AMOS COOPER DAYTON: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY
DR. A. C. DAYTON,

AUTHOR OF "THEODOSIA EARNEST."
AMOS COOPER DAYTON: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY

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by
James E. Taulman
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AMOS COOPER DAYTON: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY

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[Signatures]

Date 5/16/65

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ORIGINAL
To Mary Nell
PREFACE

The possibility of a critical biography of the life of Amos Cooper Dayton was an outgrowth of a seminar on "Baptists and Landmarkism," under the direction of Dr. W. Morgan Patterson, professor of church history, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. As various parts of Dayton's life were uncovered, there appeared to be a considerable lack of information or misinformation about much of his life.

Dayton's importance to Southern Baptists has resulted from his connection with the Landmark movement and two of its chief proponents, J. R. Graves and J. M. Pendleton. Dayton joined these two to form what has been dubbed the "Nashville triumvirate." While both the life and thought of Graves and Pendleton have been treated to some extent, the present writer found that no critical work has been done on Dayton.

The only published accounts of Dayton's life appear in the form of short biographical sketches. The first of these to appear was written by a daughter, Lucy Dayton, for The Baptist, January 29, 1870. This article, although differing in some respects, is substantially the same as one written by another daughter, Laura Dayton Eakin, in the Christian Repository, September, 1900. This latter article appears to be the most valid of all the early sketches written. Two other articles, both written by the husband of Lucy Dayton, J. M. Phillips, appear to be little more than reworkings of the sketch by his wife. These appear in J. H. Borum (ed.), Biographical Sketches of Tennessee Baptist Ministers and J. J. Burnett (ed.), Sketches of Tennessee Pioneer Baptist Preachers. A fifth
account which has more misinformation than facts was written by O. L. Hailey and appears in his work entitled *J. R. Graves: Life, Times and Teaching*.

These articles do not treat Dayton in any critical manner, but seek only to eulogize him, or, as would appear to be Hailey's purpose, to build up the character of Graves.

Because of the nature of the materials with which the present writer had to work, the thesis is developed along two main lines: (1) a sifting of the inaccuracies and misinformation about Dayton, and (2) the uncovering of information not previously recorded in the accounts of his life and activities.

At the outset, a rather thorough review of his thought was planned. The magnitude of the biography itself, however, forced the present author to omit this. Two appendices were also planned which have had to be deleted for a similar reason: (1) the series of sixteen letters by Dayton and six letters by Samuel Boykin on the subject of mission methods, and (2) as complete a bibliography of Dayton's writings as could possibly be secured. Both of these were excluded because of their extreme length. The letters ran to nearly fifty pages, and a total of nearly one thousand articles was found. The bibliography included in this thesis cites only those references that are most germane to the thesis. All of the articles written by A. C. Dayton that were found by the present writer are presented in tabular form in Appendix A.

Extensive efforts were made to locate any private or personal papers of Dayton. The search proved futile. The consensus of the family is that these papers were destroyed by fire in the early 1900's. It is likely that Dayton's "Journal," kept from 1853-1863, was also
Sources with references to Dayton and his activities were found to be almost endless. The attempt was made to examine every Baptist paper that was published in the Old Southwest during the period 1853-1865. From this examination the present writer must express surprise at two points: (1) the extremely large number of such published papers, and, (2) the great amount of historical material they contain. A third element evoking surprise, as well as satisfaction and pride, was the very thorough collection of these papers and other materials in the possession of the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Quite often this was the only known location of a particular volume.

Church records and associational records and minutes composed two other primary sources of information. Although the associational minutes for this period are rather incomplete, churches were found generally to have preserved their records. One notable exception to this is the First Baptist Church, Shelbyville, Tennessee, whose records have been destroyed.

During the writing of this thesis, numerous other topics presented themselves as possibilities for theses. Among these are the following: (1) a critical biography of J. R. Graves; (2) Baptists and the Civil War; (3) the role and attitude of the denominational paper in the Civil War; (4) the influence of the denominational paper on Baptists; (5) the theology of A. C. Dayton; (6) Baptist religious fiction; (7) the history and influence of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union as a forerunner of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention; (8) a history, with index, of any of the major Baptist papers--particularly the Tennessee Baptist, and (9) the history and influence of the numerous small Baptist
academies and female colleges and institutions, such as Houston Female College and Mary Sharp Female College, Winchester, Tennessee.

Expressions of gratitude are almost too numerous to name. So gracious have