermon was almost over, but the very first sentence he heard arrested him. It was in scriptural language and it sounded like what he had been seeking!

"Oh," thought the church clerk, "I wish the preacher would repeat what he said before he came in!" To his surprise and delight, Scott made a brief recapitulation of his sermon and ended with the appeal: "The Scripture shall no longer be a sealed book. God means what he says. Is there any man present who will take God at his word and be baptized for the remission of sins!"

"Glory to God!" exulted Amend within himself. "I have found the man whom I have long sought for." With startling promptness he went forward.

"Who is this man?" whispered the astonished preacher.

"The best man in the community; an orderly member of the Presbyterian Church."

It was enough. He took William Amend's public confession that he believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that same day, in the local stream and before the presence of the people, he baptized him in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins.

This, to the mind of Scott, was a shining hour. The gospel which had been lost to the world, obscured and distorted since the time of the apostles, was now restored! The wonder of it filled him with rapture. He stood—the Christian world stood—at the beginning of a new age. The church would no longer suf-

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focate. It would grow triumphantly, and the world would be won for Christ!

What Scott had done was sharply at variance with orthodox practice. This baptism was preceded by no relating of mystical experiences, by no recital of the creed, by no vote of the church. There had been before it no tribulation of soul, no agonizing grappling with *election* and *damnation* and *enabling grace*. It had been simple and direct.

"I proceeded in this matter without example, without counsel, and without reference to any mode or practice which I ever saw or heard of," said Scott, looking back. "I followed Christ and his Apostles alone, and the experiment was crowned with complete success."<sup>9</sup>

The unprecedented action of November 18 startled the community and stirred it up all the following week. There was only one topic of conversation. It is one thing to express new ideas in words; it is another to clothe the words in deeds. An epidemic of Bible reading broke out in New Lisbon. Some read to find confirmation of Scott's unprecedented methods. Many read to find ammunition with which to blast the preacher from his pulpit and drive him from the community. Arguments sprang up. Tempers flared. The church was jammed to overflowing.

One by one others sought baptism on the novel plan. One man threatened to shoot Scott if he should baptize his mother. Scott baptized her! By the following Sunday fifteen persons had followed the example of William Amend.

It was Walter Scott's old pupil, Robert Richardson, who assessed the work of his former teacher on this occasion:

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Brother Scott really laid the true and distinctive foundation of the Reformation. In 1827, he first practically called on converts to be baptized for the remission of sins, at New Lisbon. Previously, from 1823, baptism was recognized by Brother and Father Campbell and others, as for remission but no one ventured to make a direct and practical application of it until Brother Scott did so, in 1827. We owe to him the restoration of the true Christian faith, and basis of union, baptism for remission—the great, main feature of the Reformation.<sup>10</sup>

Naturally timid, deferential to the feelings of others, Walter Scott had stood in the New Lisbon pulpit trembling at the beginning of his sermon. It had taken great moral courage to cast off from the shores of tradition into a sea that could as easily mean shipwreck as it could the discovery of a new land. And now he had come, after a happy voyage, safely to harbor. There was yet before him the hardship of uncharted sea lanes, and much opposition.

## *CHAPTER VII*

### **"I Rushed Upon the Sinful People"**

**A**FTER the unquestioned success of November 18 and 25, 1827, Scott rode forth to try the plan among the churches of the Western Reserve for three weeks. It was then that Joseph Gaston was won to the cause.

Joseph Gaston had met Walter Scott before. He had been present at the August meeting of the Mahoning Association in New Lisbon. Gaston was a member of the Christian reformatory movement of Barton W. Stone. Two of his fellows from the same movement were there also, J. Merritt and John Secrest. There were still other Christian evangelists on the Western Reserve. These were James Hughes, Lewis Hamrick, and Lewis Comer. All of them had come into Ohio from Kentucky on the wave of evangelistic zeal which arose from Stone's leadership. He, like the Campbells, had repudiated the creeds and appealed to the Bible alone. His followers called themselves "Christians." Like the Campbells also, Stone had originally belonged to the Presbyterian church.

Gaston lived in Columbiana County, near Salem. He was regarded with suspicion by the Baptists there because he opposed closed Communion, one of their most cherished doctrines. Nothing was more natural than that these affronted Baptists should appeal to their Association evangelist to straighten out the heretic in his thinking, so at a Communion service they asked him to see the errant teacher, who was in attendance.

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Scott invited Gaston aside and, smiling, told him, "The brethren have commissioned me to convert you to their opinions."

"And I have come to convert you to my opinion," rejoined Gaston, with some belligerency, for he was as impatient in advocating open Communion as the Baptists were in opposing it.

Scott then told him that he had not really come to talk about open Communion or closed Communion, because he thought the whole dispute silly and unprofitable; he had come to talk about the happenings at New Lisbon and his exciting new discovery of the gospel. He laid it before Gaston in a rush of words, all the while appealing to the Scriptures to support him.

Gaston heard him with delight. "It is all true!" he exclaimed, "and I believe every word of it!"

"Joseph Gaston was the very first Christian minister who received the gospel after its restoration," said Scott some years later.

It was a fortunate conversation, for Gaston rode with him throughout the Reserve for a period of three weeks, as long as his tubercular frame could stand the rigor, and the two did much, not only to advance the Reformation, but to cement the bond between the Baptists and the "Christians." They rode together into Salem, East Fairfield, Green, New Garden, Hanover, Minerva, and back to New Lisbon—the Paul and Barnabas of a new missionary crusade.<sup>1</sup>

Some of Stone's evangelists wrote back to him glowing reports and questions. One of them, as reprinted in Stone's magazine, the *Christian Messenger*, July 26, 1828, wrote:

*“I RUSHED UPON THE SINFUL PEOPLE”*

With Elder Walter Scott I fell in company a few days ago at Fairfield, Ohio. He has made an unusual number of disciples the past year. His method and manner are somewhat novel to me; but in consequence of his extraordinary success in reforming mankind, I feel no disposition at present to pronounce him heretical. He seems to suppose the Apostolic Gospel consists of the five following particulars, viz., faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit and eternal life. Thus you see he baptizes the subject previous to the remission of sins, or the receiving of the Holy Spirit. I would like to have your views on the subject.

To this question, the saintly Stone penned a brief reply, "I have no doubt but that it will become the universal practice, though vehemently opposed."<sup>2</sup>

Adamson Bentley, founder of the Mahoning Association, as the leader of the Baptist ministers on the Reserve, and the most beloved and influential of them all, gave much of his time to helping the Association evangelist. Known and loved by the people, he often smoothed the way for the more erratic and unconventional Scott, thus winning him an immediate hearing where the reception might have been cool or hostile.

Bentley was playing the role of forerunner on December 2, 1827, when he preceded his friend in an address at the Braceville Ridge school-house. Samuel Robbins, a deacon at Windham, was present and reported the happenings in his diary:

*December 2, 1827.* Mr. Adamson Bentley and Walter Scott preached in the school-house on Braceville Ridge. Mr. Bentley preached first to a house jammed full—got them most all asleep—do not recollect his subject. Then Mr. Walter Scott preached, after reading the second chapter of Acts. Dwelt particularly on apostle Peter using the keys of the kingdom of heaven, delivered to



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him by the Savior, Matt, xvi :19. Before he finished his discourse, a good part of the congregation were standing up gazing at the speaker. In his remarks respecting Peter opening the kingdom to the Gentiles, at the house of Cornelius, he said: "Having no more use for the keys, for aught I know, he threw them away."<sup>3</sup>

There was in the fiery Scott not a little of the showman; this accounts in no small measure for his singular successes in those first months with an untried idea. One day, in late afternoon, he was riding into a village, when he came upon a troop of children returning home from school. Always fond of children and quickly trusted by them, he soon had the group around him.

He then said to them: "Children, hold up your left hands." They all did so, in great eagerness.

"Now," said their charming new friend, "beginning with your thumb repeat what I say to you: Faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins, gift of the Holy Spirit—that takes up all your fingers. Now again! Faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins, gift of the Holy Spirit.... Children, now run home— don't forget what is on your fingers, and tell your parents that a man will preach the gospel to-night at the school-house, as you have it on the five fingers of your hands."

Away went the children, in great glee, repeating as they went, "Faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins, gift of the Holy Spirit"—and soon the story was rehearsed in nearly every house of the village and neighborhood; and long before the hour of meeting the house was thronged, and, of course, not a few of the children were there, all expecting to have great sport with the crazy man.<sup>4</sup>

*"I RUSHED UPON THE SINFUL PEOPLE"*

What came next was not too much to their liking, nor to that of the adults, and the audience soon grew sleepy. Scott saw his predicament and shifted his tactics. He addressed himself abruptly to the little boys in the front seat, thus arresting their restlessness:

"Boys, did you ever play toad sky-high?" They all brightened.

Well, boys, I'll tell you how we used to play it in Scotland. First, we caught a toad, and went out into a clear open place, and got a log or a big stone, and across this we laid a plank or board, one end of which rested on the ground and the other stuck up in the air. We then placed the toad on the lower end, and took a big stick and struck the upper part of the board with all our might. The other end flew up, and away went the toad sky-high.

At this the boys all laughed, and the sleepers began to awake. Scott continued:

But, boys, that was not right; that toad was one of God's creatures, and could feel pain as well as any of you. It was a poor, harmless thing, and it was wicked for us boys to send it thus flying through the air, for in most cases, when the toad came down the poor thing would be dead—and, boys, we felt very badly when we saw the blood staining its brown skin and its body bruised and its limbs broken, and lying motionless upon the grass through which it had hopped so merrily a few minutes before.

He dilated upon the enormity of their cruelty and thoughtlessness until some of the boys were in tears and the audience greatly affected. Then he burst upon the adults with bitter words. They were professed

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Christians! Their children were weeping over the death of a toad, while they had been sleeping under the story of the death of their Lord! Scott remained for several days in that village, but he never again addressed a sleepy audience.<sup>5</sup>

Another instance of Scott's resourcefulness happened at a school-house near Warren. This time the meeting had been announced in advance, and he had expected a good audience, but when he arrived he was disappointed to see only a handful. After waiting in vain for more to arrive, he arose and addressed them. Not knowing their views, since he was a stranger to them and they to him, he said that he would like to try a device for getting better acquainted so that he could address them more effectively.

"Will all present who are on the Lord's side arise?" It did not surprise him that no one stood up.

"Will all present who are in favor of the devil arise?" No one responded.

After gazing at them for a few moments, he said that he had never seen such an audience. Had they all stood up for the Lord or for the devil, he would have known how to address them, but since they were obviously for neither, he would have to study their case and see if he could prepare a message suited to their special condition. He would deliver it the following evening. So saying, he took his hat and departed.<sup>6</sup>

In mid-December Scott returned to New Lisbon to follow up his initial advantage. Seven more were baptized. By December 25, there were thirty more. Almost the entire Baptist church had been swept into the movement.

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Soon the whole Reformation was hearing of the exciting events on the Western Reserve. The February issue of the *Christian Baptist* took notice as follows:

"Walter Scott, who is now doing the work of an Evangelist in the Mahoning Baptist Association informs me, per letter of the 4th ultimo [January, 1828], that he had made an experiment in preaching the *ancient gospel* for the ten days preceding the date of his letter—He states the effects as having been immediate and astonishing— no less than thirty having been immersed in that time.

He says, "After having announced the gospel in the terms of the Apostles, I have awaked the *lyre of Israel*, and sung forth the high songs of salvation to all who believe and are baptized, declaring a just and a merited damnation to all who disobey God, piping forth the terrors of the Lord, and congregating the rebellious from Cain to Judas, and from him to the resurrection of the dead."<sup>7</sup>

In New Lisbon, and elsewhere, opposition had mushroomed in his wake. He returned to New Lisbon from East Fairfield in mid-December to learn that the Methodist and Presbyterian ministers had been drawn together by their common hatred of him and that they had attacked him openly from their pulpits. The community was sown with their epithets: "Heresy!" "Water salvation!" "Worse than Romanism!"

On the first evening of his return, Scott spoke at the meetinghouse to a large audience, which included these two ministers. When he opened his address that evening, it was a head-on attack:

There are two gentlemen in the house who, in my absence, made a man of straw and called it Scott; this they bitterly assailed; now if they have anything to say the veritable Scott is here, and the opportunity is now theirs

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to make good what they have said elsewhere. Let us lay our views before the people and they shall decide who is right; for my part, I am willing at any time to exchange two errors for one truth. Come out, gentlemen, like men, and let us discuss the matters at issue.

His assailants did not budge.

"Boys, make room there. Now, gentlemen, come forward."

Somewhat disconcerted, but still silent, the ministers arose and left the assembly, arm in arm.<sup>8</sup>

Some, infuriated beyond all reason by what Scott was doing to the community, undertook a whispering campaign to besmirch his character. This attack also failed. In fact, it elicited so much sympathy for Scott that it called forth a handsome purse, which was given him as a token of sorrow and good faith.

Another Methodist minister charged to the attack. Having announced in advance that he would expose the new teaching in their midst, he found himself standing before a large audience, which included Scott himself. The assailant, who undertook to attack the man rather than the principle, revealed his ugly mood by opening the service with the reading of a hymn:

Jesus, great Shepherd of the Sheep,  
To thee for help we fly;  
Thy little flock in safety keep,  
For oh! the *Wolf* is nigh.

At the close of the outrage, the victim quietly asked the privilege which he himself always granted in his own audiences. He would like a few minutes to reply. He then addressed himself to principle, scrupulously avoiding personalities, and made such a lucid and courteous presentation that the epithet of "Wolf," so

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clumsily hurled, turned like a boomerang to flatten his assailant.<sup>9</sup>

The newly awakened gospel messenger was seeking something deeper than amiability. He wanted to heal the disunity of the church, but he did not expect to do it without surgery. He provoked opposition by assailing old orthodoxies right and left.

"Wherein lies the boasted difference between baptism and the mourners' bench?" an irritated minister once asked one of Scott's converts.

"There is this difference," the convert replied, "baptism is to be found in the Bible; the mourners' bench is obtained from the saw-mill!"<sup>10</sup>

In a few brief weeks the tentative character of an unprecedented method of presenting the Christian religion had given way to an assured spiritual offensive. The preacher on horseback came and went with the urgency of a courier. He invaded communities. Disciples arose everywhere that he went, and everywhere enemies opposed him. Ministers of all denominations began to warn their communities against him.

But Scott was confident of his message and he proclaimed it positively and boldly:

Take the New Testament in your hand; read it diligently, call upon the Lord for direction faithfully, and follow whithersoever it leads the way. Take nothing upon trust; pin your faith upon no man's sleeve; to the law and the testimony. Believe in Christ, as the word teaches; put your whole trust and confidence in him; obey his precepts; worship God publicly and privately with sincerity and zeal; do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with your Maker; and look for his mercy through Christ Jesus unto eternal life; and be assured all shall be well. <sup>11</sup>

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The campaign was on. It was to last unabated for the next four years.

The energy and audacity of the Mahoning evangelist were unbounded. Thus he declared:

The Ancient Gospel had set straight in my mind things which were formerly crooked. I felt my soul enlarged; the Lord had opened my eyes, and filled my mouth with arguments. . . . Accordingly I rushed upon the sinful people like an armed man.<sup>12</sup>

## *CHAPTER VIII*

### **"What Went Ye Out to See?"**

**N**OW in the full heat of the battle, the "armed man" drove himself mercilessly. He spoke regularly three times a day, often in different places. In the morning it would be at a school-house. Afternoon would find him with a wagon for a pulpit before a great outdoor audience in a grove, followed by an evening service at a church or a private home. If he was at a church, his hearers trailed him to the house where he was staying "to hear him out" until midnight or later. Often baptisms by torchlight in the wee hours of the morning followed these nocturnal sessions. Days and nights went by for months on end with an unbroken line of converts.

Among these converts in 1828, there were a number of ministers from various denominations. They came bringing whole congregations, and through them the evangelistic force of Scott multiplied itself. Others of the converts proved to be talented lay preachers, and through them the power of the Mahoning messenger was vastly increased.

Over a road, through a wood, along a forest path, he thrust his galloping horse. The pulse-beat in his throat kept time with the thudding hoof-beat, and the hurrying tempo became the rhythm of a singing "Hallelujah Chorus" within him. Mantled in his cloak, with a small polyglot Bible in minion type, which he had constantly at hand to study on every occasion—even while the horse was walking—he hurried from place to place to tell the news. When some-



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one remonstrated with him for being such a rapid rider, he replied, "The King's business requires haste."

This urgency crept into his preaching, imparting to it an intensity and an air of breathless expectancy which gave it the pinions of soaring eloquence. In such times his speech became a rushing of wings, a skyward flight. His audience as one man swayed with the preacher, or rose to its feet and stood, all unconscious of itself, leaning forward, gulping down his words. And yet, his preaching was not the emotionalism to which his day was accustomed. It was clear, logical, persuasive reasoning, carefully wrought out and finished. He was not exhorting them to take up a tattered and a rejected duty. He was publishing the news. He was telling them something they had not heard before. If there was emotion in his presentation, it was not sentimentalism or mysticism or religious morbidity; it was the exaltation of discovery, the thrill of expectancy. His emotion was the emotion of an idea.

A. S. Hayden, one of his converts in this memorable first year on the Western Reserve, lets us glimpse Scott the preacher through his eyes:

"He seldom came into an assembly unprepared. Though attentive to all that was about him, his theme absorbed him, and it was matured. I have often seen him with his face bowed almost to his knees as he sat waiting the moment for opening, with his hands covering it, evidently lifting his soul like Jacob for a blessing."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Scott was often eccentric; but he possessed the talent to sustain himself and turn his eccentricity to good account. On one occasion, when the whole country

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around was almost tremulous with the excited state of feeling, he managed to slip into the assembly unobserved, and seating himself far back with his cloak well about his face, and his broad-brimmed hat well drawn down, he sat listening to the remarks of the assembling multitude. The reader must remember, as an excuse for the darkness of the room, that the candle was the "light of other days." The illuminating oil still lay concealed in God's great cellar.

One man says, in a low tone: "What do you think of Scott?" without waiting a reply, "I never heard such a preacher; he is hard on the sects, but he has the Bible on his tongue's end."

Another: "I never read such things in the Bible as he is telling us." His quick ear was catching these "droppings" of the people. The room became packed. "Do you think the preacher is coming?" "I wonder if he will not disappoint us tonight?" Then rising to full position, still sitting on his seat, laying back his cloak and removing his hat, Scott cried out in his magnificent voice, "And what went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind? But what went ye out to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? But what went ye out to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet."

Then with a sweep, and brilliancy, and point that astonished and instructed all, he discoursed on the ministry of John the Baptist; the preparation of the gospel; the introduction of Jesus by him to the Jewish nation; and carried his audience up to the crucifixion, the resurrection and coronation of the Lord of glory, and the descent on Pentecost of the Holy Spirit, with the grand events of the "notable day of the Lord." It is needless to pause and describe the wonderful effect of this sudden outburst and powerful rehearsal of the gospel upon his astonished auditors.<sup>2</sup>

No witness to the power of Walter Scott when he was at the peak of his eloquence is more convincing

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than the unemotional Alexander Campbell. R. E. Sloan tells the story:

"Walter Scott, about 1829 or 1830, paid a visit to Western Virginia, and on one occasion preached in the woods between Wellsburg and Wheeling; the audience was large, the preacher more than usually animated by his theme; near him sat Alexander Campbell, usually calm and self-contained, but in this case more fully under the influence of the preacher's eloquence than he had ever been of mortal man before; his eye flashed and his face glowed as he heard him unfold the glories of redemption, the dignity and compassion of its author, and the honors that awaited those who would submit to his reign, until so filled with rapture and an admiration, not of the speaker, but of him who was his theme, that he cried out, "Glory to God in the highest," as the only way to relieve the intensity of his joy.

Alexander Campbell was never known to have been so demonstrative at any other time.

January, 1828, found Scott and James Mitchell at Warren. Late in 1827, the frontier evangelist had been riding down Buffalo Creek from Bethany toward Wellsburg when he met John Secrest and James G. Mitchell on their way to visit Alexander Campbell. As they sat on their horses talking casually, Scott said that he had grown tired of hearing people talk about their dreams and visions but uttering not one syllable about their obedience to Jesus Christ. Mitchell, who had been born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1805, and who was therefore only twenty-four years old at this time, was charmed by Scott's brogue and the manner of his conversation. Meantime, Scott had been sizing up Secrest's young companion.

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"Does Brother Mitchell have any gift of exhortation?" he asked.

"Yes. If he will keep humble, he can do much good."

"I hope he will," Scott replied. "He is the man I want." Turning to Mitchell, he said: "You meet me at Brother Jacob Campbell's in New Lisbon, and we will away to Warren to besiege the town ten days and nights. I will preach and you will exhort, and we will make their ears tingle with the ancient gospel."<sup>3</sup>

It was then the practice to distinguish between *preaching* and *exhorting*. Preaching was really teaching; it was laying the facts before the people; it was convincing the mind. Exhorting was persuasion, aiming at gaining confessions and baptisms. The stirring appeals of the exhorter could become quite emotional. Preacher and exhorter were seldom the same person, and it was as an exhorter that Scott had invited young Mitchell to Warren.

Walter Scott had come to Warren unannounced to find Adamson Bentley on the defensive. He was unprepared to take the plunge into the radical change of Baptist practice which Scott's method involved.

"I have got the saw by the handle and I expect to saw you all asunder," said Scott playfully, meaning the sundering of creeds and churches. He went on to say that this would upset conventional Baptist usage, but that it would leave the church purer and stronger. Bentley was still hesitant; he intimated that it would be better for Scott to come back at a later season. He was vague and evasive.

Consulting his own zeal rather than Bentley's doubtful mood, Scott sent word over to Jacob Osborne, the

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Warren schoolmaster, to have an announcement made that there would be a meeting at the Baptist church that evening. Bentley, hearing of this, countermanded the order and closed the church against the meeting.<sup>4</sup>

Scott, nothing daunted, announced the meeting for the courthouse. Only a handful came out, and these were mostly children. Mitchell said that his companion resorted to "anecdote, pathos, wit, eloquence and general remark," and that his address had great entertainment value, but little else. After a few minutes, Scott announced a meeting for the following night and departed. Mitchell had been anticipating the first address of the celebrated evangelist and he was disillusioned and disgruntled.

"We had not gone far," he later wrote, "before I asked him if that was the way he was going to pursue in besieging the town of Warren!—and if that was his ancient gospel! If so, I have no further business in Warren."

"Oh! my dear brother," he said, "there was no one there worth preaching to, and I just threw that out for a bait. Hold still, we shall have a hearing yet, and then we will pour the great truths of the gospel red hot into their ears!"

"I thought possibly he was strategic in his method of gaining a hearing and concluded to wait the issue." They were staying at the home of Richard Brooks. Scott was cheerful and sociable.<sup>5</sup>

The next day Scott and Osborne, meeting with Bentley, overcame his opposition. The meeting that night was announced for the Baptist church.<sup>6</sup>

Regarding the incident, Mitchell wrote:

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At the appointed time we started for the meeting. Passing up, we found it [the Baptist church] crowded to its utmost capacity, and a number on the outside. Giving me an elbow touch, "Do you see them nibbling at the bait?" said he.

"Yes," I told him, "I see plenty of people present." We pressed our way through the dense crowd to the pulpit. We sang his favorite song—

"Come and taste along with me  
Consolation running free  
From my Father's wealthy throne,  
Sweeter than the honey-comb."

I opened with prayer. After it, he arose and read the third and fourth chapters of Matthew. The baptism of Christ and the temptation, was his theme. He straightened himself to his full height, his great chocolate eyes glistening, his whole face full of animation and earnestness. He brought his siege guns into position, and for an hour and a half the house rang with his eloquence. I shall not attempt to give an outline, for no man could do justice to that sermon. ... He was powerful, lofty, sublime. I had never heard such a discourse, so touching, so telling, not only on me, for the whole audience was moved.

This sermon brought three persons forward to make their confession of faith in Jesus as the Christ. "These persons," Scott announced, "will be baptized tomorrow after sermon, for the remission of their sins."

The siege was now fairly commenced. Up to the next Thursday an incessant fire was kept up day and night. The ancient gospel *was* poured into their ears. They were astonished, amazed. They got their Bibles, and went to reading and searching for the truth. No word fell on the floor, or hit the wall—all were eagerly caught and tried by the Book. They could do nothing against it; it was the simple gospel of Christ in its facts, and commands, and promises. We baptized every day, and sometimes the same hour of the night.<sup>7</sup>

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On January 26, 1828, Samuel Bobbins wrote in his diary, "All the Baptist [church] went from Braceville Ridge to Warren, to hear Walter Scott preach; for they heard he was turning the world upside down."<sup>8</sup>

The people soon began following Scott and Mitchell to the home of Richard Brooks after meeting, holding them there until so late at night that the two were exhausted from lack of sleep. One evening, after dismissal at the church, Mitchell said, "Do not let the people know where we are going, and we will slip over to Brother Jacob Harsh's and get a good night's rest."

Arriving at Harsh's according to tactical plan, Mitchell retired, leaving Scott by the fire drying his clothes, for there had been baptisms that night, as every night. There came a knocking at the door, and the house was soon filled. The eager Galilean crowd would not let him escape.

"If you follow me to learn of the ancient gospel, I will pour it into your ears as long as I can wag a word off the end of my tongue," Scott told them. And he spoke, moving several deeply. Mitchell had fallen asleep, and Scott went to wake him, asking him to deliver one of his touching exhortations.

"I would be in a fine mood, Brother Walter, to exhort the people just aroused from sleep," Mitchell protested.

"The iron is hot; one stroke when hot is worth a dozen when it is cold!" So Mitchell came out. Several more were baptized that night, among them John Tait, who had formerly threatened Scott for baptizing his wife, and the Reformation gained another forceful advocate.<sup>9</sup>

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The whole Baptist church was won over, and scores from the outside community. Adamson Bentley was completely captivated and from that time on added his powerful influence to the movement.

February 1, 1828, was the date of the next quarterly meeting. It was held at East Fairfield. Mitchell and Scott stayed at the home of Elder John Ferrall. They commenced at candlelight and continued for ten days. There were thirty-seven additions, all of them new converts. Then Mitchell left to attend to his own previous appointments.<sup>10</sup> The whole church there, with the exception of five or six, voted to take Scott's position as a gospel church.

Shortly after this, a colony of Methodists from Virginia moved to Fairfield; they had come as a group, preacher and all. Benjamin Patterson presided over this determined little colony, bent at all costs upon maintaining their own solidarity, civil or religious. Benjamin Saunders, a lay preacher of the Reformers, came along and spoke so forcefully that he captured Rev. Mr. Patterson and left the flock so shaken that they, too, were soon gathered into the fold.<sup>11</sup>

The nature of Scott's activities within the next few days is shown by further excerpts from the diary of Mr. Robbins:

*Feb. 23, 1828.* Went from the Ridge to Windham. In the evening he spoke in the school-room, near Dr. Thomas Wright's. Father Rudolph and his two sons, John and Zeb, were present. Spoke first-rate. Remarked he was like an eight-day clock—he would speak on Faith, Repentance, Baptism, Remission of Sins, and the gift of the Holy Spirit, and wind up! Having a desire to hear him through, David T. Robbins and myself went with Mr. Scott to the hospitable families of the Rudolphs; staid all night.



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Next day, February 24, Lord's day, we all met at the house of Mr. Chapin, who was a Methodist. Mr. Scott spoke on faith to a room crowded full. Dr. Thomas Wright, myself, D. T. Bobbins and others came forward, which excited Mr. Chapin so he got up and opposed. In the evening, met at Mr. Rudolph's: a good meeting.

*Feb. 25, 1828.* Scott preached in the school-house in Garrettsville—more came forward. Agreed to meet the next Wednesday in the school-house near Dr. Wright's, when Scott would preach and immerse the candidates.

On Wednesday, the 27th, almost the whole town came out. Bro. Scott spoke feelingly. Then Dr. Thomas Wright, myself, David T. Robbins and others, nine in all, were immersed. Ice a foot thick. Great excitement among the people, it being the first immersion in Windham. Very cold; though our hearts were warm and rejoicing.

*Tuesday, March, 4, 1828.* Scott again at the same place; immersed three more.

*March 5, 1828.* Preached again; baptized Father Abraham Seymour and three others.<sup>12</sup>

Returning to Canfield, he made the pleasure of being home for a short time with Sarah and the children serve the business of his gospel. He opened his plea at Myron Sackett's in Canfield. "The interest became an excitement."<sup>13</sup>

In February, Adamson Bentley went as Scott's forerunner to Austintown. He spoke to a meeting in the school-house, where "William Hayden was master. There was one convert. The next night, meeting in a private home, there were nine others, including John Henry and his wife. John Henry later became one of the most effective lay preachers in the Reformation. He was a plain farmer who possessed marked musical talent with the wind and stringed instruments, for which he composed some original pieces. He also had

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an elephantine memory. Reputedly, he memorized the whole Bible. He was later known far and wide as the "Bible with a Tongue in It," or the "Walking Bible." It was said that he could quote all passages on any subject with chapter and verse. His preaching, delivered in rapid syllables as fast as the ear could catch them, was nearly all in scriptural language. Mixing preaching with farming at the beginning, farming soon became the avocation, and was then crowded out entirely, as this earnest man followed a pattern which was to become common on the Western Reserve.

On March 19, Scott followed upon the work of Bentley at Austintown. Five more were baptized, including A. S. Hayden and his brother, both of whom became ministers of the Reformation. A. S. Hayden later wrote a competent, comprehensive, and accurate book entitled *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio*. On March 20 there were twelve more converts, and so on along the same line for a week. In mid-June Scott and Bentley returned to constitute the church at Austintown. There were 110 members, of whom two-thirds were new converts. The congregation was put under the charge of William Hayden.

It was also in March of 1828 that Sidney Rigdon, who was later to abscond to the Mormons, met Walter Scott at Warren. Rigdon, who was a brother-in-law of Bentley, and who was possessed of erratic genius, was transported by Scott's sermons and rode in all haste back to Mentor, where he used the Scott formula and won twenty converts.

All the while these things were happening, Alexander Campbell, from the eminence of his celebrity, looked out from Bethany across the Ohio to the West-

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ern Reserve with watchful eye. The reports he had been receiving unsettled him. He wondered whether his friend, Walter, had allowed his well-known impulsiveness to run away with him. Perhaps his zeal had broken loose from knowledge, or had even mangled knowledge all out of recognition. The Western Reserve was at this time the chief stronghold of the Campbellian influence, and he did not wish to lose it. His apprehension finally grew to such a pitch that he prevailed upon his father to visit the Mahoning churches and make a private investigation of what was transpiring there.

Thomas Campbell arrived in April. He visited New Lisbon, Fairfield, Warren, Braceville, Windham, Mantua, Mentor, and other centers of Scott's activities. Wherever he went, he conducted more than an investigation, for such was the bearing and personality of this saintly author of the *Declaration and Address* that his presence was like the breathing of a prayer. "Uniting the simplicity of a child with the dignity of a senator," Thomas Campbell addressed and counseled wherever he went, strengthening and reinforcing the churches.

What Father Campbell saw impressed him as a new and positive contribution to the Reformation, and so on April 9, 1828, he reported to Alexander:

I perceive that theory and practice in religion, as well as in other things, are matters of distinct consideration. It is one thing to know concerning the art of fishing— for instance, the rod, the line, the hook, and the bait, too; and quite another thing to handle them dexterously when thrown into the water, so as to make it take. We have long known the former (the theory), and have spoken and published many things *correctly concerning* the ancient gospel, its simplicity and perfect adaptation

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to the present state of mankind, for the benign and gracious purposes of his immediate relief and complete salvation; but I must confess that, in respect to the *direct exhibition* and *application* of it for that blessed purpose, I am at present for the first time upon the ground where the thing has appeared to be *practically exhibited* to the proper purpose. "Compel them to come in," saith our Lord, "that my house may be filled."

Mr. Scott had made a bold push to accomplish this object, by simply and boldly stating the ancient gospel, and insisting upon it; and then by putting the question generally and particularly to males and females, old and young. Will you come to Christ and be baptized for the remission of your sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit? Don't you believe this blessed gospel? Then come away. This elicits a personal conversation; some confess faith in the testimony, beg time to think; others consent, give their hands to be baptized as soon as convenient; others debate the matter friendly; some go straight to the water, be it day or night, and upon the whole none appear offended.<sup>14</sup>

In April, Scott came riding into Salem from Austintown. Prejudice met him. The Rev. Mr. Vallandigham, the humiliated Presbyterian minister of New Lisbon, had been there and had sown the community with the tares of hostility. As soon as Scott began speaking, the mood of Salem began changing to one of mingled delight, wonder, and doubt. People took sides.

"Why was this not found out before?" some asked.

"I know not, except that the time is only just now come for these truths, so long hid from our eyes, to be found out."

"But if it is true," said others, "our preachers would have seen it long ago; it would not have been left for Campbell and Scott to find out at this day."

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"Yes," it was answered, "just so objected all the Catholic clergy to Luther and the old reformers."<sup>15</sup>

In ten days there were forty converts. After receiving these forty into the Salem Baptist church without the orthodox requirements of *experiences*, Scott was elated.

"Who will now say there is a Baptist Church in Salem?" was his parting shot as he sped on his way to another engagement.

When he had gone, his remark began to sink in. Alarm grew into revolution. The old regime prevailed, and the order was issued that all the new converts of the recent revival should relate an experience. The result was "a split." Most of Scott's converts were ultimately drawn together in the "Phillips Church," which met in the home of Robert P. Phillips, about three miles from Salem.<sup>16</sup>

It was at about this time, in the spring of 1828, that Aylette Raines, a Universalist minister at large, came into the Western Reserve from Kentucky. The distinctive doctrine of his sect was that punishment for the wicked after death is a purgative one, so that ultimately all souls are "restored" to God. This teaching of universal restoration caused him and his fellows to be labeled "Restorationists."

Raines was at this time thirty-one years old, just one year younger than Scott. Among the first crumbs of news that he began picking up as he entered the Reserve were about the raging torrent over Walter Scott and his new gospel.

Misrepresentations—not to use a harsher term—were as numerous as blackbirds in August. . . . "Just say you believe, and let a preacher dip you, and there could be

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no scriptural doubt of reaching—no matter what the life might be subsequently—the heavenly inheritance!". . . After a few weeks I concluded to hear Bro. Scott for myself.

This was to take place at Windham in the home of our friend of the diary, Mr. Bobbins. Raines had previously announced his intention to debate with Scott following the meeting.

Well, we assembled, a compact congregation. Bro. Scott, after singing and prayer, read first Corinthians, first chapter. He preached it through, not forgetting to state and defend what he styled the six points of the gospel. I was greatly surprised. But when he called for objections, I was confounded. I could see the heads of my brethren moving to the right and left, in the crowd, expecting to see me rise to my feet. But they didn't see me rise! The reason was, I felt certain that if I *opposed* Bro. Scott, I would *expose* myself. His discourse appeared to me, at every point, invulnerable. And so, when we were dismissed and out in the yard, my old brethren gathered around me and asked, "Bro. Raines, what do you think of the discourse?" And let me say here that I think my first answer will be my last; "I can do nothing against the gospel as preached by Bro. Scott; unless I should live to disgrace it; which may our gracious Lord forbid!"

Raines returned to hear Scott three times. After the third sermon, the two fell to discussing "restoration." Scott described this as a gospel to get people out of hell, whereas the gospel he preached was to prevent them from going there. Raines's gospel was for the next world; his was for this world. He also insisted that restorationism was a speculation, and no part of the gospel, one way or another. As such, it should be laid aside in the interest of preaching Christianity upon Bible models exclusively. In any case,

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such a speculation, or the lack of it, would not be made a test of fellowship. This was a familiar Lockian position, shared with Alexander Campbell.

Raines now tore himself away to meet his own appointments.

"I resolved that I would preach as Bro. Scott had done." This course served to convince him beyond recall, and he wound up at the home of Ebenezer Williams, a fellow minister, also a Universalist, at Ravenna.

I submitted to him, at his own house, my views of the gospel. He received them, and we were mutually immersed for the remission of sins. After this, I immediately retraced my steps, and within five weeks, I immersed fifty persons, three of them talented Restorationist preachers [Ebenezer Williams, David Sinclair, and Theophilus Cotton].<sup>17</sup>

Thomas Campbell was now riding with Walter Scott everywhere over the Reserve. The two men became fast friends and proved to be an effective team.

Several members from the Sharon church, just across the state line in Pennsylvania, on the Shenango River, had visited and communed with the reformed congregations at Warren and Hubbard near them. Among these were an elderly farmer, John McCleary, and his son, Hugh. In the dissension that followed, the Sharon people labeled the McClearys "Campbellites." The labeled ones were able to convince their neighbors, however, that they ought not to condemn a cause unheard. The upshot was that Scott and Adamson Bentley were invited to Sharon to present their own version of the gospel. Hugh McCleary delivered the invitation on horseback.

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The two men came. Bentley preached two nights. Scott followed him and continued for three weeks. Several responded and were immersed in the Shenango River. These were promptly refused admittance to the Sharon church. But there still remained the question, "What is to be done about the heretics who are already in?"

Thomas Campbell was sent for to end the quarrel. He pleaded, expostulated, reasoned, and prayed with them to receive the new converts upon the word of God alone as the bond of union and not upon their articles of faith. It was all in vain. At the June meeting of the congregation it was decided not to receive the new converts and to exclude those within the membership who had become infected with the poisonous doctrines of Scott. George Bentley, Adamson's brother, and Hugh McCleary were expelled, but elderly John McCleary was deferred to because of his age.

"Father McCleary," they said, "we regard you as a good Christian man; and though you have in a measure, adopted the views and even broken bread with those who have departed from the Baptist faith, we regard you as having been led away by your son and some younger men; but we want you to stay with us; we have confidence in you yet."

With great emotion, the old man arose and said, "Brethren, I cannot accept your offer; if you reject my brethren, I must go with them, for they are better men than I am."<sup>18</sup>

The excluded disciples began meeting in Daniel Budd's barn, and soon other converts were added to the original core until there were 100. The Baptist church, suspiciously watchful behind the fortresses of her affronted orthodoxy, snooped for more heresy



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in her midst. The wives of Benjamin Reno, a deacon, and James Morford, the church clerk, had met with the Reformers at Hubbard. A resolution was offered, excluding all who had communed with the Reformers. At this, James Morford threw down his pen.

"I refuse to record such an ungodly act!" he said.

Reno also arose, "I can no longer remain with you after such an un-Christian course."

So in travail and strife was born the church of Sharon.

Twelve months raced by, and it was August 29, 1828, time for the annual meeting of the Mahoning Association at Warren.<sup>19</sup> The assembly convened at two o'clock, with Alexander Campbell delivering the opening sermon on Romans, chapter 14. There were no delegates and no reports from four churches, formerly within the Association: Hartford, Youngstown, Sandy, and Achor; but five new churches had been received, which brought the reported membership of the Association in this meeting up to 1,004. The four disaffected churches, had they been represented, would have increased this to a total of 1,200, nearly double the size of the Association in any year of its previous history. In the old churches of the Association there had been 307 baptisms, and the new ones, created wholly by such baptisms, showed a total of 284 more, or 691 within the Association for the year. Stephen "Wood of Palmyra, who was moderator for the year, wrote somewhat gleefully in his corresponding letter to sister Baptist associations:

You will see from the preceding Minutes, that very considerable additions have been made to several churches, besides the additions of several new ones to

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our body. These, however, are but the half of the actual number which have been by our means, immersed into the Lord Jesus during the last year. But we do not rejoice only in the actual addition of so many new converts, but also in the increased light, harmony, and zeal of the brethren, who have long since professed faith in the Lord Jesus.

Taking Moderator Wood's remarks at face value it would seem that Walter Scott had been instrumental in baptizing more than one thousand between August of 1827 and August of 1828.

Brother Wood was not going to leave the sister associations in the dark about the source of their increase :

We have been taught of God, and by our own experience, to know, that the simple proclamation of the ancient gospel, in the very terms and phrases found in the sacred record, is just the right means, the wisdom and power of God unto salvation, and to *the restoration of ancient order of things*. .

It was out of the same happiness that the Association voted to send Walter Scott, Adamson Bentley, Marcus Bosworth, and Brother Ferguson as messengers to the Grand River Association that year; Alexander Campbell to the Washington Association; Archibald W. Campbell to the Stillwater Association; and to request correspondence with the Killbuck Association, the Stillwater Association, and the Washington Association. Good news will not be confined.

Walter Scott reported to the Association:

To persuade men to act upon the divine testimony, rather than to wait upon uncertain and remote influ-

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ences; to accept disciples on a simple confession of repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and to baptize them for an immediately personal acquittal from their sins through the blood of Christ, and for the Holy Spirit, are matters which have caused great public excitement. This excitement, however, has only turned out to the furtherance of the gospel; and we bless God, who has taught us by his Apostles, that, as the divine testimony may be received when understood, and understood when honestly listened to; so it may be acted upon the very moment it is received. Therefore, the enjoyment of remission and of the Holy Spirit is not a thing of tomorrow, but of today.

The Association of 1827 had charged Scott to hold four quarterly meetings to raise money for his own support; but Scott, ever forgetful of self in matters of money, reported, "Beloved brethren, the bustle of conversion has precluded the possibility of holding more than two quarterly meetings."

It was not surprising, therefore, that the table of contributions in the minutes of 1828 shows only \$313.90  $\frac{3}{4}$ . New Lisbon had given \$66.51; Wellsburgh, \$58.00; Warren, \$58.12; Salem, \$40.00, etc. No wonder Scott had to confess:

"All the monies which I have received have been expended in the payment of a horse, saddle, bridle, portmanteau, rent, and a balance of 25 on a wagon; and even of the amount of these, nearly 30 dollars have been borrowed, which I beg the Association may be careful at this time to refund.

While I conceive the pecuniary power of this business not to have received that attention from some, which was reasonably anticipated, I have nevertheless to acknowledge the kindness of many individuals, also, of some of the churches, particularly that of Wellsburg, of Warren, of Canfield, Mantua, Salem, and New Lisbon.

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He undertook to acknowledge the hospitality he had received in the various homes of the Association.

The families of Dr. "Wright, brother Harsh, and brother Brookes [*sic*] of Warren; brother Gaskill, of Salem; and brother Jacob Campbell, of New Lisbon, are of acknowledged hospitality, and have entertained not only me, but the whole church in their respective towns during these revivals; and with them those whose names follow, viz.—The Rudolphs, the Deans, the Sacketts, the Drakes, the Hays's [*sic*], the Haydens, the Austins, the Smyths, the Turners, etc.

He also made just allowance for the help he had received from fellow ministers, some of them converts of his own preaching:

The signal success which has attended the labors of brothers Bentley, Rigdon and Gaston, is known to you all. Father Thomas Campbell has been about five months on the field, both increasing the number of disciples, and building them up in all the wisdom of the Just One. Brother Osborne abandoned all to come up to the help of the Lord; but his first efforts disabled him. Ministers from several sects have embraced the ancient gospel, and preached it with great success. No fewer than six new churches have been formed, one of them with more than a hundred members; and the following brethren are now your preachers. Bosworth, who has already baptized many; Finch, Ferguson, Hayden, Wright, McLeery [*sic*], Osborne, Jackman, Rudolph, Scott, Campbell, Rigdon and Bentley.

The unprecedented successes of the Association evangelist led its members to vote the reappointment of Walter Scott for another year, with the same loose and impoverishing financial arrangement. A contribution of \$35.50, taken up in a collection on August 31, was paid over to Scott and Hayden for the beginning

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of their work! The minutes bear witness to the realization that the work had outgrown the strength of one man:

"Voted, That brother William Hayden be appointed an assistant to brother Scott."

Thomas Campbell was invited to spend the next winter within the borders of the Association.

There arose a debate as to whether Walter Scott and William Hayden should confine themselves to the bounds of the Mahoning Association in their future evangelizing. After discussion pro and con had dragged itself out to weariness, Sidney Rigdon rose and said, "You are consuming too much time on this question. One of the old Jerusalem preachers would start out with his hunting shirt and moccasins and convert half the world while you are discussing and settling plans."

Scott arose. His experience of the previous twelve months had taught him to expect great things, and he said, "Brethren, give me my Bible, my head, and Brother William Hayden, and we will go out and convert the world."<sup>20</sup>

## CHAPTER IX

### The "Silver Trumpet"

**W**ALTER SCOTT reflected with a thrill of pleasure upon the effect of the primitive gospel on the "Western Reserve within the past year. In 1827 the Mahoning Association had reported only thirty-four baptisms; in 1828 there were more than a thousand. In 1827, and every year before that, there had been more than a dozen exclusions; this year only six or seven fell away.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of earnestness had deepened everywhere. The Bible was read; more than that, it was studied with purpose by thousands. Lives had been changed. Even the unconverted had become deeply concerned. Moreover, his personal influence had been multiplied; his converts had become zealous exponents of the gospel. There was scarcely a Reformed Baptist to be found who did not carry with him a small copy of *The Sacred Oracles*, the modern-speech New Testament which Alexander Campbell had published in 1826. They did more than read and study the Bible; they memorized it and quoted it until they became known as "Walking Bibles." Nearly every convert became a preacher. The Mahoning River had become a second Jordan, and he, Walter Scott, another John.

Elsewhere in the nation, Reformed Baptists were multiplying at an amazing rate. In Kentucky, the Stone and Campbell preachers worked independently but with a growing mutual respect and with a common method. "Raccoon" John Smith, as an ardent follower of Campbell, had success no less startling than

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that of the Reserve. During the year of 1827-28, his three churches at Mount Sterling, Spencer's Creek, and Grassy Lick had 392 baptisms, while the North District Association of Kentucky, as a whole, reported 900 baptisms, mostly by Smith "after the ancient practice." And five new churches, organized by Smith "on the Bible alone," were now in the association. Bishop Vardeman immersed about 550 persons during a six-month period, and Bishop John Smith immersed 330 in less than three months.<sup>2</sup>

The 1827 meeting of the Mahoning Association had appointed Alexander Campbell messenger to the meeting of the Redstone Baptist Association that year, whereupon the Redstone Association, having cast this indigestible morsel forth some years earlier, refused to receive him. He did not abide by the creeds and articles of faith! So great was Campbell's following by this time, however, that thirteen of the twenty-three churches of the Association would not support the action advocated by the orthodox minority; these, in reprisal, were voted out of the organization by the ten churches!<sup>3</sup>

The leaven was working in the meal!

William Hayden, who now rode side by side with Scott as the second Mahoning evangelist, was twenty-nine, while Walter was thirty-two. William had grown up in the vicinity of Youngstown and was the brother of Daniel and A. S. Hayden, who also became prominent Reformers. In 1816, after a youthful struggle with atheism, he had joined the Baptists. As a reader of the *Christian Baptist*, he had been prepared for the preaching of Walter Scott and was won over to

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his cause at Canfield the previous year. Within a few months, he had abandoned his Calvinistic creed and come to full support of the Reformation. His schooling had been neglected, so as the two rode along together, they were teacher and pupil on horseback. It was a congenial relationship, for "Scott's learning and genius were not chilling and awe-inspiring, but as a father instructing a son who delighted to learn."<sup>4</sup> Scott called him "Willy."

On one occasion, after Hayden's introductory remarks in a sermon had occupied too much of the address, Scott asked with a twinkle, "Willy, did you ever know a fish to be all head?"

Later, after Hayden's exhortation at the close had been equally out of proportion, he teased, "Willy, did you ever know a fish to be all tail?"

Although Hayden was to gain distinction as a preacher, his chief value to Scott in their earlier years was a rich singing voice of great range and power. On several occasions, when the name and eloquence of Scott failed to batter down the walls of prejudice and get a hearing, he retired from the audience, saying, "I'll send Willie, and he'll sing you out!"<sup>5</sup>

Walter, in his own turn, was a student. He often rode with Daniel Hayden, William's brother, and on many occasions a scene like the following was repeated :

"Brother Hayden, I was a grown man before I ever saw a full-grown forest tree. I was brought up in the great city of Edinburgh and knew nothing of the country and forest and the various kinds of trees; and now, brother, I want you to tell me the name of that noble tree by the roadside."



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"That is a white oak."

"Hold my horse," said Scott as he scrambled to the ground and ran to the tree to impress this nature lesson on his memory by examining its bark and the leaves.<sup>6</sup>

November 7, 1828, found Walter Scott at Deerfield, where the ground had been well prepared for the seed he was about to scatter. Several months before this, a Methodist Scripture society had been formed there by Rev. Cornelius P. Finch and his wife. To the group had belonged Ephraim P. Hubbard, an immersed Methodist, and his wife, who was a Baptist; Samuel McGown, Methodist, and his wife, Presbyterian; Peter Hartzell, Presbyterian, and his Methodist wife; active Methodist Gideon Hoadly, and others. Domestic differences over religion constituted an effective goad to serious study and discussion; the issue was not academic.

The interest of this group formed a sensitive antenna, which soon picked up news of the reformed church at Braceville a few miles distant. Hubbard and Finch paid a visit to that church and came back with the light of discovery in their eyes. They had also invited Marcus Bosworth, the minister, and Adamson Bentley to come and preach for them. The result was the capitulation of the whole society. Hubbard, Hartzell, and Finch became ministers of the Reformers, and nearly every convert at Deerfield was a lay preacher.

When Scott arrived in November, he went to the home of Hubbard, who rushed to Finch with the news that the evangelist had come to preach. Finch had been listening to rumor and was afraid of the fiery preacher. "It'll ruin us!" he protested, but finally

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he yielded to Hubbard's insistence to go through with it, and the Methodist church was secured for the meeting.

Scott's sermon, one which was completely convincing to Finch and which placed him immediately at the feet of the frontier evangelist, was three hours long. He began, "The world has been wrong three times, it has been well nigh ruined a fourth." He spoke on the three dispensations, Patriarchal, Jewish and Christian. As he concluded the Patriarchal and Jewish ages, he turned at the end of each to Jane Davis, a Welsh soloist who was present,

"Sister Jane, sing us one of your songs. . . . Sister Davis, another of your beautiful songs."

The sweep and majesty of this sermon had an immediate effect. There were eleven decisions, one of them being made by Captain Amos Allerton, a well-known, honest, intelligent, but somewhat belligerent critic of the churches.<sup>7</sup> After his baptism, he became an effective preacher.

A relative of his had been at Canton for an extended medical treatment and returned to find the community in a stir, which her sister hastened to explain, "I have been to hear them and O sister! they remind me of the 12 who followed our Lord when on earth; they are plain, pious men; they talk just like the Bible reads; they surely are the people of God!"<sup>8</sup>

"The ancient gospel is most eloquent, sir, and makes all its converts preachers," remarked Scott, with the Deerfield church in mind. Continuing, he said:

In the northern part of this state a Disciple in one of the new churches had an appointment and preached. A man enquired whence came the preacher. The answer was, "From Deerfield."

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A second preached, and the same question and the same answer were made. A third and perhaps a fourth held forth in the same place, and the same question was put by the same person. "Where do you come from, sir?"

"From Deerfield," was the answer.

The man, surprised, exclaimed, "Deerfield. Why, pray, how many preachers have you in Deerfield?"

"Sixty," said the brother.

"Why, then you must all be preachers in Deerfield!"

"Yes, sir," was the reply, "all our members are preachers either at home or abroad."<sup>9</sup>

After the exhausting labor of several months, the tired evangelist took time out for a recreational trip to Pittsburgh, where he visited his friend and former pupil, Robert Richardson, who was practicing medicine there. Richardson was still a member of the Episcopal church. Though Scott had made his visit for friendship's sake and was seeking rest and not converts, he was so full of his recent adventures that the whole matter spilled over into their conversations.

After his teacher had gone, the young doctor took to his Greek New Testament for earnest study. The result was that he became convinced that Scott had a true insight. Whereupon he left his practice and set out for New Lisbon to find his recent visitor and to be baptized. He found him, after three days, at Shalersville, arriving at two o'clock in the afternoon just after the sermon and just before the baptism of several converts. They went down to the Cuyoga River for the immersion. There Hayden delivered a preparatory sermon, the first utterance of the Reformers Robert had ever heard, and then baptized the converts, the first immersions he had ever witnessed.

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During these exercises Scott spied Robert and gave a start of delight. Not suspecting the purpose of his visit, he said in an undertone to Hayden, "Oh, that the Lord would give us that young man!" Later on, he found that the young physician had come 120 miles for just such a purpose.<sup>10</sup>

Robert Richardson was to become one of the most important Disciples, as the Reformers were often called after 1830. Joining the original faculty of Bethany College, he served for eighteen years as professor of chemistry and was, at the same time, the village physician and one of the editors of the *Millennial Harbinger*. Before taking this post, he was to assist Scott for two years with his magazine, the *Evangelist*, at Carthage, Ohio. Finally, he was to make the distinctive literary contribution of the whole first generation of Disciples in his monumental biography, *The Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*. As one of the recruits of Walter Scott, he was a fellow warrior of great strength. The cup of Scott's joy was overflowing.

As in former months, not all was sweetness in these evangelistic forays upon the communities. There was opposition, misrepresentation, often bitter hostility.

"In one place where I was baptizing," Walter wrote back to Alexander Campbell, "just as I raised the baptized person out of the water, I saw a great stick hanging or rather shaking over my head. On another occasion, I was interrupted by a person with a sword-cane. At one place they set loose my mare, in the night, and at Noblestown in the midst of six Presbyterian congregations, the sectarian population cut off all the hair from her tail."<sup>11</sup>

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While Scott was on a visit to Samuel Hayden's near Youngstown, he heard that Rev. Lawrence Greatrake, a notorious Baptist opponent of the Reformers, was to preach in the vicinity. He desired to hear him, but since the "Great Rake" was noted for his rudeness and abusive language, the Haydens feared to have him go, lest he be goaded past endurance. After riding away on another errand, he changed his mind and turned about to the place of meeting, arriving late. Instead of going into the meetinghouse, he stood at an open window close to the pulpit. As the preacher began, he opened with prayer, "O Lord, do thou restrain or remove those wolves who are going about in sheep's clothing, scattering the flock and destroying the lambs."

Scott responded in a clear ringing voice, audible to all present, "Amen!" The unexpected response from such an unexpected quarter so disconcerted Rev. Mr. Greatrake that he was momentarily thrown off the track and could not resume his prayer immediately. Scott had had his fun and was satisfied.<sup>12</sup>

The family of Walter Scott at Canfield made out their existence not only without the presence of the head of the household, but without adequate financial assistance. John was five, Emily three, and William two, when on the very last day of December, 1828, a second girl was born. She was named after her mother, Sarah Jane. Her coming restored the perfect balance of the family group, two boys and two girls. But it also impressed upon the tender conscience of Scott the sorry mismanagement of his finances. He simply had no business sense; he did not know the value of a dollar or how to make it last

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when he had one, largely because his overflowing sympathy for human need wherever he met it evoked generosity so immediate and so complete that he would empty his pockets without a single thought of tomorrow.

Daniel Hayden, seeing that Scott's wife and children were weighing on his mind, told his friend that he was too generous for the good of his family, and that the needs of others seemed greater than his own.

"Brother Scott, you ought not to handle a dollar; whatever means you have ought to be in the hands of someone with less sympathy and more judgment than yourself, to manage for you, and to see that your own are well cared for before others are helped."

Scott's reaction was immediate and favorable: "Brother Hayden, I believe you are right; you are a good manager, a man of thrift and prudence. Will you do me this service!"

"I will."

"You are the very man for the work and I will hold you to it!"<sup>13</sup>

Thereafter, in mundane matters, the growing household at Canfield was not so sadly neglected.

At the instigation of a Rev. Mr. "Winters of Youngstown, small fragments of the churches at Youngstown, Palmyra, Achor, and Salem resisted Scott and the whole Mahoning Association. He took his handful of adherents, probably less than eighty, and joined them to the Beaver Association, where he kept up such a constant agitation that that body, in August of 1829, published an anathema of the Mahoning Association, charging them with "disbelieving and denying the doctrines of the Holy Scripture." Specifically they listed eight "errors" of the "Reformers":

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1. That there is no promise of salvation without baptism.
2. That baptism should be administered on belief that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, without examination on any other point.
3. That there is no direct operation of the Holy Spirit on the mind before baptism.
4. That baptism procures the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit.
5. "That the Scriptures are the only evidence of interest in Christ"—whatever that means.
6. That man's obedience places it in God's power to elect to salvation.
7. That no creed is necessary for the church.
8. That all baptized persons have a right to administer the ordinance of baptism.

"W. E. Garrison, commenting on the foregoing points, observes that "this is, on the whole, a more accurate statement than is often made of the position of one side in a religions controversy by the other." Dr. Garrison continues:

In Tate's Creek Association, Kentucky, ten Baptist churches excluded the other sixteen as having sympathy with the Reformers, adopted the Beaver charges, and condemned these four additional errors:

9. That there is no special call to the ministry.
10. That the law given to Moses is abolished.
11. That experimental religion is enthusiasm.
12. That there is no mystery in the Scriptures.\*

The Beaver anathema was widely circulated, provoking ratifications and additional denunciations of Campbell and Scott from every quarter. The Appomattox Association of Virginia, the Baptist Association of Anderson County, Kentucky, the Elkhorn Asso-

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\**Religion Follows the Frontier*, by Winfred Ernest Garrison, pp. 134f. . Harper & Brothers, publishers. Used by permission.

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ciation, and the Baptist Association of Sulphur Fork all joined the chorus of hate. There was a general movement afoot to purge Baptist churches of Reformers.

Provoked by the cataclysmic events set going by Walter Scott, the reaction had set in which was to produce a clean separation of Baptists from Disciples.

The Mahoning Association, against whom the Beaver anathema was directed, met in Sharon the latter part of August, in 1829, to learn that another thousand converts had been added. There were present Thomas Campbell, Walter Scott, Adamson Bentley, William Hayden, John Henry, Marcus Bosworth, and many others. No records were kept, but A. S. Hayden reported that four evangelists were chosen this time. In addition to Scott, there were William Hayden of Austintown, Adamson Bentley of Warren, and Marcus Bosworth of Braceville.<sup>14</sup>

For the year 1829-30, a system of itinerary was devised. This was largely the work of Hayden. A circuit of sixteen stations was set up, with preaching in four places every Lord's Day, so that all sixteen churches were served once each month. This was necessary because churches had multiplied faster than preachers could be employed. The four evangelists followed one another in fixed order; rather, they were supposed to do so, for Scott could not be scheduled and routed in such a rigid manner.

"Scott, somewhat erratic, distanced all bounds," Hayden complained. "He flew where the finger of God directed."<sup>15</sup>

Let others organize, Scott would originate: "I was all transported with the gospel—its novelty, its power, its point, its glory."<sup>16</sup>



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Beginning about 1830, a wave of millenarianism broke over America. It did not stem from any one source but seemed to be a universal deluge. Perhaps the expectation of a heavenly new world, with Christ coming in the clouds of glory, was the religious counterpart of the physical frontier where a new social order actually *was* in the making. This general expectancy was reflected in Scott's projected magazine, the *Millennial Herald*, in 1827, by Campbell's *Millennial Harbinger*, which did arise in 1830, and by numerous stirrings in the Protestant world. William Miller, a New England farmer and veteran of the War of 1812, began in 1831 to agitate the nation with his prophecy of world's end for 1843 or 1844. His message, fairly typical of this trend, was somewhat as follows: Christ would appear in the clouds of heaven to judge the earth. The righteous dead and living would be caught up in the air, while a great conflagration consumed the old earth and its wicked ones. The wicked would then be shut up in a place prepared for the devil and his angels, the saints meanwhile reigning with their Lord on a new earth for a thousand years. Then Satan would be released, the wicked would be resurrected, and war between heaven and earth would ensue. This war would eventuate in the defeat of Satan and his hosts, who would be cast into hell forever.<sup>17</sup>

It was not surprising therefore that William Hayden went to New Lisbon to fill an appointment and found Walter Scott at the home of Mrs. Jacob Campbell ecstatically talking of the millennium.

"Brother Scott and I have just been contemplating how joyful it will be in the millennium—mortals and immortals dwelling together!" said Mrs. Campbell in

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greeting. Scott then launched into a brilliant and enthusiastic survey of millennial prophecies in Ezekiel and Isaiah. This sort of thing was very exciting to him, although he never allowed himself to be carried away into the date-fixing aspect of it. He insisted that no one but God knew the day or the hour of this visitation.

Congregations joined in singing hymns like the following with great animation:

When the King of kings comes,  
When the Lord of lords comes,  
We shall have a joyful day  
    When the King of kings comes;  
To see the nations broken down  
And kingdoms once of great renown,  
And saints now suffering wear the crown  
    When the King of kings comes!<sup>18</sup>

If millenarianism was countenanced, Mormonism was not. Sidney Rigdon was already involved in the Mormon movement as early as 1827. But in 1830, when Joseph Smith was driven from Palmyra, New York, to Kirtland, Ohio, Rigdon joined the group openly. In 1830, at Austintown, Alexander Campbell and Rigdon had a passage of arms in which Rigdon was bested. To a friend the budding Mormon complained, "I have done as much in this reformation as Campbell or Scott, and yet they get all the honor of it."<sup>19</sup> Thereafter he withdrew from the Reformers.

It was Rigdon who gave the Mormons their name, the "Church of the Latter Day Saints,"<sup>20</sup> and it was he who threatened for a time to carry with him a large section of the Reformation into the new movement. Rigdon lived happily within the new church until the

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death of Joseph Smith, when he contested the leadership with Brigham Young, to whom he lost. As a result, he retired in confusion to central New York, where he lived out the rest of his erratic life in obscurity.<sup>21</sup>

The meeting of the Mahoning Association at Austintown in August of 1830 was its last. Over one thousand converts were reported in this third year of evangelistic effort.<sup>22</sup>

Walter Scott, alarmed at the tyranny of Beaver and other Baptist associations, and also convinced that they were without scriptural sanction, had determined to end the Mahoning organization. John Henry had concurred, and it was he who made the motion:

"Moved: That the Mahoning Association, as an advisory council, or ecclesiastical tribunal, should cease to exist."<sup>23</sup>

Alexander Campbell was alarmed by such precipitate action and was on the point of rising to speak against the motion, when Walter Scott, discerning his intention, went up to him and, placing a hand on each shoulder, begged him not to oppose it. He yielded, but with reluctance.

The voting over, with the motion carrying unanimously, Campbell arose and said: "Brethren, what are you going to do? Are you never going to meet again?" This fell upon them "like a clap of thunder, and caused a speedy change of feelings." Campbell then proposed that the brethren meet annually for preaching, fellowship, and reports of progress on a purely voluntary basis. This carried without dissension.<sup>24</sup>

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Although the Bethany editor reported to his readers: "This Association came to its end as tranquilly as ever did a good old man whose attenuated thread of life, worn to a hair's breadth, dropped asunder by its own imbecility,"<sup>25</sup> still he had misgivings, as he later acknowledged:

I confess I was alarmed at the impassioned and hasty manner in which the Association was, in a few minutes, dissolved....

Reformation and annihilation are not with me now, as formerly, convertible or identical terms. We want occasional, if not stated, deliberative meetings.<sup>26</sup>

Scott's starry-eyed idealism was great, in part, because it was never bogged down in the machinery of organization. The mundane or the expedient had no claim upon him. He was not so constituted that he could foresee how the precipitate action of August, 1830, would cut off his own work; for, with the abolition of the association, its employment of evangelists ceased.<sup>27</sup> He could not then see that so much creativeness without careful husbanding and cultivation was dangerous.

Jacob Osborne saw and lamented the absence of a system for training and holding converts. William Hayden also foresaw confusion and a coming disappointment, and, as his brother reports:

They remonstrated with Scott, but that angel of the tempest, beholding victory on all sides, blew louder his silver trumpet of salvation and replied, "O convert the people, and give them the Holy Ghost, and they will be safe!"

Benjamin Austin, a man of sense like a governor, said to Bentley and Henry, "You must stop; the longer you go on the worse it will be. It will come to confusion.

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If you go on twenty years in this way, it will be all the worse, for you will have to stop at last. There must be suitable men appointed to take care of the converts!"<sup>28</sup>

At the 1831 meeting of the Disciple groups of the former Mahoning Association, it was found that only one man in the whole Reserve devoted his full time to the ministry. The others were laymen who preached or preachers who farmed. Stewardship had been overlooked. Church organization and Christian nurture had been slighted.

But when Scott reached the end of 1831, he, by the genius of his analytic mind and his infectious enthusiasm, had completed the creation of the Disciples, given them an evangelistic method, separated them beyond all returning from the Baptists, and set them on their independent course. Without him there may never have been a multitude of converts presenting the problem of organization and pastoral care. A measure of chaos is the price of all creation, and he was pre-eminently a creator.

## *CHAPTER X*

### **Pen and Printing Press**

**T**HE momentous events of August, 1830, were followed by an anticlimax. For three whole years Scott had held himself at a pitch of nearly superhuman activity. All he had fought for was finally accomplished. Dozens of eager hands were sharing his toil and were competent to take it over. He could relax, or look elsewhere.

But as soon as he began to relax, he found himself on the point of exhaustion. His willing spirit had not taken account of the weakening flesh; indeed he had not even consulted it. Now it began to assert itself, even to tyrannize over his mind. Where there had been cyclonic energy, there was now lethargy. Where there had been high spirits, there was depression.

His fifth child, and third son, Samuel C. Scott, was born on December 20, and this, with the ensuing Christmas season, afforded him a momentary relief from the overhanging cloud of gloom which threatened to descend yet closer; but the respite of sunshine was brief. The frail human body, with its high-strung nervous system, had taken all it could stand.

He told Sarah that he could not continue longer on the Reserve. She understood, and the two of them decided to return to Pittsburgh, where they had met and had spent the first happy months of their marriage eight years before. They went without plan. It would be well to rest a while and await a new opening.

When they came back to Pittsburgh in the early winter of 1831, they found it a thriving city of twenty-

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one thousand persons, a growing industrial center of great promise.

The stirrings of American life were unprecedented. Political leadership had passed in 1829 from the East to the West and from the rich and wellborn into the hands of the common man. Andrew Jackson was president. The rugged frontier, steadily increasing its power since the days of the Revolutionary War, was now a force to be reckoned with. In 1830 there were 12,866,020 people in the United States. Three and a half million of these were west of the mountains.<sup>1</sup> To the continuous westward migration of native Americans, there was now added the influx of the immigrant. Within the next twenty years, two and a half million "foreigners" would be added, to the nation. Population increase was so rapid that the trend of these years, if maintained, would have produced a nation of 269 millions by 1930.

Senators Calhoun, Hayne, and Webster were shaking Congress with thunderous utterances over States' rights and the preservation of the Federal Union.<sup>2</sup> The common people were pressing with success for the expansion of voting privileges without prerequisite of property. Demands for a public school system were becoming articulate. Prison reforms, temperance movements, and antislavery campaigns were emerging.

American activism was born. A note of hurry entered the life of the country, and the race for money and success was afoot, all of it an expression of the frontier spirit of conquest and expansion.

A powerful implement of this expansion was a growing transportation system. In 1830 the first steam locomotive appeared on the Baltimore and

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Ohio's twenty-three miles of track. The company had only thirteen more years to live up to its contractual obligations to build a line all the way to Pittsburgh.<sup>3</sup> As a promise of what was coming, although the realization was to be delayed until 1852, a railroad car was exhibited in the city in 1830, and the whole city flocked to see it. Steamboats were plying the Ohio River, and a system of highways connected Pittsburgh with Harrisburg, Wheeling, Steubenville, Beaver, and Erie.<sup>4</sup> In 1831, Pittsburgh was agog with talk of "Craig's Spider": Neville B. Craig, editor of the *Gazette*, published a map of the city showing a great network of roads, canals, and railroads radiating from it. Most of this visionary project was close to fulfillment.<sup>5</sup>

The Disciples, who sprang up in the spirit of the frontier on the frontier itself, had at this time multiplied until they were about 20,000 in number.<sup>6</sup> Stone's "Christians" and Campbell's "New Testament Baptists" or "Reformed Baptists" were talking of union on a grand scale, and some congregations of the two movements had already united locally.<sup>7</sup>

Socially, politically, and religiously the environment was one grown big with the promise of the future. Optimism and expectancy were in the air, but they were not at this moment in the heart of Walter Scott. He was exhausted, spent in body and mind.

Striking when he was least able to defend himself, the cruel angel of death came this selfsame winter to take away his darling daughter, Sarah Jane, in the first months of her second year. The loss broke his heart. His gloom-ridden soul was now laden with this added burden of grief. His depression was so



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deep that it seemed to him that he could not survive it. Days wore on into weeks, and weeks into months. It did not lift.

To stay in Pittsburgh became as intolerable as staying on the Reserve. He must go somewhere, do something. It was then that news came from Cincinnati that James Challen had moved to Louisiana, leaving his church in want of a minister. Would Scott become his successor?

Cincinnati was at this time the leading city in Ohio, the "Queen City of the West." He decided to accept the opening, and in May of 1831 began preaching there, leaving his family behind until his plans should become certain.

But it did not go well. His health did not improve, and his depression did not lift. He seemed like a broken machine. His celebrity had preceded him, and everywhere he disappointed expectations. Great crowds assembled to hear him and went away murmuring. Now and then, when nothing was expected of him, and only a small congregation had gathered, he seemed again to find the golden track and to carry his hearers into realms of ecstasy, but these times were infrequent, and they came and went without apparent relation to the occasion or to his own will. He missed, it is true, the thousands of singing people on the Reserve, their expectancy and enthusiasm; but that did not account for his depression. He was *down*, and it looked for a time as though his usefulness as a preacher was finished.

"How is it, Brother Scott," asked one of the elders of his church, "that when we don't expect anything from you, you go beyond yourself, but when our hopes and wishes are the highest, you fall so low?"

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"Oh," he answered, "I don't know how it happens, but I feel that if I cannot get it out of me at times, it is in me nevertheless."<sup>8</sup>

He struggled along this way for three months, and then sat down to write a letter to James Challen in Louisiana:

"The flock are sighing and pining for their former shepherd; you must come back, you alone can satisfy them. I can not and will not consent to remain with them as long as there is any hope or prospect of your return."

Challen returned, and Scott fled to Pittsburgh and into the arms of his family.

If he had failed to speak, perhaps he could yet write! He fell to work almost at once on a small book, *A Discourse on the Holy Spirit*. It was published in October, 1831, by Alexander Campbell, at Bethany, Virginia. The Bethany publisher advertised the work in the October issue of his new magazine, the *Millennial Harbinger*:

Brother WALTER SCOTT, who, in the Fall of 1827, arranged the several items of Faith, Repentance, Baptism, Remission of Sins, the Holy Spirit, and Eternal Life, restored them in this order to the church under the title of *Ancient Gospel*, and successfully preached it for the conversion of the world—has written a discourse on the fifth point, (viz. the *Holy Spirit*,) which presents the subject in such an attitude as cannot fail to make all who read it understand the views entertained by us, and, as we think, taught by the Apostles in their writings. We can recommend to all the disciples this discourse as most worthy of a place in their families, because it perspicuously, forcibly, and with a brevity favorable to an easy apprehension of its meaning, presents the subject to the mind of the reader."<sup>9</sup>

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On no point had the Reformers been at sharper issue with the Calvinists than on the Holy Spirit. The Calvinists had taught that the Holy Spirit operated directly and mystically in conversion to deliver the soul from total depravity and make it capable of believing. Rejecting the doctrine of total depravity entirely, the Reformers had argued that the Holy Spirit operates in conversion solely through the word of Scripture. This was the sore point of contention.

Campbell took note of this in his advertisement:

Our opponents, too, who are continually misrepresenting, and many of them no doubt misconceiving our views on this subject, if they would be advised by us, we would request to furnish themselves with a copy, that they may be better informed on this topic; and if they should still be conscientiously opposed, that they may oppose what we teach, and not a phantom of their own creation. A discourse of this sort, detached from other matters, written with so much clearness, point, and energy, we deem better calculated to put this subject to rest than a more elaborate treatise upon it.

The booklet was twenty-four closely printed pages, selling at the price of twenty-five cents per copy, five for a dollar.

The argument of the book was clarity itself: "Christianity, as developed in the sacred oracles, is sustained by three divine missions,—the mission of the Lord Jesus, the mission of the apostles, and the mission of the Holy Spirit; these embassies are distinct in three particulars, namely, person, termination, and design." The mission of Jesus was to the Jewish nation, that of his apostles to all nations, and that of the Holy Spirit to the church. The design of Jesus' mission was to proclaim and teach the gospel, that

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of the apostles the same but on a wider scale, while the design of the Holy Spirit is to comfort the disciples, glorify Christ, and convince the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment through the word preached by the apostles.<sup>10</sup>

The Holy Spirit . . . was not sent to dwell in any man in order to make him a Christian, but because he had already become a Christian; or, in other terms, it will be proved that the Holy Spirit is not given to men to make them believe and obey the gospel, but rather *because* they have believed and obeyed the gospel.

The Spirit, then, can do nothing in religion, nothing in Christianity, but by the members of the body of Christ. Even the word of God, the Scriptures, have been given by members filled with this Spirit—they spake as the Spirit gave them utterance.<sup>11</sup>

The booklet had a phenomenal sale. Letters of commendation arrived from all over the country. A second edition was called for, and that was soon exhausted. In 1833 a third edition was issued, this time through the pages of the *Evangelist*.

Some gleam of hope began to stir within Scott. He had found another medium. True, it had not been untried before, for he had written numerous articles for the *Christian Baptist*, and had even helped to launch the periodical. He had also planned a magazine of his own in 1827, only to abandon it for the more pressing business of the Western Reserve. Now, he returned to this purpose. He would write and edit a magazine. The gloom began to lift.

The "Queen City of the West," for all the disappointment of his recent months there, attracted him, and thither he moved his family in the closing weeks of

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1831, as he made ready to launch himself as a publisher.

Nothing could have been more fitting as a title for this periodical than the one he chose, the *Evangelist*. A "prospectus" was printed in the *Millennial Harbinger* of January 2, 1832, and on the very same day the first issue came from the press. The magazine was really only a paper pulpit for the Ancient Gospel, with its editor as the preacher, and its readers forming a widely scattered congregation.

The terms on which it was proposed to issue the magazine were stated: "The *Evangelist* will be published on the first Monday of every month, from January, 1832, on a royal sheet, and will contain 24 pages, at One Dollar per annum, if paid in advance, or One Dollar and Fifty Cents, if paid at the end of the year."<sup>12</sup>

Addressing himself to the problem of circulation, the editor further advertised: "Any person acting as agent, and becoming responsible for five copies, payable in advance, shall have one copy for his trouble."<sup>13</sup>

"The cause is still advancing," he wrote in a circular letter included in his first issue, "and I am persuaded that nothing but more zeal in our laborers, more zeal and devotedness in all the Disciples, are necessary to make it triumph among men."

"I now reside in Cincinnati," he continued, "laboring in word and doctrine with the Brethren who meet in Sycamore-street; and being anxious to disseminate the principles and advance the science of eternal life, I have resolved, with the help of the Lord, to avail myself of the advantages afforded by the press."<sup>14</sup>

## *CHAPTER XI*

### **The "Carthage Editor"**

**T**HE years of 1832 and 1833 formed a period of readjustment for Walter Scott. He was laboring to regain his health, getting his family resettled, learning how to write and edit a magazine, and he was looking for the kind of preaching and teaching that would be consistent with his limited vitality. There were evangelistic tours in these years, but for a man of Scott's insatiable thirst for converts they were so few as to merit little notice.

Most of these two years was spent in Cincinnati. During the first six months he was wholly occupied there. Home, printing office, and the Sycamore Street church were all there. Then, in the summer of 1832, he created a church at Carthage out of his own converts and began dividing his time; the weekdays were given to the city, his Sundays to the village. By October, 1833, the demands of the village had become such that he moved his other interests there. So was born the "Carthage Editor" whose fame rivaled that of the "Mahoning Evangelist."

When Scott and his family moved there, Cincinnati was a flourishing city of 4,016 buildings,<sup>1</sup> doubling once every nine years. It boasted a population of 25,000, which made it larger than Pittsburgh and unrivaled by any city in the West.<sup>2</sup> Immigrants were flocking in, and the city was to become predominantly German and Irish, as its industries were to be dominated by distilleries and breweries. In the thousand-mile reach of the Ohio from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi River, it occupied a position almost exactly

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midway, and its river wharves were the busiest in America. The Miami Canal connected her with Toledo, and roads radiated in all directions.

James Challen returned to this growing city upon Walter Scott's insistence and here remained until 1834. He was one of the Disciples' strongest preachers and writers and was to have long and constructive pastorates in Philadelphia, Davenport, and Lexington. He proved to be a friend whose equilibrium and steadying influence were sources of calm strength to Walter. Taking his new friend in charge, he began to watch over him like a guardian. As late as October 16, 1832, he wrote to the *Millennial Harbinger*: "Brother Scott is still in bad health, and my labors are necessarily confined almost exclusively to the city. The Cholera is among us, and is raging with considerable violence."<sup>3</sup>

From the nervous indigestion and fits of depression which preyed upon him in these years, Scott was never able completely to rid himself all the rest of his life. He was subject hours at a time to melancholia; these low moods would alternate with elevated spirits of the utmost buoyancy. Then he was "genial, and even mirthful; abounding in anecdotes and brilliant flashes of wit and repartee."<sup>4</sup> At such times, when he entered a room, it was like letting in more sunshine. He was now thirty-six, and grappling with the problem of his own mental and physical health.

James Challen, as he came gradually to know him, saw how complex he was:

In some things he was a perfect child, and again there was a loftiness and grandeur about him that struck the beholder with awe. He had, with a high-strung nervous temperament, as much moral courage as any man I have

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ever known; and, therefore, he often did what other men would not dare to do, and was rarely defeated or successfully baffled in his purposes. He had in him the spirit of the ancient prophets, and felt as if he had some great work to do in these latter times.<sup>5</sup>

For all his sickness, Scott did the work of three healthy men. He edited his magazine, managed a printing office, answered a heavy correspondence, assisted Brother Challen with the Sycamore Street church, attended public meetings, made evangelistic forays into the surrounding country and across the river into Kentucky, superintended the religious instruction of his family, and gave private instruction to young ministers. His weakness might harass him, but it could not stop him.

January found him rejoicing over the union of Disciples and Christians, consummated on the first day of the year at Lexington. A letter from Barton W. Stone exulted: "Our union is attended with happy consequences, and our meetings crowned with success. We long to see you. Our two Evangelists (Smith and Rogers) have started on their tour."<sup>6</sup> There were now about 20,000 in the movement. His cause had become a fellowship.

Scott's new magazine required a great deal of his time. Each issue called for about ten thousand words, and during the first year he wrote nearly the whole of twelve issues without help. Robert Richardson contributed four articles, and James Challen sent in a poem and an article; there was a page or so of correspondence in each number; but the rest had to come from the pen of the editor.



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Since Scott regarded his editorial desk as a pulpit from which he could proclaim the gospel to an enlarged audience, the contents of the magazine were much like his preaching. While he gave passing notice to education and government, he dwelt chiefly on religious topics. He conducted extended "conversations" and "colloquies" on the ancient gospel, argued for a new translation of the Old Testament, set forth the various dispensations, expounded a Lockian philosophy of religion, and discoursed on the formation of character. All that he had to say centered in the "Golden Oracle."

"Christ," he wrote, "is called the sun of righteousness, and no literal sentence perhaps is adequate to the idea of his glory which this metaphor throws into the mind. The sun is the great center of the system; the immense source of all light, life, heat, and vegetation; hence Jesus is all these in the spiritual world or in religion."<sup>7</sup>

He was only extending the work to which he had given himself on the Reserve. And the phrase the "Ancient Gospel" appeared over and over in every issue. The five (or six) steps of salvation were stated and discussed continuously. The editor was like a jewel merchant holding a precious gem before his eyes and turning it so as to gaze at every facet.

The subscription list of the *Evangelist* grew from month to month until, by the end of 1832, it included the following states: Virginia, New York, Indiana, Georgia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana. Too many of these subscribers, however, had availed themselves of the privilege of delayed payment, so that in the January, 1833, number, the editor had to remind them to pay up!

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But \$700.00 of last year is still due to me and though this is a small sum to them, and might be easily paid when seven hundred subscribers have to do it, yet it is a large sum to me and difficult to be borne by one individual. The establishment is in its infancy, and may, nay, I humbly hope has already been subservient to the cause which it has espoused; but it must be supported by its subscribers alone; will my readers please recollect this?<sup>8</sup>

Scott's former pupil and convert, Robert Richardson, had been living and practicing medicine in Wellsburg, Virginia, during the past four years, having moved there following his baptism. Scott now prevailed upon him to move to Carthage, Ohio, where he could engage in practice and help him with the editing of the magazine. Richardson had written several essays for the *Evangelist* over the pen name of "Discipulus."<sup>9</sup> The doctor had the patient exactitude and devotion to detail that Scott lacked. The Cincinnati editor was not a good proofreader; misspellings and inaccuracies crept past him. He needed just such a helper as the young physician.

Richardson came and took up his dual responsibility, practicing medicine as a partner to a Dr. Wright in Carthage. In his own copy of the January *Evangelist* he made marginal corrections on the printed page, and noted at the bottom of the last page of the issue: "73 errors in this number!" The next issue, which is scrupulous in its spelling, is neat evidence that the doctor-editor was on the job!

The town of Carthage was seven miles north of Cincinnati, on the Miami Canal. In 1832 its principal industries were the Mill Creek Distillery, with a capacity of 16,000 gallons of grain alcohol per day, and

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a flour mill, with a capacity of forty-five barrels per day. These were located on either wing of the settlement, within which there were two inns, the Belser House and Van Kirk Tavern. There was no church of any denomination, and the town was "wide open." In the summer of this year Walter Scott turned his guns on Carthage and opened siege. Winning over a thirteen-year-old girl, who had been studying the Bible with original insight, and a town "bad man" by the name of Parker, he was able to publish in January that a fine church had been constituted at Carthage and that there were forty members.<sup>10</sup> By July this had grown to 104 members.<sup>11</sup> September 13-16 the Carthage pastor invited a whole company of evangelists—J. T. Johnson, Finnell, O'Kane, Mitchell, and others—and put the whole town under a barrage of preaching day and night. The result was thirty-three more church members and such a remarkable effect upon the town as a whole that "a village not long since distinguished for swearing, gambling, drunkenness, debate, fighting, and petty legal prosecutions, is now filled with the melody of praise, and abounds in good order, joy and thanksgivings to the Lord."<sup>12</sup> Over the next twelve years, with Walter Scott as minister, this church had a constant stream of additions. Meeting in a barn at the beginning, the congregation early in 1833 erected its own brick building, on the very same site where the second building of that church now stands.

Until October, 1833, the *Evangelist* was printed in Cincinnati, and the Scotts continued to live in the city. By this time the center of gravity in Scott's interests had moved, and many factors began to argue

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for a change of residence and the transfer of the printing establishment to Carthage. The church, with its growing demand for his time, was there. His assistant editor was there; travel back and forth was expensive and wasteful in time for both of them. The decision was made, and the October *Evangelist* notified its readers:

*The Evangelist* Printing Office has been removed from Cincinnati to Carthage, a small village, seven miles along the Canal, where all kinds of Book, Newspaper, and Job printing, are executed in the best style, on the cheapest possible terms.

The Carthage church was unusual for its order as well as for its evangelistic spirit. A Sunday school was organized at the very beginning. Elders and deacons were elected, with well-defined duties recorded in the church minutes. An order of service was adopted and adhered to. The church records of November, 1834, declaring that "the Church of God at Carthage is desirous to obey the Holy Commandments of the Apostles and to secure to themselves good government, Godly edification and a well-regulated system of finance," show that elders were elected to take charge of the government, edification, and discipline. Six elders were to preside over all public meetings and to keep them in order and on schedule. Four deacons were elected to collect and take charge of all contributions and to superintend the church building and all its physical needs.

This same meeting adopted an order of service. This emphasis on order in the Carthage church was, of course, the direct result of Scott philosophy of the church:

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Churches are in general very deficient in order. The great points of teaching, discipline, good government, and finance are at a very low ebb among us.

Why are there no funds? Is it because our members are all poor? . . . The proper answer to this question may be found in the fact that a vast proportion of our assemblies are wholly without an adequate scheme of finance.<sup>13</sup>

Again, writing on the subject of ministerial support in his magazine, he says:

To imagine that a divine institution, like Christianity, will run the length and breadth of the globe unaided by men appointed to proclaim it, and that men competent to proclaim it will run the length and breadth of the globe unbefriended and unsupported by those who are bound to see it spread, are propositions equally absurd. . . . We argue therefore that if the brethren would enjoy the labors of an efficient ministry, they must support them; and it is most obvious that the necessities of the world can be met only by an efficient ministry.<sup>14</sup>

Because of its healthy growth, its reverent order, and its radiating influence in the community, to say nothing of its distinguished *teacher*, the Carthage church became known far and wide.

Although Scott "stayed at home," his life was far from localized. A stream of visitors came and went at all hours. He later spoke of them as "thousands." Among them were Barton W. Stone, L. L. Pinkerton, Samuel Rogers, L. H. Jameson, and Joseph Bryant. His desk groaned under unanswered letters. He participated in occasional meetings. A new college named him among its incorporators.<sup>15</sup> The Reserve

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invited him to return. The Carthage church had attracted attention, and besides all this an editor is wherever his magazine is read, even when he is at home.

At the end of 1833 Scott broke away. He had decided to visit Alexander Campbell in Bethany. He and Joseph Bryant went down to the dock on December 31, 1833, and boarded the "Planter," "a steamer of the lowest rate in point of size, but possessing the best accommodations for deck and cabin passengers." He had now largely recovered his physical health, and this was his first long visit away from home.

After a momentary hesitation, I entered my name for Wellsburg, berth No. 12. My indecision rose from a sudden but transient recollection of my late long debility, during which I had contracted the most invincible love of home. Brother Bryant rallied me a little, and I yielded to what I was ashamed to resist.<sup>16</sup>

There he found himself one of five ministers on board and was soon involved in a religious discussion, which, much to the delight of all the passengers, lasted four days and five hundred miles. The clergymen debated and spoke their way clear up the Ohio River to Wellsburg. When he took leave of these companions to go over the hills to Bethany, he was deep in the mood of vacation.

Meanwhile, the sense of being alone, which had so depressed him in 1822, before he met Campbell, had given way entirely to the sense of fellowship with a growing brotherhood. In the January issue of the *Evangelist*, 1833, he wrote:

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The Gospel is now proclaimed on the seaboard and beyond the Mississippi, in Texas and beyond the Lakes. It has crossed the Alleghenies, it has gone to the Rocky Mountains. It is in Mexico and Canada. It has traversed the Atlantic. It was more than heaven could hold, and must fill the world. All the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of God!"

## *CHAPTER XII*

### **Carthage Family Circle**

**W**HEN the Scott family moved from Cincinnati in 1833 to the little village along the canal, John was ten, Emily eight, William seven, and Samuel nearly three. A fourth son was born in Carthage; he was named Walter Harden Scott, after Harden House of the Scott Clan.<sup>1</sup> To this family of seven, guests and young ministers in training were liberally added, swelling the circle to the full capacity of the little house and to the limit of the host's small purse.

For Walter Scott was no better as a manager here than on the Western Reserve; and he had no Daniel Hayden to protect him from his own generosity. Sarah often sent him out with the market basket and money to buy the groceries, only to see him returning later with basket as empty as his purse. He had found someone, friend or stranger, whose need he could not resist. Emptying his pockets to relieve distress became a compulsion with him. Once, when Alexander Campbell had given him a five-dollar gold piece, the prosperous Virginian was struck with amazement to see him give it away a few hours later to a bootblack. Walter had not troubled to look at it and thought it was a penny! For a while he owned two cows, but he could not bear the want of his neighbor who had none, so he made an equal division with him, each thereafter possessing one! At this the children complained a little.



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"He gave away the cow with the bell!" they said to their mother. As best she could she soothed their hurt feelings for she knew and understood the visionary genius whom she had married.

A house drab from poverty was made home by no outward decoration but only by the love and hospitality of those who dwelt within. Guests found a charm there that they could never forget. One of them told a friend of it long afterward:

Reaching Carthage on a summer afternoon, I left my horse at the village inn, and directed my steps to the residence of Walter Scott. I found him on the porch reading, handed him my letter of introduction, after reading which he gave me a most cordial greeting and invited me into the house. After conversing a few minutes, he left the room and in a short time returned with a basin of water and a towel, and, in the kindest tones, said, "My young brother, permit me, in the name of the Lord, to wash your feet," and he immediately proceeded to do so; and while kneeling at his task kept me engaged in conversation until it was accomplished. Never did I realize till then what a lesson of humility such an act could convey, and the impression made upon my mind has never been effaced.<sup>2</sup>

Foot washing was to Scott a sacrament of Christian friendship, to be practiced in the home, as he showed in a letter written to John S. Howard, under date of March 23, 1834:

Beloved Brother: My views of the "washing of feet" are, that it is a good and charitable deed enjoined upon us by both the precept and example of the Lord Jesus . . . It is one of the benevolent manners and customs of our kingdom, and to be attended to, unquestionably, on all suitable occasions. It is practiced in the families of those who have been chiefly instrumental in introducing the present reformation.<sup>3</sup>

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A religious atmosphere prevailed in this home. "Parents may be divided into three sorts," averred the host: "animal parents, rational parents, and religious parents."<sup>4</sup> The Scotts were decidedly of the latter sort.

Family worship was held following breakfast. While this meal was in preparation, all members of the household, including guests, and excepting only Mrs. Scott and Emily, who were cooking the food and setting the table, were busy committing Scripture to memory. After all had eaten, little Samuel led the way into the parlor, where all soon gathered. The father gave a signal glance to John, who began singing the Song of Moses. Then followed William with his verse: "And Naomi took the child and laid it in her bosom, and became nurse to it; and the women, her neighbors, gave it a name, saying, a child is born to Naomi, and they called his name Obed; he is the father of Jesse, the father of David."

Emily, her fancy arrested by William's verse, asked, "Father, where do you find the story of little Obed?"

"In the book of Ruth; and a very pretty story it is," he said. "In the book of Ruth the simplicity of the early ages is very strikingly exhibited. It supplies the origin and pedigree of the royal family of David, of which it was promised that the Messiah, according to the flesh, should be born."

Emily then repeated the whole genealogy of Jesus from Adam through Abraham and David, and ended up by reciting the second half of the first chapter of Matthew. She and her brothers were then committing the whole of this Gospel to memory.

The exercises continued with a responsive reading, from memory, of a large portion of the Book of He-

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brews. This was done by Scott and B. U. Watkins, who was a young man then living with the family in order to receive private tutoring for the ministry. Alternate verses, and then alternate chapters, were recited, impressive attention being given to accuracy, pronunciation, and proper inflection.

A second young minister recited the fifth chapter of 1 Timothy. Mrs. Scott added a passage from Matthew. The father sang the Song of the Lamb; the whole family joined in singing a hymn. Prayers were said, and the family separated for the duties of the day.

Scott's taste for memorizing Scripture, acquired from Robert Forrester in 1819, had never dulled: "A chapter per day, will put the head of a family in possession of the entire New Testament in much less than one year, for there are only 260 chapters in the volume."<sup>5</sup>

As soon as family worship was dismissed, Scott and his ministerial students would strike out across the fields for a walk and a lesson. Recitations of Scripture from memory were continued on these walks.

Sometimes we repeated verse about, sometimes one recited till his memory failed, then the other began where he left off, and, thus the exercise was continued indefinitely, and on our return to the house, we again referred to the book if we were conscious of any defect of memory. ... Over and above this memorizing, we studied together exegesis and criticism.<sup>6</sup>

This emphasis was placed on the Bible, to the exclusion of theological systems, because in Scott's view the facts of religion were given by revelation and recorded in Scripture; speculation about these facts

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produced theology. Faith came by accepting the facts, not by following the speculations, and the true church would appear and Christian union would come when such a faith was made central.

But Scott did more than drill his students in Scripture. He taught them homiletics—the theory of preaching and church government. He taught them how to collect materials, organize their thinking.

Nothing is more conducive to our advancement in real knowledge than a note book; and if it be accompanied with a Diary, by the aid of the two together, a man may, at all times of his life, pretty correctly ascertain where he is in knowledge and practice, and so shape his future conduct accordingly.<sup>7</sup>

He taught them how to shape a sermon:

To meet all the conditions of a fortunate address is exceedingly difficult. The speaker must think correctly and extensively; he must employ words that precisely sift out the sense; he must reason, for a speech without reasoning is like a song without a theme; he must illustrate, and, withal, adorn; but he must not be uncharitable, nor severe, nor sophistical, nor profuse, nor gaudy in the use of the graces and charms of his rhetoric.<sup>8</sup>

From a letter addressed to a fellow minister in Kentucky come these points on homiletics:

I fix on a verse for a text as we say. Then beginning at the beginning of the connection of which it is an element I give a pleasing and rapid current exposition of the context down to my verse.

Having done this, I make a prayer, which is generally for myself. I then begin my discourse. In the first part of this whole business scripture dominates. In the last my reflection on the text predominates. In the first there is most of God, in the last there is more of man.<sup>9</sup>

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Not only did he tell them how to gather material and how to organize it; he also told them *what* to preach. His ideal preacher was one who made Christ the center of his discourse—Christ being the head of Christianity, when one received him one received his religion. Holding that the creed of Christianity, the matter to be believed, is a Person and not a doctrine, Scott insisted that the chief business of the preacher "was to point sinners to the Lamb of God."

Where should a minister look for the greater part of his inspiration in his study of the Scriptures! Scott had a ready answer: Go to Christ rather than the apostles, to the Evangelists rather than the Epistles. "They are the pillars and gate-way of the holy temple. ... If any man would work faith in his audience, let him give his days and nights, and weeks and years, to the study of the Evangelists." "I am not ashamed to acknowledge that twice a week for twenty-two months at a stretch I have discoursed on the Evangelist Matthew alone."<sup>10</sup>

In delivering their sermons, preachers need not be afraid of wit and humor:

What some people call fun in a preacher, is nothing more than tact oft times necessary, indispensably necessary to keep alive congregations, which have been accustomed to sleep under more sober, or, what oft times means the same thing, more senseless preachers.<sup>11</sup>

It was the opinion of the Carthage peripatetic that the preacher should first appeal to the judgment of his hearers. Religion should be made reasonable; but after that was done, the motives, promises, and threatenings of the gospel should be used to produce action. One need not be afraid to stir up emotions, or even to cry a little!<sup>12</sup>

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This practice of tutoring young men in one's own home was in keeping with much of the educational usage of the day. Young men "read law" under a practicing attorney, or learned medicine firsthand, reading and working with a physician: and numerous ministers were groomed for their calling in the homes of older ministers whose reputation and influence commended them to this office.

All through the years Walter Scott rendered such a service to the neophyte preachers of the Disciples. After they left his roof, he visited them on their fields or answered their questions by mail. Thus he became a kind of American Apostle Paul, training his Timothys and wrestling with "the care of all the churches."

In a letter to one of these Timothys, we find the following:

In relation to my notes, you shall have anything you desire. I am afraid I have not the time to copy them now, but I will do it, and send you the two you mention.

Touching law-suits among brethren, they are shameful and not to be endured. Let them be done away and the cases arbitrated. As for brethren not speaking to each other, it is out of the question and unsufferable. Correct this.

I am happy to have such good news of my own children in the common faith. They are also your children. I am happy they enjoy the benefit and keeping of your supervision. My love to Sister Cordin, Sister Smith and her family, Brother and Sister Shouse, Brother and Sister Smith, Brother Isaac, Sister Long, Father Douglas and his lamb, and the Doctor and his lady, Sister Jepee, and all the rest. . . . The Lord be with your spirit.

Ever in Christ,

WALTER SCOTT.

## *CHAPTER XIII*

### **Three Ships on the Way to Jerusalem**

**B**Y 1834 WALTER SCOTT had regained the cyclonic energy of the Mahoning evangelist. Surging up from the burning core of his purpose, rather than from any physical source, this energy licked up bodily weakness with hungry flame. To call men to Christ, in order to increase the church, purify the church, unite the church, and bring the kingdom was a flaming passion. To feed this passion every opportunity was seized, every device was utilized.

Of Scott one does not ask in the next ten years, "Are you editor or author, teacher or educational theorist, evangelist or minister?" He was all these things, at the same time, and in equal degree. If we single out some phases of his work as evangelist and as editor in 1834 and 1835, it is not because he was idle in the Carthage church, or in training young ministers, or in nurturing his children, or in managing his printing office, or in writing a book.

On March 9, 1835, Scott set out to spend six weeks in the bluegrass region of Kentucky, which he called the "Garden of the Republic." He was accompanied by twenty-four-year-old L. H. Jameson, a student of his. Their first stop was at Georgetown, where Barton W. Stone, in 1826, had launched his magazine, the *Christian Messenger*, and where for nearly twenty years he had served as minister to the church of his own creating. Stone had been living, since 1834, in Jacksonville, Illinois. The Georgetown church of

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about 300 members was one of the richest fruits of the "Christian connection."

On riding into this citadel of the Kentucky movement, Scott became aware again of the diverse origin of the Disciples. There were the independent "churches of God" or "churches of Christ" such as Forrester's, the "Christian churches" of Stone, and the "Restoration" of Campbell. These three movements of reform were like three ships:

"The Christian," . . . as originally fitted out, had more sail than ballast. "The Church of God" had more ballast than sail, and so moved forward hardily till, meeting with "The Restoration," she hoisted an additional sail, and now the three ships are all along to Jerusalem in a league of peace and amity.<sup>1</sup>

In company with John T. Johnson and B. F. Hall, Scott visited the flourishing Baptist institution, Georgetown College, which was busily turning out surveyors for the mobile American frontier.

At Lexington, Scott relived memories with James Challen, who had moved there just the year before, and the two of them, together with Jameson and J. T. Johnson, visited Henry Clay and the celebrated soldier, Colonel Richard M. Johnson, brother of John T. Johnson.

Describing an incident of the following morning Scott said:

We all arose early in the morning to see the steam car as it passed along the Franklin and Lexington rail-road under the knoll on which brother [Darwin] Johnson's mansion stands. In due season it was seen in the distance approaching through a clump of trees that skirted



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the road in that direction. It came furiously and looked as if a steam boat were trying it successfully on land. When it passed opposite to the company I was lost in supreme wonder at the sublimity of human invention and the genius of mankind. . . . We could see it for almost a mile from the eminence on which we were standing; but it puffed and panted, and rattled only for a few minutes until it buried itself deep in the neighboring wood through which the road wends in the direction of Frankfort, and we saw it no more.<sup>2</sup>

These were incidentals of the Kentucky visit. The real business was evangelistic preaching. This began at the very beginning in Georgetown. Scott's fame had preceded him, and expectation was running high. In his first sermon he was little better than mediocre, but in the evening his hearers were transported. His sermon far surpassed all that his best friends had hoped. L. H. Jameson reported:

His theme was the struggle of the Messiah against the reign of sin, and the glorious victory of the Son of God. The after-part of the discourse was a continued series of most eloquent passages. One passage is fresh in my memory still. He undertook to describe the casting out of the Prince of Darkness. Satan falling as lightning from heaven. Hurlled from the battlements of light down to eternal darkness, and interminable woe, by the all-powerful hand of the Son of God. Then was heard the glorious song of redemption, through all the heavenly clime. Ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands of angels, on harps of gold, responded to the glorious song, and filled the heaven and the heaven of heavens with such a strain of praise as never before had greeted the ears of the first-born sons of light. The appearance and manner of the speaker was fully up to his theme. He made us see and hear what he was describing.<sup>3</sup>

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How many hundreds of times such scenes were to be repeated in the next few years is now lost beyond record. Thrusts across the Ohio into Kentucky were frequent and powerful. Dashes to the Reserve, into Indiana and elsewhere, followed one another at a dizzy rate. His three thousand converts in three years on the Reserve became a pattern for the years. "As many as one hundred converts within a month was not unusual, and, on some occasions, nearly that number in a few days; and he often baptized the converts with his own hands." This kept up for over thirty years.<sup>4</sup>

Because of his lyrical temperament, Scott's delivery in the pulpit was uneven. He was never a poor preacher, but sometimes he was mediocre. Nearly always he was superior and sometimes he was sublime. One who knew and heard them both compares Walter Scott and Alexander Campbell:

Campbell never fell below the expectation of his hearers, Scott frequently did; but there were times when he rose to a height of eloquence which the former never equaled. If Campbell at times reminded his hearers of Paul on Mars Hill, commanding the attention of the assembled wisdom of Athens; Scott, in his happiest moments, seemed more like Peter on the memorable Pentecost, with the cloven tongue of flame on his head, and the inspiration of the Spirit of Truth in his heart.<sup>5</sup>

At such times audiences gave themselves over, body and soul, to the power of his silver voice.

So fixed and intense became the attention, that the entire audience would unconsciously sway to and fro, as waves at the will of the wind, with every gesture of the speaker; if he cast his eyes upward, his hearers seemed gazing up into heaven; now a glad smile would

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light up every face, and anon every eye would be dim with tears; and, at the close of some marvel of description, a deep murmur or sigh might be heard.<sup>6</sup>

The secret of this power defies analysis since it was itself the result of a creative synthesis of intensity, preparation, poetic language, lucid organization, descriptive power, flexible voice, and the intangibles of his own personality.

"His voice was one of the richest I ever heard, suited to the expression of every emotion of the soul,"<sup>7</sup> said William Baxter, "his language reminding me of the finest passages of Milton."<sup>8</sup>

"Scott did not forget that the mind must be enlightened, and the judgment convinced, and few men were clearer or more convincing in their exhibitions of truth; but when that was accomplished he drove right at the heart."<sup>9</sup>

Undoubtedly one of the secrets of his power lay in his vivid descriptions. Those who heard, *saw* his message. Once, when he had described a scene on the Highlands of Scotland, a member of the audience reported, "He made his hearers see it; for my own part, I distinctly heard the notes of that wild music, and clearly and distinctly saw the tartans stream as up the warriors pressed to meet their beloved chief."<sup>10</sup>

Multitudes were awakened under his preaching. Bitter enemies became ardent advocates in an hour. The complexion of whole communities was changed in a week. As a speaker, Scott attained an eloquence and wielded a power which he could never recapture with the pen when he sat in sober moments at his desk. The tenuous, glowing quality of his speech could never be impaled on a stenographer's pencil or framed

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in cold print. It was in itself a thing of the hour, but in its impressions and effects, a thing of a lifetime.

His prayers also were works of creative art. A. S. Hayden, who often heard him, says of them: "His prayers in public, from a tender heart, melted all hearts around him."<sup>11</sup>

The cumulative effect of such preaching and praying in so many places over so many years was to create for Scott a veneration and tender esteem of the wannest sort.<sup>12</sup>

During the fall of 1834 and most of 1835 the Carthage editor was drawn into a discussion of the slavery question with Nathaniel Field, an ardent abolitionist, of Jeffersonville, Indiana.

William Lloyd Garrison, from his editorial chair in Boston, was whipping this issue into a fury. The very first number of his *Liberator*, on January 1, 1831, had proclaimed war to the death upon slavery. His ringing words had caught like a spreading prairie fire:

I shall contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. On .this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm. . . . Tell the mother to gradually extricate the babe from the fire into which it has fallen—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present—I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice—I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch,—AND I WILL BE HEARD.<sup>13</sup>

The slavery problem was, even at this early date, a red-hot question, and it was also much larger than the American scene. The English House of Commons had,

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in fact, passed an act on August 28, 1833, abolishing slavery in the British Empire. Twenty million pounds sterling was voted to compensate the planters for their loss. A transitional apprenticeship of seven years was to prepare the slaves for their coming freedom.<sup>14</sup>

Cincinnati was a focus of slavery agitation and the most important station on the underground railway. It was there that the stormy Beechers were living, and at this very time Harriet Beecher was making her observations from north of the Mason-Dixon line which were to result in her incendiary *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The position of Walter Scott in this bitter contest was a moderate one, for he condoned neither slavery nor its violent abolition.

In the summer of 1834, fervent Mr. Field wrote him a letter which he did not answer, and this slight provoked, September 20, 1834, the following detonation:<sup>15</sup>

Brother Scott, Dear Sir:—I addressed you a letter sometime ago, requesting an expression of your views upon the subject of slavery as it is at this present time tolerated by some of the professed restorers of the Ancient Gospel. I must confess that I have fears that the leaders of the reformation are wanting in moral honesty as well as moral courage. ... Of what avail will our reformation be if it is understood to sanction slavery?...

The disciples in this part of the country are beginning to throw off their cowardice and their *man-fearing spirit*, and to speak out boldly upon this subject. Silver Creek has resolved to hold no correspondence with associations that sanction slavery. Our church at this place, of seventy members, has resolved *not to break the loaf with slaveholders*, or in any way to countenance them as Christians. .

. .

If you will not open your batteries upon this citadel of the devil, I have but one request to make of you, and

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that is to publish this over my signature (for which I will pay the usual price) and erase my name from the list of your subscribers, and forward your account to this office for payment, as I can no longer conscientiously wish you God speed.

Yours, in the hope,

NAT. FIELD.

To this ultimatum, the editor of the *Evangelist* answered:<sup>16</sup>

Beloved Brother: I have erased your name from the list of my subscribers. But that you may know that I am not enslaved to you, or the contents of your letter, ... I have published it free of expense.

Having done so, permit me to ask who authorized the Silver Creek Association to legislate on slavery? . . . Who ordered your church of 70 members at Jeffersonville to make laws for herself? . . .

Asking that harsh epithets be avoided, and pointing out that abolitionism left unsettled the question of what to do with the emancipated Negro, Scott went on to observe:

In the meantime know, beloved brother, that there are men holding slaves at this moment who are as kind masters and as good Christians as any man in 'the Silver Creek association, or in your Church of 70 members at Jeffersonville. Who then, I ask again, commanded you to separate yourselves from Church communion with those men, because they have had entailed on them an evil which they could not possibly anticipate and now cannot correct. As well sir, might the brethren of Ephesus have repudiated religious intercourse with the Church of Jerusalem, because she could not or did not, rid herself of circumcision and slavery to the Law of

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The Manumission of our slave populations can be accomplished now only by a means which, heaven alone knows—I know it not.

I am no friend to slavery, like you and the good men to whom I have alluded I deprecate its commencement, I deplore its continuance and tremble for its issue; but I am silent because I think to speak would be folly....

In Jesus Christ,

Your Brother,

WALTER SCOTT.

January, 1835, brought the following retort from Dr. Field:<sup>17</sup>

Brother Scott: I perceive from your reply to my letter, in the October No. of the Evangelist—that you are the apologist for slavery, and are willing that it shall go hand-in-hand with the principles of the Ancient Gospel, and be interwoven with a church ostensibly primitive in its faith and practice. . . .

Adieu brother Scott,

NAT. FIELD.

Walter Scott's reply was delayed until the February issue. At this time he took the position that, since all religious questions are dealt with by Scripture, and slavery was neither introduced nor abolished by Scripture, it is not a religious question; that Christians, being but a small part of the population, can free their slaves without solving the national problem; that the violence of abolitionism was both dangerous and unnecessary; and that this evil, being of political origin, could be removed only by constitutional political methods. At the conclusion of a long letter, he wrote:<sup>18</sup>

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Let us imitate Great Britain; let bills be preferred in the slave State Assemblies, and the citizens of these States go to the polls; and, in this as in every other political question, let the majority rule. The majority in the American commonwealth will rule; it ought to rule.

The Lord bless you and direct you in all things.

As ever, yours in Christ Jesus,

WALTER SCOTT.

Nathaniel Field thought he had caught the Carthage editor in an anomaly: "The church need not be better than the political government." In Scott's letters he could see nothing but an evasion amounting to collusion with the supporters of slavery. So he wrote:<sup>19</sup>

Brother Scott:—I have read your reply to my last letter, with mingled feelings of mortification and regret; I am unable to decide whether it is a burlesque or an evasion. . . .

Against the logical deduction of my most offensive position you have not protested—but you have evaded the question of slavery so far as the church is concerned and have shifted the whole sin upon the shoulders of the government. . . .

When these positions are carried out it follows as a corollary that the church may participate in national crime, with impunity, provided she has had no agency in making the laws that originated it; and that the church need not be better than the political government.

That you, Brother Scott, may yet feel that it is your duty to oppose this dark system of iniquity is my earnest and devout prayer.

Your Bro. in Christ,

NAT. FIELD.

Walter Scott, in his reply to this letter, reaffirmed his thesis: "I assert that the government and not the



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church of Christ is to be blamed for slavery. She did not originate it. She did not propose it. She did not decree it. And she cannot annul it."<sup>20</sup>

Distinguishing between *sin* and *evil*, on the assumption that *sin* is a violation of the will of God revealed in Scripture, he continued:

Sin and evil are not always convertible terms; for although all sin is evil, not all evil is sin. ... In the natural world, disease and pain are evils but not sins, because they are not violations of law. In the political world sorrow of mind, degradation, and servitude are evils and not sins. . . . Slavery is radically a political, not a religious evil.<sup>21</sup>

Scott showed further, by quoting the whole of Paul's Epistle to Philemon, that "Christians did hold slaves and were not reproved for it by the apostles and first teachers of Christianity." This, however, does not constitute a defense of slavery. "Slavery does not derive its authority from the Scriptures. It was in existence before the Scriptures were written and is to be referred to the state and not to the church for its authority."<sup>22</sup> Field, in arguing that Scott's position was pro-slavery because it was not abolitionist, was as unjust as the opposite argument was fallacious, that is, that Scott was abolitionist because he was not for slavery. There were more than two positions to be reckoned with; antislavery and abolition were not identical, as Dr. Field thought.

"You have so mistaken the state of the case or the question that you have dared me to a *viva voca* defense of slavery as practiced in the United States!" wrote Scott. "I will not defend slavery in any state, it is a political evil; and to defend it would be like

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defending evil of any other kind at least." In the same letter, Scott states:

The fact is, the government must be made to act in this affair if we would cure it; and all attempts to remove the disease by any other means, is so much time lost. These fretful and fitful societies which are got up by the enthusiasts of the free states are no way adequate to the greatness of the enterprise. They only provoke the slave holders by their impudence and their ignorance and so rivet the chains of the slave more perfectly upon him. . . . Let the governments of the free states, who desire the emancipation of the slaves, make appropriations of money equal to their immediate removal; let the U. S. Government make appropriations, and I am bold to say that their overtures will be listened to.<sup>23</sup>

In June, 1835, there was a final exchange between Dr. Field and the Carthage editor. Thus Field wrote:

Every word and every sentence of your writings will be construed by the slave holder favorable to the system which pampers his pride and fills his coffers. Now you may believe it or not, but I firmly believe that you will be eulogized south of the river Ohio as the champion of slavery.<sup>24</sup>

In replying to Field, Scott said, among other things:

I am sorry you do not discriminate more accurately between the maxims of mere morality and those of an enlightened and commendable expediency; the morality of an action is its lawfulness, which can easily be determined even by minds of the obtusest mould, nothing more being necessary than a Thus said the Lord.<sup>25</sup>

An anonymous, but far more circumspect, critic of Scott wrote, over the pen name of "Liberator," that the Federal government would not tackle this question

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because it was overawed by the slave states; that the slave states would not tackle it because of vested interest; and that the free states could not legislate for others.

Needless to say, Walter Scott's position did not prevail on a national scale, but beside that of Alexander Campbell, through the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger*, it did leaven the brotherhood of Disciples to such an extent that that body was not divided by the Civil War. And comparing Great Britain's legally voted, compensated liberation with America's violent emancipation, who will contend that the abolitionists were absolutely right and that the antislavery moderates of Scott's sort were hopelessly wrong?

In the same year, Walter Scott joined with Alexander Campbell, Barton W. Stone, and J. T. Johnson to edit *The Disciples' Hymn Book*. Stone, who preferred the name "Christian" to "Disciple," was not consulted on the title of the book, and Thomas Carr, one of his advocates, wrote him from Liberty, Iowa, on July 21:

What we object to is the title of the book. By this some think that A. Campbell wishes to affix the name Disciple to the great body of Christians in the West; and to be assisted by you. We believe here that the name Christian is the only appropriate name for the members of Christ's Church.<sup>26</sup>

Stone replied: "I am sorry the dear brethren among us seem to prefer the name *Disciple* and *Reformer* to the name *Christian*. I am confident it will do us injury. It keeps up a distinction which ought not to exist among us." Following this protest, the title was changed in all except a few advance copies.<sup>27</sup>

### *THREE SHIPS ON THE WAY TO JERUSALEM*

These mild differences were to blossom, five years later, into a fully flowered controversy on "the Name," with Alexander Campbell contending valiantly for "Disciple" as more proper and "distinctive," against his father, Stone, and Scott, who thought "Christian" more universal. Scott had earlier used the name "Disciple" himself, but he was soon won to Stone's side of the debate and contributed his own share to a verbal tug of war which ultimately enlisted hundreds, generated searing heat, and left the Reformation so hopelessly divided as to name that the confusion has carried across four generations.

The three ships of the Reformation may have got together on the way to Jerusalem, but all was not to be peace and amity. Quarrels broke out among the officers over what the fleet should be called and over who should be admiral. When these men of effective speech hurled the fiery darts of their words upon one another there were severe wounds which did not quickly heal.

## CHAPTER XIV

### A Book and a College

IN THE early months of 1836 the Carthage editor turned author. Setting aside the regular monthly issues of his magazine, he engaged in writing a large book on Christianity, which would be offered as "the *Evangelist* for the current year." His overflowing rapture at the "discovery of the Ancient Gospel" in 1827 needed a larger vessel than the tiny twenty-four-page periodical and the cramped articles which it allowed. He would pour his ocean of thought into the ampler pages of a book. There, in ordered sequence and comprehensive perspective, he could state the whole of the matter within one compass.

His task absorbed him and sustained his mind in an unbroken ecstasy. He wrote at his printing office, "in the midst of almost a dozen of men and boys,... with five or six compositors picking up type behind [him]."<sup>1</sup> His pen sped furiously over the paper, and page followed upon the heels of page at double time.

"Brother W. SCOTT of Carthage, Ohio, informs me a week or two since," wrote Alexander Campbell for the current *Millennial Harbinger*, "that he is fast progressing with his book on the Gospel—full of the spirit of his subject, greatly entertained as he progresses with the enlarged conceptions that open to his vision, and with the high themes that offer themselves to his contemplation. He hopes to have it out of press about the end of May."<sup>2</sup>

With the proof of two presses to correct and "the cares of other public business," he nevertheless man-

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aged to write his volume of 200,000 words in little more than three months. It was a book of 576 pages, bearing on the cover the familiar words, *The Gospel Restored*, and on the title page this extended name: "The Gospel Restored. A Discourse of the True Gospel of Jesus Christ, in Which the Facts, Principles, Duties, and Privileges of Christianity Are Arranged, Defined, and Discussed, and the Gospel in Its Various Parts Shewn to Be Adapted to the Nature and Necessities of Man in His Present Condition." Two thousand copies were struck off, and these were all sold, with the exception of a few volumes, at \$2.00 each.<sup>3</sup>

The argument of the book runs like this: Mankind during its long history has passed through three major "states": a natural, a preternatural, and a state of respite. The *natural state* was that in which Adam was created—one of innocence, happiness, life, and direct perception of God. Adam "did not believe there was a God.... In his primitive state he was admitted to face-to-face intercourse and heard his voice."<sup>4</sup> The *preternatural state* is the condition of evil, or that of fallen man, following Adam and Eve's disobedience.

The scene is now to be changed from good to evil, from happiness to misery, from pleasure to pain; temptation is to take the place of trial, and sin of righteousness, guilt is to be substituted for innocence, and cowardice and shame for the courage and serenity of conscious worth. Satan now usurps the place of God, or rather opposes him; and ruin and dismay trample upon order and primitive security, till death enters and by a destruction unavoidable and irresistible reigns triumphant over a fallen world.<sup>5</sup>

So sin enters. It is a sin with six attributes, the first three referring to the sinner, and the second three to

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sin itself: *the love of it, the practice of it, the state of it; the guilt of it, the power of it, and the punishment of it.* Man's first sin was freely chosen, and "if it is found in our practice it is because it is first in our heart."<sup>6</sup> The state of sin is one in which "knowledge yielded to faith, as happiness did to misery, innocence to guilt, and life to death."<sup>7</sup> The guilt of sin is the cumulative force of habit, or the momentum of moral degradation. And the punishment of sin is *death*. One does not ask *why* God chose to punish man so severely; he merely asks *what* punishment God gives.

But God need not enforce his penalties at once. He allows man to live in a *state of respite*, or suspended punishment.

Perhaps the most surprising result of the Fall is that man loses his power of *knowing* God directly and is henceforth capable only of believing in him. "What man knew of the existence of the Deity in his natural state, was knowledge; in the present state of respite, it is faith."<sup>8</sup>

A life of obedience to God derived from sight and sense, began and ended with Adam. ... In regard to the great proposition of the Divinity he saw and heard and knew; we hear and reason and believe. . . . His obedience, therefore, was natural; our service, as the apostle says, is rational.<sup>9</sup>

In this state of respite, man has two kinds of religion, one deriving from nature, and one from revelation. Natural religion is man's belief in one God on the evidence of his works. Revealed religion is God's direct communication to man—through a few select individuals—of the facts, duties, and promises which enable him to become what God wants him to be. Nat-

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ural religion is completed by revealed religion. One shows that God exists; the other that God has spoken. Revealed religion proceeds in a growing illumination by the stages of various dispensations until it comes to full light in Christ. And of all revelation, "testimony or the evidence of testimony" is the only proof. The revelation for all, which came by a few, and which is summed up and completed in Christ, is appropriated by faith; and faith is simply believing the evidence.

Christ is God's answer to the Fall, God's anodyne for man's sin. The whole Christian religion is summed up in one proposition, *that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*, to be accepted rationally on *evidence*. Obedience to Christ, which must logically follow if we accept him as God's Son, is based on *authority*. Thus the process of salvation from sin is made both *rational* and *objective* rather than *emotional* and *subjective*, as the Calvinists thought.

The gospel . . . is comprehended ultimately in one external fact, that Jesus is the Son of God; and in one internal principle, namely, faith; to the truth of the first, therefore, all the other facts in our religion are for their authority to be referred; and into the operation of the last, all the righteousness of our religion is to be resolved.<sup>10</sup>

In conformity with, our nature, Christianity divides itself into knowledge and duty. This division extends itself even to the fundamental proposition itself, the first part of it being intellectual, "Behold my Son;" the second moral, "Hear you him."<sup>11</sup>

The gospel, or good news of Christ, is the definite plan which, step by step, erases sin and saves the sin-



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ner. There is a one-to-one correspondence between the six attributes of sin and the six steps of the gospel:

In regard to sinners and sin, six things are to be considered : the love of it, the practice of it, the state of it, the guilt of it, the power of it, and the punishment of it. The first three relate to the sinner; the last three to sin. Now, faith, repentance, and baptism, refer to the first three—the love, the practice, and the state of sin; while remission, the Holy Spirit, and the resurrection, relate to the last three—the guilt, the power, and the punishment of sin; in other words, to make us see the beauty and perfection of the gospel theory, as devised by God: faith is to destroy the love of sin, repentance to destroy the practice of it; baptism, the state of it; remission, the guilt of it; the Spirit, the power of it; and the resurrection to destroy the punishment of sin; so that the last enemy, death, will be destroyed.<sup>12</sup>

To place this gospel in its relation to Christianity as a whole, it must be said that to *faith* is added *church order* and *Christian morals*:

The things of Christianity may be generalized and summed up under the three heads of "Faith," "Order," and "Morality." In such a division the first head, "The Faith," would include all the parts of our religion which are strictly evangelical. The second, namely, "The Order," would embrace whatever is ecclesiastical or belongs to the public order of the church. And the third, viz: "The Morality" of Christianity, would comprise the public and private morality and manners and customs enjoined upon its professors. The first part is intended to form or make men Christians; the second is to keep them such; and the third is intended to show what Christians [*sic*] are, or must become, in morals and in their public and private customs, if they would honor their profession and please God.<sup>13</sup>

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This argument of the book, up to Christ as God's answer to sin, requires only 120 pages. The Messiahship and the six steps of salvation which compose "the Gospel" take nearly 450 pages.

Scott's theology, as revealed by *The Gospel Restored*, may be characterized as a "chastened Calvinism," for although it rejects the Calvinistic view of the Holy Spirit and conversion, it still holds, in perfectly orthodox fashion, that "in Adam's fall, we sinned all." The modification was one suggested by the philosophy of John Locke; that is to say, fallen man is Lockian man, capable only of sensual knowledge and of religious faith based on evidence—because sensual knowledge cannot aspire to see God. It is also a rather legalistic and mechanical theology, but it was so luminous to the mind of Scott that he was certain that it was a discovery rather than an invention, the *one true gospel* rather than one possible arrangement of the gospel. It never entered his mind that his categories might not be absolute. He could not see that what to him had been a firsthand, thought-intoxicating discovery might in the hands of lesser men easily degenerate into a secondhand, thought-stifling dogmatism or an authoritarian tradition. He could not know that there would follow him thousands of ministers who would not go radically to the Scriptures as he had done but, succumbing to a deadly inertia, would accept without question his view of the Scriptures.

The year 1836 was distinguished for the launching of the first Disciple institution of higher learning, Bacon College. Walter Scott, as its executive head, became the first college president of the brotherhood. Association of Scott's name with college administra-

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tion, however, was not without precedent, as the state legislature of Ohio had appointed him a trustee of Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, in 1834.<sup>14</sup> We have already noticed that his name was associated with the incorporation of Christian College, in New Albany, Indiana; although he repudiated his appointment and denounced the venture, the incident is a tribute, of sorts, to his educational stature. Moreover, he was himself a teacher. Seldom at any time during his long career was he without his own academy. He began as an educator, and as an educator he continued to the end of his days.

Bacon College was organized at Georgetown, Kentucky, November 10, 1836, began classes November 14, and secured its charter from the Kentucky legislature February 23, 1837. It was a split from Georgetown College, forced by the Baptists' exclusion of Thornton Johnson, professor of mathematics and civil engineering. The name, Bacon College, was a conscious tribute to the scientific method of Lord Francis Bacon.<sup>15</sup> It was at first proposed to call it the "Collegiate Institute and School for Civil Engineers," an indication of the demand for surveyors on the frontier, and of the preponderance of science in the curriculum.

Walter Scott was invited, by unanimous vote, to become the first president of Bacon College. Within four months, more than 130 students had been enrolled, and the following faculty set to work:

Walter Scott, president and professor of Hebrew Literature; Dr. S. Knight, professor of moral and mental sciences, *belles lettres*, etc.; T. F. Johnson, professor of mathematics and civil engineering; S. G. Mullins, professor of ancient languages; C. R. Prezriminski, professor of modern languages and topographical drawing;

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T. Fanning, professor of natural philosophy, chemistry, geology and mineralogy; J. Crenshaw, teacher in preparatory department.\*

To indicate, briefly, the subsequent course of this college, let it be said that in 1839 it was moved to Harrodsburgh, discontinued in 1850, revived as "Kentucky University" in 1858, moved to Lexington in 1865, where, as heir to the property of Transylvania University, it now lives as Transylvania College.<sup>16</sup>

Walter Scott consented to be president of Bacon College only on a pro tempore basis.<sup>17</sup> He was willing to lend his influence to putting it on its feet, and he consented to hold office until a permanent president could be found. He served for a year, being replaced in December, 1837, by D. S. Burnett.<sup>18</sup> During these months he and J. T. Johnson traveled together, raising funds and enrolling students.<sup>19</sup> They were successful in both; by the end of the term the student body numbered 203.<sup>20</sup>

Meantime the president and vice-president of the college were coeditors of a magazine, the *Christian*, which was issued from Georgetown.<sup>21</sup> It really took the place of the *Evangelist* for 1837, but it became more and more exclusively a propaganda agency for Bacon College, so much so that one Kentucky evangelist, John Allen Gano, complained that the cause of Bacon College was becoming more prominent in its pages than the Reformation as a whole!<sup>22</sup> Scott's year with Bacon College was vigorous and successful.

Scott's inaugural address, a carefully wrought philosophy of education, was on the topic, "United

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\**The Disciples in Kentucky*, by A. W. Fortune, pp. 184f. Published by the Convention of the Christian Churches in Kentucky. Used by permission.

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States System."<sup>23</sup> It must have been delivered late in February, 1837, after the college was chartered.

After stating that his hearers were living in a new age, unlocked by the key of Bacon's scientific method, and after an extended review of Bacon's chief work, the *Novum Organum*, he took his stand on what he regarded as a Baconian induction that the separate subjects of a curriculum in any school should be organized under four heads: *nature, religion, art, and society*. He argued that a school course ought not to be a mere collection of studies but a coherent whole. "Detached and isolated discourses . . . must fail to be appreciated so long as we are compelled to read them apart from that national system to which they belong."

With this basis, a four-part curriculum, graded to the three levels of primary, secondary, and college education was proposed. Here it is in outline:

I. Nature: (a) The sensible qualities of things. (b) The natural history of things, (c) The effect of bodies on one another (physics and chemistry).

II. Art: (a) Useful art (agriculture, mechanics, manufacturing, trade, engineering, building). (b) Ornamental art (writing, drawing, etching, music). (c) Fine arts (painting, sculpture, engraving, architecture).

III. Society: (a) Language, reading, arithmetic. (b) Logic, rhetoric, grammar, history, composition, etc. (c) Mental philosophy (psychology), government, economics, eloquence, etc.

IV. Religion: (a) History. (b) Doctrine and morals. (c) Evidence ("The Whole").

He even suggested a division of subjects according to the days of the week:

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It would doubtless greatly facilitate the unfolding of the mind from its native state ... to attend to the things of nature on Monday; those of art on Tuesday; those of society on Wednesday; those of religion on Thursday; and reserve Friday for recitation and for a review of all these together as they have been attended to on the preceding days. Saturday would be a day for perfect freedom of exercise, and for the socialities and civilities of life among the students and teachers. And the first day should be the Lord's.

The aim of such a system was the perfect development of human nature in all its physical, intellectual, and moral powers. From the study of nature would be learned the love of truth. The study of the arts would develop a taste for the useful, beautiful, and sublime. From the study of society would be acquired "the love of man, resolved into a sense of human right, into the sense of justice, etc." And from the study of religion would arise the love of God and obedience to his commandments.

The fatal errors in the education of the present and all preceding ages have been either subjective or objective; that is, they have been deficient either in matter or purpose. . . . Morality has been divorced from intelligence and religion from both; and while we have busied ourselves about means we have lost sight of ends.

The whole system, in content and purpose, should be made a *United States* system by nationalizing it through teaching United States geography, natural history, national institutions, and religion; and, above all, by the provision of a national system of schools with well-trained teachers.

The first step is to obtain primary schools. ... It will doubtless be a long time before this nation has its acad-

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emies and national colleges; but we are able, abundantly able, at this very moment to establish, and extend to all the people, the most perfect primary education on earth.

Walter Scott lent his influence to the mighty leaven working in America in the 1830's to create an American system of free schools. In 1830 there were only a few isolated "district schools" and "pauper schools" supported by taxes, and these were so poorly supported that public schools were despicable in the eyes of rich and poor alike. Then arose propaganda societies for the promotion of education, the American Lyceum movement, and mighty crusaders like Horace Mann and Thaddeus Stephens. Pennsylvania led the states with its Act of 1834; and Ohio, in 1837, was considering its own system. On September 15, 1836, McGuffey issued his first and second readers from Cincinnati; in the same city in 1829, Calvin Stowe and Albert Picket had formed a propaganda society, known as the "Western Academic Institute and Board of Education, later to become the College of Teachers and Western Literary Institute."<sup>24</sup>

Professor Calvin E. Stowe, of Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, was married in 1836 to Harriet Beecher and went abroad the next year to study the methods of Pestalozzi in Prussian education. He was scheduled to report to the College of Teachers in the fall of 1837. His report, later published by the legislatures of Ohio, Michigan, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Virginia, was the chief event of the meeting. Walter Scott was also honored by an invitation to address this meeting. Those in attendance included Joseph Ray, of arithmetic fame, Samuel Lewis, Daniel Drake, and Professor McGuffey. Alexander Campbell, Bishop Purcell, A. Kinmont, an eminent critic

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and author, and Dr. Lyman Beecher were also there. After Professor Stowe read his paper on "Elementary Education in Europe" to an approving and applauding audience, Scott had the temerity to arise and take exception to the views expressed by the advocate of the Prussian system. He averred that the system was artificial, an attempt to crowd nature into an alien mold. His remarks were, for the mood of the audience, "out of season," and it was feared by Professor Bay, who excited a greater fear in Alexander Campbell, that Scott had hopelessly prejudiced the audience against his own address to be delivered later. Campbell communicated his fears to his friend Walter, with almost disastrous results, for when Scott got up to fill his appointment as the last speaker at a late hour, he was visibly hesitant and stumbling. Then he seemed to take hold of himself and come into his stride as he delivered a masterful address. In content it was much like his inaugural speech at Bacon College.

The speaker was all that could be desired. He was grand. He was sublime. All drooping heads were lifted, all fears removed. When he closed, one of the best thinkers in the convention, A. Kinmont, rose and moved a vote of thanks to the speaker "for the only profoundly philosophical discourse that had been delivered during the convention."<sup>25</sup>

The *Evangelist* for 1838 carried a series of six letters on education, written by the editor to Joseph Vance, Governor of Ohio. He had now advanced to the place where he was confident that he had *discovered* the system derived from nature and intended for human nature. He called it, like his gospel, "A True Theory of Education."



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Other evidences of his interest in public education at this period are numerous. In March of 1838 he lent his editorial influence to the raising of \$500 subscriptions to Bacon College and to the organization at Carthage of "a school of the higher grade in which would be taught the best course of English, and so much of the learned languages as would enable the scholar to enter any of our colleges with ease and pleasure to himself and honor to the Academy."<sup>26</sup> In October of the same year he argued in favor of higher education for women; if ignoramuses must be made of either man or woman, "let it not be of her whom the Apostle Paul beautifully and justly calls our glory."<sup>27</sup>

He argued for practical knowledge, on the Baconian assumption that "knowledge is power" and that it is "too frequently imparted for its own sake." In a letter to Governor Vance, he pleaded for the relating of *the real* with *the ideal* and for laboratory methods:

We sometimes mistake words for things, and substitute the one for the other, the former for the latter, readings of things for the study of the things themselves. I argue further, therefore, that the very things themselves, as far as it is possible, be made the subject of primary study; that in drawing upon Nature we draw in fact, and not in word only; in reality and not merely by ideality.

That these things should, as far as possible, be introduced into our school houses by collecting the natural history of each district first; afterwards that of the county; the State; the Union, etc.; by making collections in the arts; by making books of Natural History and Biography, and textbooks of constitutional law, and by introducing the Bible.<sup>28</sup>

The end of 1837, from October 20 to December 20, found Scott steaming up the Ohio for a visit to Pitts-

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burgh and his first return to the Western Reserve. On his way he stopped at Bethany, where he was joined by Alexander Campbell and W. K. Pendleton. At Pittsburgh he renewed acquaintance with his old friend Samuel Church, their only contact having been an exchange of letters in August of 1835 and the contact afforded through the *Evangelist*. A meeting in the Allegheny church, with Scott and Campbell preaching, having resulted in eleven baptisms, they pressed on for Canfield, where they were entertained in the home of Myron Sackett. Thence the party went on to Warren, where the "School of Preachers," an annual affair on the Reserve, was to assemble.

On approaching Warren, memory and homesickness mingled to plunge Scott into a dark mood: "Our apprehensions had thrown us into a melancholy which had lasted the entire day, and we had felt as if the righteous were all dead; we had watered the land with our tears."

When they arrived at Warren, everywhere Scott saw his old yokefellows: Atwater, Clapp, Rudolph, Hayden, Henry, Bosworth, Hartsel, Bentley; they were all there! He saw also the Disciples, a vast number of whom he had introduced into the kingdom with his own hands! He was filled with indescribable joy and wonder, mingled with sorrow over those who were absent. "Such was the excitement on all sides, that two days had fully passed before I was able to command my feelings. "<sup>29</sup>

It is of interest to note that one of these associates of Scott on the Western Reserve, John Rudolph, Sr., was the grandfather of Lucretia Rudolph, who became Mrs. James A. Garfield. Lucretia's father, Zeb

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Rudolph, like his father and brother, John, Jr., also did some preaching on the Reserve and was one of the founders of Hiram College.

On his way home Scott tarried at Pittsburgh in the home of Samuel Church, where he was much impressed with his friend's catechetical method of teaching the Bible in the family circle, and stored up advice for his readers and examples to be emulated in his own Carthage home.

Back in Carthage just in time for Christmas, he was so cheered and rested by his trip to the Reserve that he resolved to return the following year. In fact, thereafter for many years he returned to the scene of his first victories, to walk in the green pastures of memory and beside the still waters of friendship to the restoring of his soul.

## CHAPTER XV

### The *Evangelist* Resumed—And Abandoned

THE *Evangelist*, which Walter Scott had suspended at the end of 1835 in order to write *The Gospel Restored*, serve Bacon College, and edit the *Christian*, was resumed in January of 1838. In place of its former simple title it now bore this one: "*The Evangelist of the True Gospel*." A number of synonyms for the phrase "the Ancient Gospel" had also been devised, and these were sprinkled liberally over the pages of subsequent issues: "the True Gospel," "the Original Gospel," and "the Jerusalem Gospel."

Although the magazine was in a new series and some new phrases had been added, Walter Scott's purpose was unchanged. "We intend," he wrote, "as long as we live, to give ourselves to the cause of God and man—the Christian religion; and never to faint or grow weary; come good, come ill; come weal, come woe, our intention is fixed."<sup>1</sup>

In the pursuit of this purpose, Scott, the "Evangelist" in the flesh, was still "distancing all bounds." In November he had written:

We are not allowed to remain at home a week almost. We are hurried from the one end of the land to the other, and demands are made upon us from Missouri and Baltimore, the Lakes and Tennessee. I have been so jostled about from one Big meeting to another, during the whole summer, that when I came to make up the

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present number, it seemed as if it would be most fit to write that I could now write.<sup>2</sup>

To accomplish all this evangelistic activity, resulting in the organizing of "several new and flourishing churches," the *Evangelist* for 1838 was issued in six bimonthly numbers of forty-eight pages each. Some subscribers complained, but the editor justified himself by citing the heavy draft upon his time.

The church at Carthage, meantime, was making progress in social reform under its able pastor. Early in 1838, she gave public notice that she had "filed her vote against all wine and liquor drinking by passing a resolution that she will have no Christian communion with any one who sells it, except for medicine or the Lord's Supper."<sup>3</sup>

This measure was taken at a time when many preachers both drank and made whisky. Even such an exemplary personage as Alexander Campbell kept a wine cabinet in his home and served wine to his guests. "There was as little disgrace in running a still-house as in managing a grist-mill."<sup>4</sup> An elder of one of the earliest churches in Ohio, in return for bearing the expense of the excavation and foundation for a new meetinghouse, was allowed to make a liquor cellar of the basement to serve his general store across the street.<sup>5</sup>

Walter Scott was strongly set against all this. Having stopped one night in the home of a preacher who distilled his own whisky, as he discovered, he bade him good-by the next morning somewhat unceremoniously with this parting shot: "Let the devil boil his own tea-kettle, my brother, and do you preach the gospel."<sup>6</sup>

*THE "EVANGELIST" RESUMED—AND ABANDONED*

December of 1838 found the Carthage editor bringing out a new hymnal for the use of the Disciples.<sup>7</sup> He had thrilled at the great singing on the Reserve and was determined to perpetuate and extend the joyous singing of those assemblies. Believing that Protestants in general were very poor singers, he offered, in the Preface, three reasons why "Christians should cultivate Sacred Music":

First, Music is a Science; that is, it has its foundation in nature, or like all natural science, it has God for its author. Second.—It is commanded us to sing. The Holy Spirit enjoins us to "sing and make melody"—a thing which cannot be done aright without some knowledge of music. Third.—It is the office of a hymn to arouse impassioned devotional feeling, even as it is the office of teaching to illuminate the understanding.

The hymns in Scott's collection were arranged under three heads: "The Church Department," "The Gospel Department," and "Miscellany." The selections for "The Church Department" were arranged according to the order of service followed in most churches of the Disciples: "Prayers for All Men," "Reading the Scriptures," "Teaching and Preaching," "Reception of Members," "The Lord's Supper," "The Collection of Monies, or the Fellowship," "Dismissal of Brethren." "The Gospel Department" was arranged "under the heads of the six elements of the True Gospel." The total organization was neat: "In these two departments we have a psalmody adapted to the order of the Gospel Church."

The Edinburgh musician cropped out in the editor of this hymnal; he insisted that sacred music ought to be good music:

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A few old hymns which associate themselves with our earliest and most devout recollections and which are remarkable for their nervous diction, have been corrected and inserted; but we could not bear to stereotype weakness or enthusiasm. There must be strength, feeling, and progression of thought in a hymn.

The book was published without a musical score, but "the Music of *Mason's Sacred Harp* has been set to the Hymn Book; so that to obtain tunes it is only necessary for the brethren to possess themselves of that incomparable work."

Having tried in vain to stimulate the founding of a first-rate academy in Carthage so that his own growing children could have the advantage of a first-class schooling from that place of residence, Scott moved his family, in October of 1839, back to the city of Cincinnati, where he could better educate his family. John was now sixteen, Emily fourteen, William thirteen, and Samuel nine. Walter Harden was still a preschool child.

So back to Cincinnati they went—home, printing office, and the *Evangelist*; but they remained there for little more than a year, Carthage reclaiming them at the beginning of 1841. Scott's determination that parents should not make ignoramuses of their daughters was served in the case of Emily by the kindness of a friend. Philip S. Fall, an eminent Disciple educator had founded in 1831 a flourishing female academy at Poplar Hill, Kentucky. Brother Fall had written to Walter, offering to undertake most of the expense of educating Emily, if she could be sent to Poplar Hill.<sup>8</sup> Scott replied:

*THE "EVANGELIST" RESUMED—AND ABANDONED*

Carthage, 16th Feb. 1841

Dear Bro. Fall:

Touching Emily I appreciate your kindness: I made her Mother and her acquainted with your intentions: and the business approved [*sic*] so desirable to all that although I might on account of both the trouble and expense to which it will give rise on your part have intended to decline the acceptance of the very great benefit, but it is now fairly out of my power to refuse your goodness, for the party and her mother have decreed that you shall be gratified.

Yours truly,

Walter Scott

Emily was duly enrolled in the academy shortly thereafter. What letters went back and forth between daughter and parents we unfortunately do not know, but the fond father of Emily wrote again to the head of the academy:

Carthage, 2 July 1841

Dear Bro. Fall:

I hope these few lines go to find you and your dear family in good health. You think, no doubt, that I have given you my little girl for good and all. It is said of a certain Deacon that he went regularly to sleep when the flock were addressed by their proper Shepherd but when he knew them to be in the hands of a stranger no other body was more wakeful. Do not prejudge me then. If I am careless in some cases, I am confiding in the present one. Emily is very dear to me because she is my only daughter and has always been good and obedient; and I should have felt alarmed to put her in some Academies on any terms.

Emily had repeatedly written to us and I am happy to say that in every succeeding letter I perceive an evi-



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dent improvement both in writing and composition. In one letter she provided us with a description of your philosophical and chemical apparatus. She loves Sister Fall next to her Mother, and says Brother Fall is "Kind but very decided." This is as it should be. Excuse me. My family are all in good health, thanks to our Heavenly Father.... Believe me to be with great consideration and affection.

Your brother in Christ,

Walter Scott.

The next letter from Carthage to Poplar Hill tells something of John and the printing office, as well as of Emily:

Carthage, 14 Sept. 1841

My Dear Bro. Fall:

Your welcome and highly esteemed letter came to hand yesterday. Bear with me when I tell you that in concluding it I involuntarily clasped it to my breast and with uplifted eyes gave thanks to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ for your unmerited kindness to me and to my dear and only daughter. My dear brother, it is precisely as you say: the brethren who are situated as I am are totally "deprived of the opportunity of educating their own children. ..." Men who receive fixed salaries for their religious labors may live like other men and educate their children also, but for those who like your humble servant and brother in the faith have to go forth to break up the fallow ground, sow the seed and change the barren field into a fruitful soil, nothing remains but stark poverty. Your own kindness and God alone prevents me at this time from having my whole five children at home. Want of funds prevents me from forwarding the education of my sons entirely.

Son John is one of the best and most dutiful of children, has been one session at college; has read a great deal of Latin, some Greek, writes a first-rate business hand, understands vocal music and can teach it, desires to become a preacher of the word, and I believe has

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though but 14, tried to deliver a discourse. But I have notwithstanding been compelled to keep him at home and to set him to work in my printing office. . . . From January to January he will save me from 3 to 4 hundred dollars. Had I not adopted this plan, I shall have had to abandon the *Evangelist* altogether.

With sentiments of great esteem and  
loving obligation, I am

Your Brother, in Christ Jesus,

Walter Scott

When, some time in 1842, Emily was back home for good, her father's joy was unbounded, and his gratitude to Brother Fall overflowed in a letter of melting tenderness.

Other activities were carried along abreast of one another on the familiar Walter Scott pattern. In March of 1840 he returned to Carthage from a ten weeks' tour in Kentucky. May found him for ten days attending the first state meeting of the brotherhood in Kentucky at Harrodsburg. The cause of the Reformation now embraced some 40,000 Disciples, and the movement had become very decidedly a separate denomination. Walter Scott had not wanted this, as a letter to Philip Fall, under date of August 4, clearly shows:

When you express your doubts of the matters connected with the recent Reformation I sympathize with you, for the thing has not been what I hoped it would be by a thousand miles. We are indeed "a sect" differing but little, of anything that is good, from the parties around us. Alas! my soul is grieved every day.<sup>9</sup>

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Not a little of this grief of soul sprang from Walter's differences with his old friend Alexander Campbell. For sixteen years, since 1822, they had gone along together in a bond of friendship and common purpose which made their association very precious; but in August, 1838, the Carthage editor published a brief article which angered the Bethany editor, and replies from the *Evangelist* served only to whip him into a fury which was not fully spent for the next five years.

It all began innocently enough. Discussing baptism, Francis W. Emmons, in the May, 1838, *Apostolic Advocate*, so presented Campbell and Scott as to make them appear to be issuing rival claims about their share in the Reformation. According to him, Campbell had said, "It was in 1823 when its [baptism's] true meaning and design were for the first time promulgated in America." Scott, on the other hand, in the Preface of *The Gospel Restored*, had said, "In 1827 the True Gospel was restored."

Walter Scott was quick to see the implication of a clash between himself and Campbell and, in the August number of his own paper, the *Evangelist*, he undertook to refute Emmons' allegation. There was, he averred, no conflict. The *Millennial Harbinger* itself had recorded the conviction that "the theory and practice of Christianity are as distinct as the theory and practice of medicine." Campbell had in 1823 stated the theory correctly in the McCalla debate, but it was he, Scott, who had taken baptism, placed it in its setting in the six steps of salvation and made the first practical application of these steps—and that had been done in 1827. He had already said, in substance, in *The Gospel Restored*, as regards the separate

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contributions of different men to the Reformation, that Thomas Campbell had restored the Bible to the church as the basis of union, that Alexander Campbell had restored the "Ancient Order," while he had restored the "Ancient Gospel."

The restoration of the whole gospel in 1827, can never be confounded with the definition of a single one of its terms in 1823, or in any year preceding it. If the use of the meaning of baptism in a debate for the purpose of putting down an opponent may be regarded as the restoration of the gospel, then brother Campbell and myself knew baptism to be for the remission of sins two years at least before 1823. . . . The restoration of the gospel did not consist in the definition of baptism; but in publicly, obviously and avowedly receiving men to the remission of sins, and a participation of the Spirit of God on a profession of faith and repentance. Does Brother Campbell say this was done in 1823? He does no such thing; and, therefore, we do not contradict each other.<sup>10</sup>

Alexander Campbell, in a half-sarcastic, half-serious vein, responded in the October *Millennial Harbinger*, saying that he had never cared for the phrase, "Gospel Restored," and that he had never said that it was restored in either 1823 or 1827. "*To restore the gospel* is really a great matter, and implies that the persons who are the subjects of such a favor once had it and lost it." He had never had any taste for fixing dates and personages, but if pressed to select a time for the great event, it would be when a penitent sinner was baptized on the apostolic confession alone. That might have been any time, who knows? He had been immersed that way himself. He then goes on to say that Walter Scott had got his views on the design of baptism from himself and his father in the late summer of 1823, just after he had shaped up the McCalla

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debate; he had stated these views on the debate platform, but he had done so to get at the truth and not "to put down an opponent," as the *Evangelist* had said. He did not wish to deprecate the work of any brother, but neither 1823 nor 1827 was worthy of the honor Brother Scott was so eager to heap upon them. Instead of looking for honor, they had all better ask the Lord to forgive their mistakes.<sup>11</sup>

When Walter Scott saw this he was amazed. Brother Alexander could not be serious; what he had written was clearly out of line with his past letters and with articles and statements known to him and to the public. In 1832 the editor of the *Harbinger* had printed this statement:

Brother Scott, the first successful proclaimer of this ancient gospel, who was first appointed to the work of an Evangelist by the Mahoning churches in 1827, did, with all originality of manner, and with great success, not only proclaim faith, repentance, baptism, remission, etc., but did call upon believing penitents to be immediately baptized for the remission of sins.<sup>12</sup>

Had Alexander Campbell changed his mind since then! And, moreover, Thomas Campbell had written from the Reserve, April 9, 1828, "I am at present for the first time upon the ground where the thing has appeared to be *practically exhibited* to the proper purpose."<sup>13</sup> It looked to him as though his old friend Alexander was trying to crowd him out of the picture and take over not only the leadership of the Reformation but the credit for having originated every part of it. He was goaded to reply.

Under date of July 6, 1838, John T. Johnson had written to ask:

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As the "Ancient Gospel" arranges itself in the order of faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins, Holy Spirit, etc., permit me to inquire (so far as you are concerned with its restoration) 1st by what train of thought you hit upon this order? 2nd What fixed it upon your mind? 3rd By what testimony is it sustained? 4th How, etc."

Scott had intended to answer this letter privately, but now he decided to reply through the pages of his *Evangelist*, thus settling, once and for all, what he regarded as fact, that the "Ancient Gospel," as distinct from the "Ancient Order," had been restored to the world, November 18, 1827, on the Western Reserve.

He marshaled the documents: a letter from William Amend, one from John Tait, letters of both Campbells, of Adamson Bentley's, and the 1820 Errette pamphlet on baptism. He would appeal to a phalanx of facts.

He wrote and published nine letters in reply to J. T. Johnson's questions. In them he reviewed his relations with the Campbells, quoted Father Campbell's own statement from the Reserve, gave excerpts from Alexander's personal letters, in one of which the Bethany editor referred to his McCalla debate in 1823 as "the first proclamation of the original gospel in America." He showed that if Alexander Campbell had talked about baptism for remission or had practiced it, he had done so in a very private and domestic manner, for three of his closest friends were rebaptized after 1827, when the matter came to be spoken of less reservedly.

Anyway, he stated, baptism on the apostolic confession was not the "Ancient Gospel." What, then, was the "Ancient Gospel"? It was the whole plan of salvation, including the right view of baptism, plus

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the practical application of the whole in winning sinners to Christ. One by one he took up and disproved the "evasions" and "misstatements" of the *Harbinger* article. Surely Brother Campbell was guilty of defective memory! It was not in 1823 but in 1821 that both he and Campbell had come upon the idea of baptism for remission by reading the Errette pamphlet from the New York Haldanes. He quoted this pamphlet entire, followed it by a letter from John Tait, proving that the pamphlet was carried to Bethany in late September or early October of 1821, and related how he had soon afterward discussed it with the Campbells in Bethany. Strangely enough, he had not even been in Bethany any time in 1823, to say nothing of his being there in the summer before the McCalla debate!<sup>14</sup>

Alexander Campbell, on his part, was distressed by the December number of the *Evangelist*. Thinking to head Walter off, he wrote a letter to Ephraim Smith, of Danville, Kentucky, in May of 1839, from which the following excerpts are taken:

I am much grieved at the foolish course of brother Scott touching those matters and things—It astonished me—His memory is very defective and his thirst for glory is alas! too apparent. Nothing which has yet appeared has given such a serious offence to the minds of many as that puff of Egotism and vain glory. . . . But really I am afraid the enemies will get hold of this thing and put me in the attitude in which I will have to clear myself of vanity, dishonesty and false testimony and thus to contradict and prove from facts and documents indisputable that I am no plagiarist as the piece insinuates *non supplante*. . . .

I have not said one word about it in the forthcoming No. 5—which is mailed today, but the questions asked me and the letter written will bring me out I fear in self-defense.

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Could you, Ephraim, think you, induce him by letter to save himself from this fall—I feel for him and for the cause.<sup>15</sup>

In a subsequent issue of the *Evangelist*, Scott wrote a few tart sentences about Campbell in an article on "Our Name." Contending heatedly for the name "Christian," against the Bethany editor's aggressive push to have "Disciple" adopted, he said that a man given to pride and anger was not worthy to march in the front of a great people and that "he who names a people claims them." Thus he gave vent to his suspicion that Campbell, who had charged him with vainglory and conceit, was merely projecting his own delusions of grandeur. The "Sage of Bethany" wanted to be the leader of the Reformation; he regarded the *Harbinger* as *the* magazine of the Reformation, with the others, including the *Evangelist*, as subordinate; and he was fairly in the way of making himself a Protestant pope! Scott was disillusioned and wounded, and he let it show in print.

So matters dragged on until 1839, when Campbell and Scott met in Cincinnati in the presence of some mutual friends to end the scandal of their public quarrel. The October issue of the *Evangelist* carried letters from the two parties pledging peace. Scott wrote:

I am happy, extremely happy to have it in my power to inform all whom it may concern, that our difficulties, which have arisen chiefly from our taking different views of the same subjects, have been happily adjusted; and that our ancient, amiable, and Christian feelings have been restored to their wonted channel.<sup>16</sup>

By now he regretted the whole incident, and especially the publication of the incendiary December *Evangelist*.



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But matters were not to be settled so quickly. Scarcely had the peace been agreed upon than Scott and his Carthage elders began to see slurring sentences and paragraphs in the *Harbinger*. They protested and demanded apologies; when none were forthcoming, the attack was renewed through the *Evangelist*. There were replies, charges, and countercharges involving personalities more than principles.

Campbell was even ungrateful enough to say that "there is reason to complain of multitudes being . . . urged into the Christian profession by an improper preaching of baptism for the remission of sins. But, then, as the brethren say, no man in the nation is more to blame for this than the Carthage Evangelist. I have long remonstrated against the passion for bringing in multitudes of untaught persons into the Christian Church."<sup>17</sup> In lamenting the division of the Reformers from the Baptists, he blamed Walter Scott for provoking the Baptist associations to declare disfellowship and thus to force the formation of a new denomination.<sup>18</sup>

Had his feelings been wounded! Scott asked. No, he replied, "the most sacred affections of my heart have been outraged."

And so, on through 1840 and 1841 the quarrel rumbled, and, although it had died down, it sputtered a few times as late as 1844.

Although Walter Scott had been literally correct as to the facts in dispute, he came away from the encounter with a diminished prestige. He had pitted himself against the imposing fame of Alexander Campbell, who, in many eyes, could do no wrong, and he had suffered loss. He had never wanted, as Campbell did, the sole leadership of the movement, but he did

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want recognition for his own distinctive contribution to it. According to his own view, the gospel had been lost since the apostolic age, and it had fallen to him to make its glorious recovery in the six steps of salvation and in the first practical application of this plan to the conversion of sinners. He felt that the New Testament contained one gospel and only one and that he had recovered it as it had been in primitive days. Campbell did not share this assumption; he did not view the gospel quite so literally; he thought of Scott's six steps as an "expedient arrangement" and, though tremendously effective, only one of several possible ways of putting the matter. He depreciated Scott's practical program of evangelism in comparison with his own intellectual leadership and he did not see, or, having seen, failed to appreciate, that it was Scott's evangelism which had given his movement its almost miraculous power of expansion.

Public disapprobation of the quarrel dealt a death blow to the *Evangelist*. Its editor had always had to struggle to keep its budget balanced, but now a declining list of subscribers and a growing list of arrearages forced its discontinuance. He was able, by sheer strength of will, to drag it on into February and March of 1844; but, finally, he could endure no longer. On April 7, 1844, he stood in the pulpit of the Carthage church to preach his farewell sermon, and the same afternoon he and his family left for Allegheny City, Pennsylvania.<sup>19</sup> The "Carthage Editor" was no more.

## *CHAPTER XVI*

### **Pittsburgh Again**

**W**HEN Walter and Sarah Scott returned to Pittsburgh in the spring of 1844 it was with a family almost grown. John and Emily, who had been born there, were now twenty-one and nineteen. William was eighteen, Samuel fourteen. Walter Harden must have been about ten. The father of this family was himself forty-eight, and, as he nowhere tells us Sarah's birth date, we can merely assume that she was only a little younger.

Pittsburgh at this time was rapidly progressing toward metropolitan status. Between 1840 and 1850 the city increased from 36,478 to 47,871 inhabitants. With its Western University, its Globe Cotton Factory, the Bank of Pittsburgh, Monongahela House, Market House, and the Third Presbyterian Church, it presented an air of prosperity. Mr. Naser's street hacks, each carrying twelve passengers and presided over by a driver who collected fares and blew his bugle at every intersection, furnished the arterial traffic system of this cultural and business center.<sup>1</sup>

While cities had been growing, the nation itself was expanding. The frontier was rolling farther westward every year. Whereas only a dozen years before, no more than 3 per cent of the total population of the United States lived west of the Mississippi River, now thousands upon thousands were penetrating beyond this river barrier. Sam Houston's "empire" of Texas was added to the Union in 1845; Arkansas had come in nine years earlier, and Michigan in 1837. Iowa was

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to follow in 1846, and Wisconsin in 1848. At the same time, New Mexico and California were being carved from Mexico by fire and sword. Fremont was exploring the West.

Scott was to live in Pittsburgh for the next five years, years which, but for one heartbreaking sorrow, were among the happiest of his life. His itching editorial pen was soon busy again, he continued his instruction of young ministers, preached for two Pittsburgh congregations, served as colporteur, carrying Bibles and Testaments from house to house, and spasmodically dashed off to many states to conduct revivals.

Among those with whom Scott renewed acquaintances in Pittsburgh was the Forrester family, which had been the first to befriend him twenty-five years before. Robert H. Forrester, bearing his father's name, also continued in his father's path; and he and his father's old pupil soon outlined the plan of a new publication. It was to be a family newspaper, appearing every week, with "choice articles on Biblical Literature, Science, History, Biography, Missions, the Religious, Political, and Social condition of Foreign Countries." The ladies were to receive special attention in a column devoted exclusively to them and written by one of their number. There was to be, too, "an abstract of Foreign News, and also of Domestic News of striking importance." This newspaper, to "be printed on a double medium sheet, and issued every week," was to be called the *Protestant Unionist*. The terms, fashioned out of Scott's bitter experience with arrearages, were "two dollars per annum, invariably in advance." An office was set up at the

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corner of Third and Market, and the editors began their work.

The major purpose of the *Protestant Unionist* was the same as that of the *Evangelist*:

This paper will be devoted to the development and advocacy of *original Christianity*, as exhibited on the pages of the New Testament scriptures, unmixed with human tradition or institutions. The Editors will labor to effect that "consummation so devoutly to be wished for," the union of all Christians upon the foundation of the Bible alone.<sup>2</sup>

This was one of sixteen living periodicals of the Disciples. Many others had come and gone, after their brief day. Among them all, only the *Millennial Harbinger*, after several years and several thousands of dollars of subsidy from the Campbell farm, paid its own way for any considerable time. Scott was speaking for all his fellow editors when he wrote, "The fact [is] that the editorial business in this reformation, with perhaps a single exception, has been done for fifteen years almost *gratis*." <sup>3</sup>

On Thursday, April 10, 1845, the editorial offices of the *Protestant Unionist* were ravaged by the flames that consumed the city in the disastrous "Fire of 1845." It all began from an open fire on a back lot at Second Avenue and Ferry Street, where a washerwoman had left some water heating. At first, supposing that it would be put out, thousands of spectators gathered to watch; and then, as they realized that the blaze was out of all control, they scattered to save their belongings. Furnishings were piled into the streets for draymen who never came, and so waited only for the flames or the looters or both.<sup>4</sup> By seven

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o'clock in the evening, as Scott observed in an extra of his paper:

Almost sixty broad acres of our dear city have become a wilderness, in which nothing is beheld but stacks of chimneys, shattered colonnades, pillars of blackened stone, unshapely fragments of ruined workshops and overthrown factories, the leaning relics of ruined temples, edifices, and public buildings, now, alas! no more!

The broad acres, as they were convulsed by the fiery deluge and swept by the whirlwind of flame, presented a scene so vast and awful, and in some points so inconceivably grand and terrific, as to defy all our feeble powers of description. The ocean of tumult and fire would have supplied matters and marvels for the faculties of Dante or Milton.<sup>5</sup>

Scott, who had known poverty so well all his days, was to become intimate with it yet again. There was nothing to do but pick up the charred, blackened pieces and start over.

In the midst of his numerous activities, the Pittsburgh editor found time to write a few pieces for the *Millennial Harbinger*. Were they by way of peace offerings to Brother Alexander? Through the years of 1845, 1846, and 1847 he contributed six articles on "The Evidences of Christianity." Under date of September 11, 1846, from Jacksonville, Illinois, he mailed an article to Bethany on "Two Resurrections."<sup>6</sup> Alexander Campbell, in turn, quoted at various times from the *Protestant Unionist*, boosted the paper with his subscribers,<sup>7</sup> and on one occasion angrily remonstrated with Alexander Hall for having purloined the *Unionist* and *Harbinger* lists of sub-

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scribers from John Scott and Campbell's secretary, Mr. Army.<sup>8</sup> Gradually the rift which was opened in 1838 was healed.

As indicated by the article from Jacksonville, Illinois, Scott the evangelist was also frequently in the field. Excerpts from a few letters written home during 1847 show the extent of this nervous energy:

In company with our worthy brother, L. H. Jameson, we visited Highland County, Ohio, and labored at two or three points there during two weeks and a day. Seventy-seven persons in that period were added to the assemblies of Christ, and many hundreds of people heard the word.<sup>9</sup>

From Kentucky, Sarah had this news: "We lately labored seventeen days and nights in succession at Minerva, Mason County, Kentucky. . . . Fifty persons, first and last, believed and were immersed."

Still later she read this:

I am just now at Versailles. The excitement is very great. After filling an appointment at Dover, and another at Beasley's Creek, where I had a very great audience, and where the church embraces many well-tutored saints, and has an eldership of great value in Christ Jesus, I proceeded to Paris, toward Lexington; but hearing, at the former place, that a meeting was in progress at Union, I turned aside and spent the night under the hospitable roof of the beloved in Christ, Elder J. Gano. . . . I visited Midway. . . . I returned to Lexington. . . .

I also filled an appointment at Union. . . .

I have preached and spoken three times a day for one week. And, thanks to our God in Christ Jesus, thirty have already made the good confession. . . . Even the eloquent orator, Thomas Marshall, has felt the excitement, and found out the power of the Lord. He was present last evening, and lent his devout attention to

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my discourse. He even came up from the remotest corner of the house, where he had ensconced himself during the preachment, and stood boldly by the side of the pulpit.<sup>10</sup>

In these years, as in former ones, he still spoke stridently and untiringly. The evangelistic passion was a burning fire in his bones.

One of the joys of returning to Pittsburgh was the companionship of Samuel Church, one of Scott's earliest converts and finest friends. Church was still pastor of the congregation which he himself had gathered in Allegheny City following his baptism. Walter Scott had returned to the ministry of his old church, formerly Forrester's. Until the end of 1848 he served that congregation alone, but in December of that year he also became a teaching and preaching elder of the Allegheny church.

The families of Church and Scott were thrown together upon terms as amicable as those of the two fathers. Walter and Sarah had the immense happiness of witnessing their two oldest children, John and Emily, married to Mary and William Church; and the bonds of friendship between Walter and Samuel were molded thereafter in flesh and blood.

William Baxter, Scott's early biographer, preserved for us one month out of a now lost diary, showing Scott's multiple activities in this period.<sup>11</sup> They carry their own story:

FRIDAY, Dec. 1, 1848.

The first day of my eldership. Studied, wrote, and walked to the top of the hill north. This is a great exercise for the lungs and limbs, yet a small price for the rest and fresh air with which it is rewarded at the sum-



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mit of the hill. It is like ascending to paradise. We breathe a more vigorous atmosphere and see all around the innumerable hills that form the main features of the country.

Sought to reclaim an erring brother. Visited another in reference to a family Bible. Spent the night in study.

LORD'S DAY, Dec. 3, 1848.

The Disciples were filled with joy and with the Holy Spirit. The day closed with a sermon by Dr. Slosson, during which I slept as sound as a top, and was awakened, to my shame be it spoken, only by the doctor himself, whom I found, to my astonishment on awaking, sitting by my side. But this came of my restless and fitful sleep of the preceding night.

MONDAY, Dec. 4, 1848.

Studied Bell's Anatomy. What a marvel of mechanism is the human skeleton!...

With firm, elastic tread I marched to the mountain, and felt that I had reached the summit without requiring, either for limb or lung, a single halt. Then again, I enjoyed the feast of a hundred hills, all lying in the quietude of the Infinite, who had formed them a feature of his own power.

...

I descended running; the entire length of the hill did not exhaust me. My mouth and muscles, my limbs and lungs stood it admirably. Made twenty or thirty calls. Had some tall: both with Irish Catholics and Scotch Presbyterians.

DECEMBER 5th, 1848.

Called on a few families; promised a Bible and Testament to a poor black woman. Saw a young wife, who, with her husband, said they were Baptists, and from

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England; six months only in this country and as yet had joined no religious community. Spoke with a family touching a family Bible, and with an acquaintance, an alien, of giving us a hearing.

DECEMBER 6<sup>th</sup>.

Called on the black woman with the Bible and Testament I had promised yesterday. For the former I was to receive twenty-five cents; but on asking the woman of the welfare of her husband, she told me he was sick; that he was a Baptist, and a preacher. I could not think of taking the price of the book from her, and so gave the Bible to her, and the Testament to her little daughter. May God bless them both. . . . Spent almost the entire day hunting up the flock. Had several opportunities of fireside preaching. May God water what I planted! ... A pastoral visit discovers the sore and enables the shepherd to put his finger on it on the spot. Publicly, a minister can say more, but do less. Privately, his field is narrowed down to the smallest possible dimensions, and, with the power brought thus near to the machinery, he acts with the greatest possible effect.

DECEMBER 8, 1848.

Made a number of calls. Saw Sister C——, who informed me that her husband had died the last month, and left her with seven children. It was a sore case. Gave her ——, for which she seemed exceedingly thankful.

LORD'S DAY, Dec. 10, 1848.

In the afternoon, we had heaven upon earth; that is, we had the Lord's Supper.

LORD'S DAY, Dec. 17, 1848.

In the afternoon, partook of the Lord's Supper with the brotherhood. It is usual for me or my colleague Bro.

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Church to call on one of the brethren, to address the church at this solemn moment, but I do not approve of it; experience is against the custom, for I never can perceive that one of all who are invited to speak on the occasion sympathize with it, or are equal to it. They preach about every thing and any thing that is uppermost in their mind, and that is never the Supper. . .

The last and latest hours of this blessed evening were spent with my wife in reading, and in weeping over the piety, genius, and sufferings of the second Mrs. Judson, of Tavoy, India, as portrayed by her who has succeeded to the arms and affections of her eminent husband, Adoniram Judson, of Maulmain.

DECEMBER 19, 1848.

In my descent from the mountain this morning, was saluted by Mother Thompson, who informed me both of Mrs. S——'s residence and her own. She is a widow. I have already obtained the names of twenty-four widows, all members of the congregation. What a field for the Christian philanthropist is this!

DECEMBER 25, 1848.

Attended my theological class; greatly surprised by the students, who acquitted themselves beyond all expectations. In the four gospels, we see our religion founded; in the Acts, we see it organized; in the epistles, we see the church's pastoral superintendence; and in the Revelations [*sic*], we see her apostatized.

These were years crammed full of activity, but they were happy years. Among other things he was again on a friendly footing with Alexander Campbell. He had seen his two oldest children married to a son and daughter of one of his dearest friends. Sarah had been happy near her relations in Westmoreland County, and he had done the work he loved.

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Then, with the suddenness of an earthquake, the ground of his happiness dropped from beneath him. Illness came to Sarah, and scarcely had he adjusted himself to that, when on April 28, 1849, she slipped away from him into the Silent Land.

In Bethany, word reached Campbell, and he wrote for his readers:

I have heard, with profound sympathy, this, to me, unexpected event. But a few days ago I was at the house of brother Scott, and although neither he, nor his beloved consort, were in full health, yet I presumed that there were yet many years in store for them.<sup>12</sup>

Scott was desolate. He had loved Sarah with all the tenderness of his affectionate nature. She had possessed that rare quality of saintliness necessary to one who should live with a man so generous, so impetuous, and so given to mountain peaks and valleys of mood. How he had depended on her! How she had encouraged him in the hours of doubt and through times of opposition!

"The difficulties to which the infantile state of the connection subjected our laborers during the last twenty-two years, were known to her perhaps more than any other woman," he wrote in the *Protestant Unionist*, "but she still hoped on, and greatly animated her husband to persevere when these difficulties had well-nigh overcome his faith."

Her husband, the best earthly witness—who feels that in her death the center of feeling and affection, and of moral and religious influence, is smitten down in the family—testifies that she was the best of wives, the tenderest of mothers, and the most faithful of friends— a Christian in faith, and works, and charity.<sup>13</sup>

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Pittsburgh having no more lure for him, he returned at once to Cincinnati, where he merged the *Protestant Unionist* with T. J. Mellish's *Christian Age*, and helped to edit the joint publication under the new name of the *Christian Age and Unionist*.<sup>14</sup>

The brotherhood had now grown to more than 115,000 members,<sup>15</sup> and the editors joined their voices to the swelling chorus calling for something more than district and state conventions, namely, a united national convention to be held at Cincinnati in October, 1849.<sup>16</sup> The most insistent voices promoting this plan were those of D. S. Burnett and J. T. Johnson, of Kentucky. In 1845 Burnett had formed and been elected president of the American Christian Bible Society. Campbell had quarreled with him over its organization because it was not truly representative and later regarded its publication ambitions as a threat to his own monopoly. In August he had expressed his fears that the proposed convention might become a meeting of "Bookmakers or of Editors, to concoct a great book concern."<sup>17</sup> When a national convention, to include the Bible Society, was called for October 24-28, 1849, in Cincinnati, Alexander Campbell did not attend himself but sent W. K. Pendleton to keep the Bible Society out of the publications field and to convey his determination not to accept the presidency unless his prescribed bounds were honored.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Pendleton was successful in his mission, and the next year Mr. Campbell took the chair, to which he was re-elected each year until his death.

Walter Scott, however, was at the convention. He had favored it and had worked to bring it to pass. Disciples from eleven states and one hundred churches were represented by 156 delegates. Twenty vice-

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presidents were elected, of whom D. S. Burnett was first and "Walter Scott was third. He continued among the rank of vice-presidents throughout the rest of his life and sometimes, in the absence of the president, became executive head of the Society. Never a year went by that he did not hold the delegates under the spell of his oratory with one of the principal addresses of the meeting.

Walter Scott, aged fifty-three, could now look out upon the fruit of twenty-two years since the memorable day at New Lisbon. Here was a great and growing people, acquiring a sense of its own unity; and, though Walter was desolate in the loss of his bosom companion, his sorrow was tempered and mellowed by the sober joy of standing in the midst of so many who were his spiritual children and Christian companions.

## CHAPTER XVII

### The "Garden of the Republic"

**N**OVEMBER 17, 1849, found Walter Scott with J. T. Johnson holding a thirteen-day meeting at Mays Lick, Kentucky. Scott had been in Mays Lick for the first time in 1832, seventeen years before; he had returned many times, and something about the village attracted him greatly. At the end of the meeting he proposed to stay on as pastor, and the church record for November 29 confirms the acceptance: "On Thursday 29th [Nov., 1849] the church agreed to employ Brother Scott half the time."

He preached each Sunday. Finally, on January 6, 1850, he proposed to the church that he should give them his entire service for one year, to be associated with the elders, as the "teaching elder," for \$700. Since all agreed except four or five, who felt that it was unscriptural for the minister to be an elder, it was voted to continue the current arrangement until April, when it would be subject to review. To satisfy the scruples of the objecting brethren, Scott, on January 20, withdrew his association as an elder.

The church of which Walter Scott was now minister had a membership just short of 250. Church records for January 1, 1849, show "192 white members and 36 black members." His "half-time service" to this congregation was an unusually arduous one. Several Sundays he preached "at 11 at 3 and at candle-lighting."<sup>1</sup>

For the energetic Scott, however, this was a lull in activity. Without his magazine, he needed something

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besides his occasional evangelistic tours to occupy him; so, on February 17, he publicly announced from the Mays Lick pulpit that he would start a female school if he could enroll twenty scholars. The scholars duly presented themselves, and the school began.

Faithful to its January promise, the church met on March 30 to make a decision about a contract with the minister. From this meeting there resulted the following resolution:

Resolved that we the congregation of Disciples at Mays Lick agree to give Bro. Scott five hundred and fifty dollars for one year from the first of April, 1850, as teacher and preacher of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ granting him the privilege of keeping an Academy.

During this same year he was engaged in three known evangelistic meetings, at Maysville in March, at Versailles in November, and at Mount Sterling in December, in addition to which he helped organize the first Kentucky annual state meeting at Lexington, May 9, and attended the national meeting in Cincinnati in October.

It was also during this year that the lonely Scott remarried. With his wife gone and his children in Pittsburgh, the man who had been so dependent upon the intimacy of the family circle and upon the encouragement of a spouse could walk alone no longer. His choice was the young and beautiful Nannie B. Allen, a member of his congregation. Delicate, refined, and genuinely religious, she was remarkably suited to Scott, although she was many years his junior. He was at this time fifty-four.



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Some of Nannie's friends had remonstrated with her: "You'll be a widow! Brother Scott is certain to die before you do."

To this she had replied, "I would rather be the widow of Walter Scott than the wife of any other man."<sup>2</sup>

She cherished him with great tenderness, and he loved her with that mingled affection and sorrow which brought to their marriage a great mellowness and a great peace.

The nation was astir in these years. The California gold rush had swollen the population of that western territory until it came to statehood in the fall of 1850. The revised Missouri Compromise had been enacted, and the Fugitive Slave Law had been passed in a country boiling with the slavery question. The population of the United States now stood at 23,192,000.<sup>3</sup>

Walter Scott, who was always sensitive to the life of his adopted nation, felt the tremors of approaching earthquake and trembled for his beloved land. Mays Lick, only twelve miles from the Ohio River, was rife with red-faced debate, from which he could not entirely disengage himself. July 19, 1851, found both "Brother Shackleford and Brother Scott" confessing to the church that they had done wrong in becoming excited in A. R. Runyon's store. Incidents of this kind were to be repeated with some frequency as the decade advanced, and especially after Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with fuse flying, was tossed into the midst of an already excited land.

This year, 1851, he returned in August to visit the Western Reserve in company with Alexander Campbell and was also among the distinguished delegates

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to the state and national meetings in October and November. His terms of service with the Mays Lick church, now reduced to \$500 per year, continued until April of 1852. He also kept up his academy.

Meantime Walter Scott's seventh and last child was born; Nannie and he named her Carrie Allen.

At Covington, Kentucky, just across the river from Cincinnati, the Baptist Theological Seminary had closed, making its campus available on a rental basis to an enterprising educator.<sup>4</sup> Walter Scott decided to take advantage of this opportunity. Announcing the opening of a female academy at Covington, he preached his last sermon at Mays Lick and took his departure, with wife and infant daughter, on April 11, 1852.

In publishing the policy of his new Covington Female Institute, Scott wrote, "The Principal of the Institute will aim to impart to his pupils a thorough course of elementary knowledge, both Sacred and Secular; and will unceasingly direct their attention to those maxims and principles by which they may become the architects of their own character, and train themselves to loveliness and perfection." The basis of the curriculum was the Bible. "Touching the Secular part of the course, it will be strictly classical."

Scott determined to avoid mass education and to devote himself to the individual interests and capacities of his students. He therefore announced, in somewhat startling fashion: "There are no classes in the school. Each is required to recite and review her own lessons. Each, therefore, may advance in her text-books in the ratio of her own taste and capacity for study, without being retarded in her progress by the imperfections of classmates."

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A trace of the proprietor injected itself when he wrote, "The College [the campus on which the school met] with its fair and broad acres—at once lovely, magnificent and healthy—is better adapted to purposes of female education, perhaps, than any other locality in the three cities."

The charge for board, light, fuel, washing, and tuition was \$75 per session of five months, "the half-session to be paid invariably in advance.... No name will be entered on the roll till this is attended to. Music, Drawing, etc., extra. Miss Sargent will assist, and give lessons in Drawing."<sup>5</sup>

It was in the summer of 1852 that Jethro Jackson's Christian Publication Booms, Cincinnati, brought out Walter Scott's 128-page book, *The Union of Christians on Christian Principles*. When had he found time to write it? And was it written at Mays Lick or Covington?

The editor of the *Millennial Harbinger*, in his August issue, took notice:

I have read so much of it, and know its author so well, through all the intimacies of more than a quarter of a century's co-operation in the forests, in the fields, in the pulpit, and by the fireside, as to say of it, that it is one of the best tracts of the age, and the best on the Divinity of Christ, that has, in forty years' reading, come under my eye, and stands forth here as we have always taught it—the *capital doctrine* of the Christian Religion and of the current Reformation.<sup>6</sup>

The thesis of the book is that Christian union will be achieved when men are drawn to the central element of the Christian religion, which is the divinity of Christ. Again the "Golden Oracle"! "It is no doctrine that Christ taught, nor any action that he per-

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formed, that forms the article of faith in the gospel. It is himself—as God's son." Bereft of this center of faith, Christianity is "like a watch without a spring, a clock without the weights, a solar system without the sun." The divinity of Christ is the creed of Christianity, the element of the confession, and the basis of union.

The book falls into five divisions, all expounding the Golden Oracle: "Its Enunciation" (at the Jordan); "Its Demonstration by Miracle and Prophecy"; "Its Acceptation by Jesus Himself"; "Its Glorification on the Cross"; "Its Illustration" (in the Epistle to the Hebrews).

The union of Christians can be restored as this central truth resumes its rightful place in Christian thought and loyalty. The result will be to produce a church which resembles "our own republican plan of union, in which the interaction of right, liberty, and authority are admirably harmonized. Christ and the holy apostles, by the Holy Scriptures constituted the general government, and each particular church a little republic within itself, bound in all duty by the force of its own doctrines and God's authority, to cooperate with others and to admit nothing exclusive into its constitution, nothing that would dis sever it from the communion of all saints."

He addresses himself, in the conclusion of the book, more especially to Disciples.

Our Mission: What is that? Revolution, because it is to restore to its high and commanding position the constitution or the Creed of the Church; to restore to order all its first principles; to tranquillize the entire profession of Christianity; and finally to prepare the Church, by these principles, for fulfilling her proper

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destinies. Protestants are in a transition state; the "Disciples" lead the way.

Our Duty: Brethren, we are now a great people in the United States. We must realize this; we must realize our mission and our position; and acquit ourselves like men. We must not resign our ground to sectarianism. Faction is ever at war with the Church, and must never, when primitive Christianity can prevent it, be allowed to dispose of society; we must oppose ourselves as a breastworks against the deluge of sects that overflow our country. If we do not, we shall have to surrender our position to a more faithful people.

The last pages of this book might have been directed straight at the twentieth century:

All the friends of evangelical Christianity are loudly called on by the times, by the prevalence of infidelity, and the increase of the Papacy to surrender every prejudice to the faith; popularity to principle; party policy to the general interest of the Church of God; and every other inferior consideration to the great duty of Union and the conversion of mankind.

The next year a companion volume, *The Death of Christ*, a book of 132 pages, was published by Bosworth in Cincinnati. Thereafter for many years the two works separately, and then together under one cover, passed through many printings in Cincinnati, Bethany, and Philadelphia; and their voice carried across the brotherhood long after that of their author was silenced.

When the American Christian Missionary Society met as the national convention of the brotherhood on October 17, 1854, "Walter Scott was its leading voice, for the president, Alexander Campbell, was absent. W. K. Pendleton reported: "In the absence of the

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President of the Society, Bro. Walter Scott was called upon to deliver the Anniversary Address. He performed his task in a manner truly worthy of the catholic greatness of his Christian head and heart."<sup>7</sup> With the growth of the Disciples in rapid ascent toward a quarter of a million, he had given increasing thought to cooperation among the individual churches and to organization for effective action. He had been one of the original advocates of the National Convention. He had also pleaded for a Christian Union Society, and now he began to feel out the possibilities of a systematic program of evangelism:

The systemization of our men and money, piety, and liberality is slow but advancing.... Would it then not be proper and analogous, that among the evangelical corps, which unites the church with society, there should also be a *primus inter pares*—a foreman—a wise, pious, and experienced person, in whom all the evangelical labor of the district should be organized, and who should superintend the work of the Lord there—looking well to the fact that the evangelists maintained the dignity of the office, and exercised themselves duly in labor, reading, and meditation? Then our evangelical corps would, like our corps of deacons, and elders, have the compactness and the strength of system.<sup>8</sup>

While Scott was performing his task as head of the National Convention "in a manner worthy of catholic greatness," his mind was weighed down with anxiety over his wife. Nannie had been in declining health for the past year, and in the summer of 1854 she had grown steadily worse. Burdened by his anxiety, Scott had taken her south for the cooling breezes off the lakes during the hot summer months, thinking that the

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change would renew her vigor. But in that he had been mistaken. Nannie was dying of consumption. On November 18 she breathed her last, leaving Walter, now fifty-eight, and Carrie Allen, three, in the miserable companionship of bereavement.<sup>9</sup>

Scott took her body home to Mays Lick for burial.<sup>10</sup>

Not even four years was he allowed to have her gentle love; but, though of short duration, it had been like a blessing out of heaven. He went back to Covington alone.

Early in 1855 Scott began to turn his thoughts toward the creation at Covington of a male orphan asylum to match the flourishing female orphan asylum at Midway, Kentucky. He associated himself with J. T. Johnson in an attempt to raise \$50,000, which would be equal to the permanent support of 100 orphaned boys. He accordingly announced in March:

It will be my duty, in the first instance, to make collections for the payment of the property. I am, therefore, now ready to take the field in behalf of this institution, and to visit any portion of our country, East, West, North or South, in which the beloved of Christ, the holy brethren, feel themselves animated and inspired with ... *the zeal of doing good.*<sup>11</sup>

The undertaking was an ambitious one, beyond the imagination or sympathy of the brotherhood, and it had to be abandoned. This having failed, Scott then turned his attention to the creation of a female college. The trustees of the Baptist Theological Seminary, desiring to sell their campus, had made a new proposition at a greatly reduced rate. A down payment of \$5,000 would secure the property, which could be used

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as the campus of the first Disciples college for women! It looked so easy. "Brethren," he wrote, "I dislike to have the prey shaken out of my mouth. I tell you I do, and I shall surrender only to circumstances of a lion-like force."<sup>12</sup>

He got his campaign under way and raised at least \$1,340 of which we have record.<sup>13</sup> Then circumstances of a lion-like force did intervene. He could not raise the rest! The whole project had to be given up. In August of 1855 "Walter Scott returned to Mays Lick.

He was, perhaps, looking for consolation when he was married shortly after to Eliza Sandidge, the wealthy widow of L. A. Sandidge, who had died nearly ten years before. And he was looking again for consolation when, the last week in December of that year, he paid an extended visit to the home of Alexander Campbell in Bethany, Virginia. Brother Alexander, mellowed by his sixty-seven years, and touched, no doubt, by the memory of his friend's recent bereavement, received Brother Walter with such cordiality and hospitality that, it seemed to him, it would have been impossible for anyone to show him greater kindness.

Remaining in Bethany several days, he availed himself of the invitation of his host to deliver several addresses to the students of Bethany College, now in its fifteenth prosperous year. He returned to Kentucky greatly refreshed.

At the age of fifty-nine, there was little in the outward man to betray Walter Scott's years. The accent which he had brought from Scotland thirty-seven years before was as rich as ever, the voice as resonant. His steely figure was as thin and flexible—and as



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straight. Even his hair was as full and nearly as black; it was only lightly sprinkled with gray. His keen expressive eyes glowed with the fire of youth, and the mind that looked out through them was alert and young.

Nevertheless, the shadows were lengthening, and the evening was nigh.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Mays Lick Farewell

**H**IS marriage to the wealthy Eliza Sandidge brought Walter Scott for the first time into comfortable financial circumstances. He moved into the Sandidge mansion, a quarter of a mile south of the meetinghouse, taking Carrie Allen with him. Eliza cherished Carrie as though she were her own daughter. It was her one clear affection. Twenty-three years before, her own little Mary Eliza had died at the age of two months and nineteen days. It was as though her baby had been restored to her arms.<sup>1</sup>

But Scott himself she never really understood. Exactly ten years separated their ages. In 1856 Walter was sixty, and Eliza was fifty.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Sandidge had been a member of the Mays Lick church under Scott's ministrations and had lived in the village when he made all his previous visits there. She had known him for years. It should have been a congenial marriage but it was not.

The basis of the difficulty lay in their divergent views toward money. Eliza, as one who had lived all her days in the surroundings of opulence, had a strong respect for possessions; Walter had no conception of such a life, and if he had understood it he would have had contempt for it. Money was to use, or even better, to give away; and life was something very much more precious than the finest fortune. Wherever money was concerned, he was impractical and prodigal. His financial indiscretions irritated his wife; but as one who had always "managed" the finances

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of his family, he insisted upon discharging this responsibility now. Needless to say, things were soon tangled up gloriously. In particular, he made one business trip to Missouri to see about some investments and so completely botched the transaction that large sums of money were lost. Eliza was goaded beyond endurance, and her exasperation blinded her to the poetic fineness and spiritual saintliness of her impractical husband.

It became a shrewish marriage. Within the large, richly furnished house, Walter was a forlorn stranger, tolerated but not loved; and sometimes he was not even tolerated. When Eliza's rages were at their worst, he was driven from the house, locked out, and forbidden to return. On such occasions, early morning would find him on the doorstep of a neighbor.

"I wonder if you would take me in for some breakfast this morning?" he would ask. "The little lady isn't feeling well."

After one such expulsion, Scott was so depressed that he left Mays Lick altogether and was gone for days. His absence became noticeable to the community. The elders of the church gathered to discuss it; they decided that it was a scandal that one of the fathers of the Reformation was separated from his wife, and that they should step in to see what they could do as peacemakers. Two of their number were sent off to Cincinnati to find Brother Scott; after a considerable search they came upon him, wandering the streets in a daze of misery.

"Brother Scott, you must come back to your wife." "But she does not want me back," he protested.

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"Then you must make her take you back, just the same. It will become a scandal in the Brotherhood. This must not be."

"Very well. I will go back, but not alone. You must go with me."

Behind the imposing doors of the Sandidge mansion a truce was declared, and Walter and Eliza lived together in an uncertain league amid changing domestic weather. Eliza was not always unreasonable; sometimes she was melting tenderness and consideration itself. In such hours she could be a very pleasant partner, and the days of their twilight years then held the promise of peace.<sup>3</sup>

Walter Scott's school-teaching days were over. A stock company had moved into Mays Lick with an academy of its own,<sup>4</sup> and there was no longer any need for his services in that department.

But his evangelistic labors were unabated. As late as 1859, when he was sixty-three years of age, he wrote: "I have just returned from a galloping excursion into Garrard County; twenty accessions were made to the good cause, and I have immediately to return thither."<sup>5</sup>

It was only two weeks later that he again wrote:

A few days ago, by stage and railroad, I traveled seventy miles, and ate no meat from two o'clock in the morning till five in the evening, and after supper had to address an audience waiting for me. Twelve persons have already presented themselves to the Lord. I am, thank the Lord Jesus Christ, now recovered from fatigue, and more animated in the preaching of the Word, than at any former period of my life. I know

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that the weakness, incident to age must overtake me, if I live, but as yet I am as strong in every respect as I ever was.<sup>6</sup>

From time to time he also preached in the Mays Lick church, although he never served as its pastor after his return from Covington. Year after year, without a single absence, he returned to Cincinnati at the time of the National Convention and thrilled the delegates with the poetic flight of his oratory as he charmed them with his animated conversation and "amiable manners."

At this time, with the patriarchal Campbell, Walter Scott was one of the legendary figures of the Disciples. His name was revered as he himself was affectionately loved. H. S. Bosworth, of Cincinnati, knew that well, when he announced in December of 1858 the publication of the latest lithographic portrait of the tried old warrior:

Just ready, a superior *Lithographic Likeness* of Elder Walter Scott. This is the first and only portrait of the truly ideal face, among the men of the Reformation. The multitudes of brethren who have long known and loved Bro. Scott, many of whom remember him from early times, and esteem him as more than a pioneer of our brotherhood, will be gratified to learn that a portrait, of suitable size for framing, and on which the best artistic labor has been employed, is now ready.

Single copies will be sold at one dollar.<sup>7</sup>

Scott was busy during these same months writing his most ambitious and most closely reasoned book, *The Messiahship, or Great Demonstration*. Characterized by the sharp, clean-cut analysis and the persuasive analogies which were second nature to him,

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and written in the swift, clear sentences which were such a pleasant relief from the long meandering style of his contemporaries, this book was his greatest work. Note the rapier-like quality of his sentences:

"The Bible is revealed, and beyond its sacred pages the true religion does not exist." "There is no natural religion. By nature we have the instinct but not the matter of religion."<sup>8</sup>

"Power has to do with matter; authority with mind. Therefore power acts, and authority speaks. By the former, God made the world; by the latter, he governs it." "In Christianity, the two great generalizations are Christ and his religion. His Messiahship rests on power, and his religion on authority."<sup>9</sup>

"God's love for man must reveal itself, and man's religious instinct cannot conceal itself."<sup>10</sup>

The book was a work on "Christian Evidences," an apologetic for the truth of Christianity. Taking its stand upon the Golden Oracle (*Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*), as the central proposition of the Bible, it organizes all Scripture from that point of view. "The author having assumed the Messiahship of our Lord Jesus Christ as the center of the Christian system, and placed himself as it were in that center, has for nearly forty years waited on its gradual development in his own mind."<sup>11</sup>

The line of reasoning followed out in the book rests back most strongly on two characteristic assumptions. The 3<sup>rd</sup> assumption is that the Old Testament is the New Testament casting its shadow before, a presentation of the truth of the New Testament in type and symbol:

Restricting our researches to the Bible, we find it divided into two parts, namely, the Old Testament and

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the New—or the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures—the former the shadow, the latter the substance—the first typical, the second anti-typical. These interact harmoniously with each other, and the whole is perfectly consistent with itself.<sup>12</sup>

The second assumption is that the *faith* of Christianity—in Christ—rests on evidence, while the teachings of Christianity are taken by authority:

In the Scriptures, the Messiahship is never placed on authority, but on proof: and the doctrine, on the contrary, is never placed on proof, but on authority; the reason for which is this: It being there proved that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, it is consequently assumed that nothing he teaches can possibly be false. The strongest argument which can possibly be offered for the truth of his doctrine is, therefore, this: *Magister dixit*—Christ taught it.<sup>13</sup>

Let Scott give his own synopsis of the book:

The first part of it is a *synthesis*, or an induction of particular typical and symbolical predictions indicating with irresistible conviction the general truth that their author is the omniscient God.

The second part is an *analysis*, or resolution to the Messiahship into its various characteristic elements, evincive of this fact that the New Testament Christ meets all the characteristic conditions of the Old Testament Messiah. These two arguments are linked to each other by a third, which may be called the transitional part of the book, . . . consisting of literal prophecy, promise, and commemorative institutions. . . .

The volume is designed, by types and antitypes, the church and the empire, to reduce the whole of revealed religion and government under one great generalization, namely, the Messiahship, which, including many other generalizations and many other laws, is yet itself the great law—the great generalization.<sup>14</sup>

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The book, more than 150,000 words on 394 closely printed pages, came out in April, 1859. It closes with a long poem of eighty stanzas on the theme of suffering, under the title of "Jacob and the Angel." All through his life Scott had written poetry and not infrequently in his preaching had taken flight on the wings of Ms own composing. A few lines of this poem will show the rich imagery and delicate balance of his rhythms:

What are you, Stars? The eyes of heaven?  
Or jewels in God's kingly crown?  
Or gems in his imperial robe,  
Which he at eventide puts on?  
Perhaps you are the military of heaven,  
To whom to guard his state the honor's given.

Perhaps you're golden links that bind  
The sable curtains of the night,  
Or emerald urns, whence flows the die,  
That paints them azure when 'tis light;  
Or seraph-sentinels round heaven's height,  
To watch the sleeping world through the night.

.....  
A child, I thought you golden loops,  
Through which the winged angels kept  
Their watch of mother dear, and me;  
While through the live-long night we slept,  
That father on the moon's bright edge could stand,  
Reach up, peep through, and see the heavenly land.<sup>15</sup>

In 1860 the rumblings of discord in the nation leapt into violent lightning and angry thundering. John Brown's body had been hanged upon the tree in December of 1859, but his soul was marching on. Abraham Lincoln had been elected to the presidency in the fall of 1860. Then early in 1861, it became cer-



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tain that there would be war. In February, the Confederacy was organized under the presidency of Jefferson Davis; in March, Lincoln was inaugurated; on April 13, 1861, Fort Sumter fell. Two days later Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee formally seceded from the Union.

"Walter Scott watched all these events with a sorrow nigh unto death. His love for America was overflowing. He once said to an intimate friend:

I remember distinctly the moment that I became an American citizen in heart; it was not when I went through the forms of the laws of naturalization, but on the occasion of my meeting with a procession headed by a band playing the national air, and bearing the national banner; inspired by the strain as I looked on the national emblem, I felt that under that flag, and for it, if need be, I could die, and I felt at that moment that I was in feeling, as well as in law, an American citizen, that that flag was my flag, and that this country was my country.<sup>16</sup>

It was in the midst of the tension, in the summer of 1860, that he wrote an essay called the "Crisis" to his thousands of friends in both the North and the South and threw it across the current of trending events in a valiant effort to turn that tide back. He pleaded earnestly for the preservation of the Union. Basing his reasoning on an analogy between the federal government of the United States and the solar system, he argued that the American government is not like the center of a heap of sand, but like the sun with its planets swinging about it; and that, since heaven knows no law of secession, a nation can own no such law. "Fraternal ties are being sundered," he wrote, "and sundered, I fear, forever."

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Some good-natured and not far-seeing men imagine that our Federal difficulties will disappear as certainly and suddenly as they were suddenly and unexpectedly developed. God grant they may; but brothers' quarrels are not lovers' quarrels, and it requires but little logic to foresee that, unless the black cloud that at present overhangs the great Republic is speedily buried in the deep bosom of the ocean, it will finally rain down war, bloodshed, and death on these hitherto peaceful and delightful lands.

I thought that, your fears being soothed by the consideration that "all is not lost that is in danger," I might intercede with you to continue your prayer to God in behalf of the Republic; that he would have this great nation in his holy keeping; that he would preserve the Union in its integrity; that he would impart wisdom to our conservative statesmen; defeat the counsels of our Ahithophels, and cause this magnificent and unparalleled government to remain "one and indivisible, now and forever!"

Launching into the body of his argument, he wrote: "In our political system each particular State is formed with federal relations. ... In the greatness of the General Government each State is great; in its renown, each State is renowned; in its grandeur each is grand; in its splendor each is splendid; in its glory each is glorified. This is systematic political union."

Admit secession to be a law or right, the confederation is at once transfigured into a simple aggregation, and would then more fitly be called the "Disunited States." . . . The States being organic, a body politic, a confederation, a constitutional order of things, no single member can more legitimately divorce itself from the central government than can the central government legitimately divorce itself from the single State. "The one can not say to the other, I have no need of thee."

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He saw the government of his country without peer among the nations, and he praised it unstintingly:

No one will deny that it is the rarest and most perfect piece of political workmanship ever framed by man, and that from amidst the planetary States by which it has hitherto been encircled, it looked forth upon the benighted nations, with sun-bright glory cheering our sin-oppressed nature, over the wide world, with high hopes of freedom, security, and an endless progress in science, art, and our blessed Christianity.

If, however, worst came to worst, for all his grief over brothers' quarrels, Scott's sympathies were clear:

The government . . . that will not, with all its *force*, in defiance of all obstacles, put down anarchy and the doctrine that leads to it, ought itself to be put down, as men are more ready to follow a bad example than attend to a good precept. If this course is not pursued with personages working treason, others will imitate their insurrectionary precedent, till the infection of revolt spreading far and wide among the people, our Union will be dissolved and the United States Government perish in the whirlpool of bloody revolution.<sup>17</sup>

Thoughts of the nation occupied him. His evangelistic labors were suspended, and he stayed at home, weighted down by the burden of his beloved land. He went to church, but he even refused Communion. What could Communion mean when Christian brothers were refusing to be bound into one body within the nation? Only once did he respond when asked to speak. That was on January 27, 1861. Then he addressed a few broken remarks on the state of the Union, asked the brethren and sisters to pray for their country, and sat down.<sup>18</sup>

*MAYS LICK FAREWELL*

In the closing months of 1860, he wrote to John, his oldest son, now thirty-seven, who was bound to his father by mutual convictions:

I can think of nothing but the sorrows and dangers of my most beloved adopted country. God is witness to my tears and grief. I am cast down, I am afflicted, I am all broken to pieces. My confidence in man is gone. May the Father of mercies show us mercy! Mine eye runneth down with grief. . . .

On Friday, let us go before the Lord fasting, and, humbling ourselves before the blessed God, confess, in behalf both of ourselves and our dear country, all our sins, and determine, with his help, to reform in all things. Let us say, with that great servant of the Lord, Moses, "If thou wilt slay all this people, blot me out of thy book of life." For all the nations will hear and say that it was because the Lord wanted to destroy them that he gave them their great inheritance. Oh, that the Lord would forgive the nation and heal the dreadful and ghastly wound that has been inflicted on the body of the Republic.

After the grueling early months of 1861, at last came the shattering news of Fort Sumter, and father again wrote to son:

The fate of Fort Sumter, which you had not heard of when you wrote—which, indeed, occurred subsequently to the date of your letter—will now have reached you. Alas, for my country! Civil war is now most certainly inaugurated, and its termination who can foresee? Who can predict? Twice has the state of things filled my eyes with tears this day. Oh, my country! my country! How I love thee! how I deplore thy present misfortunes!

It was not without relation to this consuming grief for America in strife that he became seriously ill

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on Tuesday, April 16, shortly after he had written this letter. The disease of the body was typhoid pneumonia, but the disease of the soul was a broken heart. The progress of his illness was rapid, and by Sunday its outcome was no longer in doubt. A new invention, the telegraph, was used to call the children from Pittsburgh. Elder John Rogers, an old friend of the evangelist, happened to be in the vicinity and called to see him.

"Brother Scott, is this death?" he asked.

"It is very like it," Scott replied.

"Do you fear death!" asked his friend.

"Oh! no," he said, "I know in whom I have trusted."

To L. P. Streator, his pastor for the past year, he said, "Many a true soldier has gone before me over Jordan."

On Sunday in the presence of his pastor, he roused himself and broke into ecstasy.

He spoke of the joys of the redeemed when they should be ushered into the presence of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and the myriad hosts washed in the blood of the Lamb; of the angelic bands, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers; of the great white throne and Him that sat thereon.<sup>19</sup>

He then fell into an exhausted slumber from which he awoke to say: "I have been greatly blessed; it has been my privilege to develop the kingdom of God. I have been greatly honored." Mercifully, all thought of his recent sorrow over the present strife was washed from his mind. He was back again, in memory, amid his labors for the gospel. He recalled the names of the great and good men with whom he had been yoked: Thomas and Alexander Campbell, John

## *MAYS LICK FAREWELL*

T. Johnson, Barton W. Stone, Elder John Smith, and scores of others. By Sunday evening he was too low to speak, and on Tuesday evening, April 23, at ten o'clock, he fell quietly into his last slumber.

The funeral was conducted by Elders John Rogers and L. P. Streator, with the use of a text from Isaiah 57:1-2: "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart. ..." His body was placed in a copper coffin and buried in an unmarked grave.

At Bethany, when the aging Campbell received the sad news that his intimate associate in the Reformation and his very dear personal friend was no more, he communicated the information to his readers in these poignant lines:

No death in my horizon, out of my own family, came more unexpectedly or more ungratefully to my ears than this of our much beloved and highly appreciated brother Walter Scott; and none awoke more tender sympathies and regrets. Next to my father, he was my most cordial and indefatigable fellow laborer in the origin and progress of the present reformation. We often took counsel together in our efforts to plead and advocate the paramount claims of original and apostolic Christianity. His whole heart was in the work. He was indeed, truly eloquent in the whole import of that word in pleading the claims of the Author and Founder of the Christian faith and hope; and in disabusing the inquiring mind of all its prejudices, misapprehensions and errors. He was, too, most successful in winning souls to the allegiance of the Divine Author and founder of the Christian Institution, and in putting to silence the cavilings and objections of the modern Pharisees and Sadducees of Sectariandom.

He, indeed, possessed, upon the whole view of his character, a happy temperament. It is true, though not a verb, he had his moods and tenses, as men of genius generally have. He was both logical and rhetorical in his conceptions and utterances. He could and he did

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simultaneously address and interest the understanding, the conscience, and the heart of his hearers; and in his happiest seasons constrain their attention and their acquiescence.

He, without partiality or enmity in his heart to any human being, manfully and magnanimously proclaimed the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so far as he understood it, regardless of human applause or of human condemnation. He had a strong faith in the person and mission, and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. He had a rich hope of the life everlasting, and of the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled and unfading.

I knew him well. I knew him long. I loved him much. We might not, indeed, agree in every opinion nor in every point of expediency. But we never loved each other less, because we did not acquiesce in every opinion, and in every measure. By the eye of faith and the eye of hope, methinks I see him in Abraham's bosom.<sup>20</sup>

It was not until November of 1897, one hundred and one years after his birth, and thirty-six years after his death, that Walter Scott's coffin was moved from its lonely spot and, on land provided by a granddaughter, Mary Scott Brookes, was buried in a grave with a modest stone marker. The pastor of the Mays Lick church at that time, Brother F. M. Tinder, and editor Walter Scott Smith, were instrumental in raising the money and arranging the ceremonies.

Today, at the head of the grave in the Mays Lick cemetery, there stands a granite monument about five feet tall; on it is engraved the single word, "Scott." At the foot of the grave there is a low stone; the face of the stone is cut in the form of an open book, and on this book are engraved these words from the eighth verse of the seventeenth chapter of John:

"THE WORDS WHICH THOU GAVEST ME,  
I HAVE GIVEN UNTO THEM."

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

1. James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*, p. 148.
2. *Idem*, p. 126.
3. Clarence E. McCartney, *Not Far from Pittsburgh*, p. 66.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Charles Henry Ambler, *West Virginia, Stories and Biographies*, pp. 166-70.
6. McCartney, *op. cit.*
7. Winfred Ernest Garrison, *'Religion Follows the Frontier*, p. 55.
8. S. E. Forman, *Advanced American History*, p. 280.
9. Leland D. Baldwin, *Pittsburgh, the Story of a City*, p. 131.

### CHAPTER II

1. From an autobiographical sketch written in 1860 and now in possession of the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.
2. Personal letter from the librarian of the University of Edinburgh, April 24, 1946.
3. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*.
4. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, pp. 33f.

### CHAPTER III

1. Adapted from a statement in Walter Scott's autobiographical sketch.
2. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, p. 42.
3. *Evangelist*, 1838, p. 286.
4. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
5. *Ibid.*,
6. *Idem*, p. 55.
7. Dates of death from tombstone in Annan graveyard. Courtesy of Joseph C. Todd.

### CHAPTER IV

1. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, p. 58.
2. *Idem*, p. 57.
3. Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, Vol. I, p. 504.
4. William Herbert Hanna, *Thomas Campbell: Seceder and Christian Union Advocate*, p. 139.
5. *Evangelist*, 1838, pp. 286f.
6. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
7. Autobiographical sketch.
8. *Christian Baptist*, Vol. I, p. 127.
9. *Idem*, 1823, pp. 29ff., 63ff., 104ff., 126ff.
10. Autobiographical sketch.

### CHAPTER V

1. Autobiographical sketch.
2. Charles Henry Ambler, *West Virginia Stories and Biographies*, p. 179.
3. James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*, p. 150,
4. *Christian Baptist*, Vol. III, pp. 404ff; Vol. IV, pp. 25ff.
5. *Evangelist*, April, 1833.
6. A. S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio*, p. 13.
7. M. A. M. Smith, "History of the Mahoning Baptist Association," p. 11 (an unpublished thesis for the M.A. degree at West Virginia University.
8. Minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.
9. The original ten churches were: Concord Church, at Warren; Bazetta; Braceville; Mount Hope, at Hubbard; Zoar, at Youngstown; Bethesda, at Nelson;



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- Salem, and Liberty, in Palmyra; and Randolph. Six other churches were added in succeeding years, as follows: Yellow Creek and Valley of Achor, of Columbiana County, and Sandey (later Franklin), of Portage County, in 1821; Canfield in 1822; Southington, of Trumbull County, in 1823; Wellsburg, West Virginia; Hartford, of Trumbull County; and Salem, in Columbiana County, in 1824. M. A. M. Smith thesis, pp. 36f.
10. Article No. 5 of the New Lisbon church. Journal of the Mahoning Baptist Association. Hiram College.
  11. *Idem.* Article No. 5 of the Zoar Church.
  12. *Idem.* Article No. 8 of the Bazetta church.
  13. M. A. M. Smith, *op. tit.*, p. 63.
  14. *Idem.*, pp. 57f., 64.
  15. Minutes of 1823. Item No. 13.
  16. *Idem.* Item No. 14.
  17. Minutes of 1824. Item No. 13.
  18. *Ibid.*
  19. Minutes of 1825. Item No. 20.
  20. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, p. 98.
  21. *Idem.*, pp. 101f.
  22. Autobiographical sketch.
  23. Hayden, *op. tit.*, p. 35.
  24. Baxter, *op. tit.*, p. 82.
  25. *Christian Baptist*, Vol. IV, pp. 159-61, 246-50.
  26. Campbell had got the title of the magazine slightly wrong; it was the *Millennial Herald*, not *Millennial Herald*.
  27. *Evangelist*, Vol. I, p. 94 (1332).
  28. Hayden, *op. tit.*, p. 57; minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association for 1827.
  29. Hayden, *op. tit.*, p. 57.
  30. *Idem.*, pp. 57f.
  31. *Idem.*, p. 58.
  32. Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, Vol. II, p. 199.
  33. M. A. M. Smith, *op. tit.*, p. 72.
  34. *Evangelist*, Vol. I, p. 94 (1832).
- CHAPTER VI
1. A. S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio*, pp. 65f.
  2. *Idem.*, pp. 69f.
  3. *Idem.*, p. 70.
  4. Alonzo Willard Fortune, *Adventuring with Disciple Pioneers*, p. 29.
  5. Walter Scott, *The Gospel Restored*, Preface, pp. v-vi.
  6. Hayden, *op. tit.*, p. 71.
  7. Some liberties have been taken with the few facts at our disposal. What we know *for certain*, is that Scott did buy land and build a house at Canfield, to which he moved his family "soon after his appointment" (Hayden, p. 126), and that his first trial of the "Ancient Gospel" was outside the bounds of the Association (Baxter, p. 103). What could be more natural than a trip "home" to Steubenville at this time?
  8. Hayden, *op. tit.*, pp. 721
  9. *Evangelist*, Vol. I, p. 94.
  10. M. C. Tiers, *The Christian Portrait Gallery*, p. 92.
- CHAPTER VII
1. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, pp. 151f.
  2. Alonzo Willard Fortune, *Adventuring with Disciple Pioneers*, p. 36.
  3. A. S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio*, pp. 142f.
  4. Baxter, *op. tit.*, pp. 184f.
  5. *Idem.*, pp. 186f.
  6. *Idem.*, pp. 187f.

## NOTES

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| <p>7. <i>Christian Baptist</i>, 1828, Vol. V, p. 166.</p> <p>8. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 115f.</p> <p>9. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 116f.</p> <p>10. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. II, p. 62.</p> <p>11. <i>Idem</i>, Vol. I, p. 161.</p> <p>12. <i>Christian Baptist</i>, Vol. VII, p. 271.</p> | <p>6. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 176f. 7: Hayden, <i>op. cit.</i>, pp. 320f.</p> <p>8. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 172.</p> <p>9. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. II, p. 52 (March 4, 1833).</p> <p>10. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 335.</p> <p>11. <i>Christian Baptist</i>, Vol. VII, p. 271.</p> <p>12. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 178.</p> <p>13. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 177f.</p> <p>14. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 270.</p> <p>15. <i>Idem</i>, p. 272.</p> <p>16. <i>Christian Baptist</i>, Vol. VII, p. 271 (1830).</p> <p>17. Luther A. Weigle, <i>American Idealism</i>, p. 170.</p> <p>18. Hayden, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 176.</p> <p>19. <i>Idem</i>, p. 299.</p> <p>20. Weigle, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 244.</p> <p>21. Robert Richardson, <i>Memoirs of Alexander Campbell</i>, Vol. II, p. 347.</p> <p>22. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 216.</p> <p>23. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 216f.</p> <p>24. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 296.</p> <p>25. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1830, p. 415.</p> <p>26. <i>Idem</i>, 1849, p. 272.</p> <p>27. Hayden, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 297.</p> <p>28. <i>Idem</i>, p. 456.</p> |
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### CHAPTER VIII

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| <p>1. A. S. Hayden, <i>Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio</i>, p. 320.</p> <p>2. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 122f.</p> <p>3. <i>Idem</i>, p. 94.</p> <p>4. William Baxter, <i>Life of Elder Walter Scott</i>, pp. 129f.</p> <p>5. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 96.</p> <p>6. Baxter, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 131.</p> <p>7. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 96f. Order of dialogue changed somewhat but reported verbatim.</p> <p>8. <i>Idem</i>, p. 143.</p> <p>9. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 98f.; Baxter, <i>op. cit.</i>, pp. 133f.</p> <p>10. Hayden, <i>op. cit.</i>, pp. 111f.</p> <p>11. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 113f.</p> <p>12. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 143f.</p> <p>13. <i>Idem</i>, p. 121.</p> <p>14. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 158f.</p> <p>15. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 116f.</p> <p>16. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 118f.</p> <p>17. <i>Idem</i>, p. 154.</p> <p>18. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 163f.</p> <p>19. Printed minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association.</p> <p>20. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 174.</p> | <p>14. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 270.</p> <p>15. <i>Idem</i>, p. 272.</p> <p>16. <i>Christian Baptist</i>, Vol. VII, p. 271 (1830).</p> <p>17. Luther A. Weigle, <i>American Idealism</i>, p. 170.</p> <p>18. Hayden, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 176.</p> <p>19. <i>Idem</i>, p. 299.</p> <p>20. Weigle, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 244.</p> <p>21. Robert Richardson, <i>Memoirs of Alexander Campbell</i>, Vol. II, p. 347.</p> <p>22. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 216.</p> <p>23. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 216f.</p> <p>24. Hayden, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 296.</p> <p>25. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1830, p. 415.</p> <p>26. <i>Idem</i>, 1849, p. 272.</p> <p>27. Hayden, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 297.</p> <p>28. <i>Idem</i>, p. 456.</p> |
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### CHAPTER X

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| <p>1. <i>Christian Baptist</i>, Vol. VI, p. 180.</p> <p>2. <i>Idem</i>, Vol. V, p. 263.</p> <p>3. Thomas W. Grafton, <i>Alexander Campbell</i>, p. 123.</p> <p>4. William Baxter, <i>Life of Elder Walter Scott</i>, p. 201.</p> <p>5. A. S. Hayden, <i>Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio</i>, p. 175.</p> | <p>1. James Truslow Adams, <i>The Epic of America</i>, p. 148.</p> <p>2. D. S. Muzzy, <i>American History</i>, pp. 229f.</p> <p>3. Leland D. Baldwin, <i>Pittsburgh, the Story of a City</i>, pp. 195f.</p> <p>4. <i>Idem</i>, p. 188.</p> <p>5. <i>Idem</i>, p. 193.</p> <p>6. Winfred Ernest Garrison, <i>Religion Follows the Frontier</i>, p. 200.</p> <p>7. Alonzo Willard Fortune, <i>The Disciples in Kentucky</i>, pp. 114-18.</p> <p>8. William Baxter, <i>Life of Elder Walter Scott</i>, p. 222.</p> <p>9. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1831, p. 480.</p> <p>10. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. IE, pp. 26f. (revision of discourse).</p> |
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11. *Idem*, p. 36.
12. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1832 pp. 46f.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Evangelist*, Vol. I, p. 18.
2. *Idem*, Vol. IV, pp. 123-27.
3. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, pp. 309f.
4. *Idem*, p.-332.
5. *Idem*, p. 338.
6. *Idem*, pp. 347f.

CHAPTER XI

1. Charles Cist, *Cincinnati in 1851*, p. 73.
2. *Idem*, p. 44.
3. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1833, p. 89.
4. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, p. 73.
5. *Idem*, p. 219.
6. *Evangelist*, Vol. I, p. 71.
7. *Idem*, p. 102.
8. *Idem*, Vol. II, p. 24.
9. *Idem*, Vol. I, pp. 202, 204, 211.
10. *Idem*. Vol. II, p. 24.
11. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1833, p. 329.
12. *Idem*, pp. 329f.
13. *Evangelist*, Vol. VI, p. 212.
14. *Idem*, Vol. IV, pp. 198f.
15. *Idem*, pp. 64f. Scott repudiated his election and denounced the college.
16. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
17. *Evangelist*, Vol. III, p. 15.
7. *Idem*, p. 343.
8. *Idem*, p. 347.
9. *Idem*, p. 340.
10. *Idem*, pp. 344f.
11. A. S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio*, p. 72.
12. *Idem*, p. 163.
13. Hoffman and Grattan, *News of the Nation*, No. 14, p. 1.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Evangelist*, Vol. III, pp. 233f.
16. *Idem*, p. 235.
17. *Idem*, Vol. IV, pp. 17-19.
18. *Idem*, pp. 40f.
19. *Idem*, pp. 77f.
20. *Idem*, p. 81.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Idem*, p. 83.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Idem*, p. 140.
25. *Idem*, pp. 141f.

CHAPTER XII

1. Date of birth unknown. Scott autobiographical sketch.
2. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, p. 252.
3. *Evangelist*, Vol. III, p. 119.
4. *Idem*, Vol. II, pp. 122f.
5. *Idem*, p. 124.
6. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
7. *Evangelist*, Vol. III, p. 55.
8. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
9. Undated letter to "Brother Payne," at Versailles, Ky.
10. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 330f.
11. *Evangelist*, Vol. II, p. 117.
12. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 326f.
26. *Christian Messenger*, Vol. IX, pp. 224-28.
27. Alonzo Willard Fortune, *The Disciples in Kentucky*, p. 129.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Walter Scott, *The Gospel Restored*, p. 573.
2. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1836, p. 240.
3. *Idem*, p. 479; *Evangelist*, Vol. VI, p. 182.
4. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
5. *Idem*, p. 35.
6. *Idem*, p. 40.
7. *Idem*, p. 57.
8. *Idem*, p. 11.
9. *Idem*, p. 55. 10. *Idem*, pp. 241f.

CHAPTER XIII

1. *Evangelist*, 1833, p. 91.

## NOTES

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| <p>11. <i>Idem</i>, p. 225.</p> <p>12. William Baxter, <i>Life of Elder Walter Scott</i>, pp. 313f.</p> <p>13. Scott, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 129.</p> <p>14. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. III, p. 205.</p> <p>15. Alonzo Willard Fortune, <i>The Disciples in Kentucky</i>, p. 184.</p> <p>16. Winfred Ernest Garrison, <i>Religion Follows the Frontier</i>, p. 169.</p> <p>17. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1837, p. 47.</p> <p>18. <i>Idem</i>, p. 570.</p> <p>19. <i>Idem</i>, p. 327.</p> <p>20. <i>Idem</i>, p. 570.</p> <p>21. <i>Idem</i>, p. 189.</p> <p>22. <i>Idem</i>, p. 384.</p> <p>23. <i>College of the Bible Quarterly</i>, April, 1946.</p> <p>24. Stuart C. Noble, <i>A History of American Education</i>, p. 202.</p> <p>25. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 368.</p> <p>26. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. VI, pp. 70-72.</p> <p>27. <i>Idem</i>, p. 224.</p> <p>28. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 38f.</p> <p>29. <i>Idem</i>, p. 13.</p> | <p>15. Letter in possession of Rev. Rhodes Thompson, of Paris, Ky., given him by Mrs. W. E. Cabell, of Middlesboro, Ky.</p> <p>16. <i>Evangelist</i>, 1839, pp. 259f.</p> <p>17. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1844, p. 41.</p> <p>18. <i>Idem</i>, 1843, Preface.</p> <p>19. Carthage church records.</p> |
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### CHAPTER XVI

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| <p>1. Leland D. Baldwin, <i>Pittsburgh, the Story of a City</i>, p. 240.</p> <p>2. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1844, p. 480.</p> <p>3. <i>Protestant Unionist</i>, Feb. 2, 1848; cf. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1848, p. 179.</p> <p>4. Baldwin, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 228-30.</p> <p>5. <i>Protestant Unionist</i>, April 16, 1848. Library of Congress.</p> <p>6. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1845, pp. 163, 460, 507; 1846, pp. 152, 631; 1847, p. 26.</p> <p>7. <i>Idem</i>, 1847, pp. 117, 221-23; 1848, pp. 60, 178f.</p> <p>8. <i>Idem</i>, 1849, p. 394.</p> <p>9. William Baxter, <i>Life of Elder Walter Scott</i>, p. 332.</p> <p>10. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 334f.</p> <p>11. <i>Idem</i>, pp. 404-13.</p> <p>12. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1849, p. 299.</p> <p>13. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 416.</p> <p>14. Winfred Ernest Garrison, <i>Religion Follows the Frontier</i>, p. 186.</p> <p>15. <i>Idem</i>, p. 200.</p> <p>16. <i>Idem</i>, p. 186.</p> <p>17. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1849, p. 475.</p> <p>18. B. L. Smith, <i>Alexander Campbell</i>, pp. 254-58.</p> | <p>1. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. VII, Preface.</p> <p>2. <i>Idem</i>, Vol. VI, p. 238.</p> <p>3. <i>Idem</i>, p. 22.</p> <p>4. William Baxter, <i>Life of Elder Walter Scott</i>, p. 358.</p> <p>5. Winfred Ernest Garrison, <i>Religion Follows the Frontier</i>, p. 177.</p> <p>6. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, p. 358.</p> <p>7. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. VII, pp. 276-79.</p> <p>8. P. S. Fall correspondence, in library of Kentucky Historical Society.</p> <p>9. <i>Idem</i>.</p> <p>10. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. VI, pp. 180f.</p> <p>11. <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>, 1838, pp. 465-71.</p> <p>12. <i>Idem</i>. 1832, pp. 298f.</p> <p>13. Baxter, <i>op. tit.</i>, pp. 158f.</p> <p>14. <i>Evangelist</i>, Vol. VI, pp. 266-88.</p> |
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### CHAPTER XVII

1. All Mays Lick items in this chapter are from the Mays Lick church records of Elder Walter

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- Small, now at the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.
2. From a letter by Mrs. Robert L. Yancey to Rev. B. J. Bamber.
  3. Hoffman and Grattan, *News of the Nation*.
  4. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1854, pp. 115f.
  5. *Idem*, p. 180.
  6. *Idem*, 1852, p. 475.
  7. *Idem*, 1855, p. 48.
  8. *Christian Record*, 1855, pp. 164f.
  9. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1855, p. 298.
  10. Letter by Mrs. Yancey to Mr. Bamber.
  11. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1855, pp. 156-61.
  12. *Idem*, pp. 525-28.
  13. *Christian Record*, 1855, pp. 164f.
- CHAPTER XVIII
1. From the stone in Mays Lick cemetery: "In memory of Mary Eliza, infant daughter of L. A. and E. A. Sandidge, who departed this life 29th of August, 1833. Aged two months and nineteen days."
  2. Age of Eliza learned from Mays Lick tombstone: "Eliza A. Sandidge, born October 10, 1806, died December 8, 1884."
- Also positive proof that she did not regard her marriage to Walter Scott a happy one! She was "Old Mrs. Scott" for twenty-three years after Walter's death, but she was buried as "Mrs. Sandidge"!
3. This section on the third marriage is out of oral tradition from Mary Scott Brooks through Rev. Rhodes Thompson.
  4. From Mrs. Robert L. Yancey's letter to Rev. R. J. Bamber.
  5. William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott*, p. 336.
  6. *Ibid*.
  7. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1858, p. 714.
  8. Walter Scott, *The Messiahship, or Great Demonstration*, pp. 10, 12.
  9. *Idem*, p. 13.
  10. *Idem*, p. 22.
  11. *Idem*, p. 5.
  12. *Idem*, p. 10.
  13. *Idem*, pp. 13f.
  14. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1859, p. 475. Letter to Benjamin Franklin, under date of April 29, 1859.
  15. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 369f.
  16. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 352f.
  17. *Idem*, pp. 434-40.
  18. Mays Lick church record.
  19. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 446.
  20. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1861, pp. 296f.

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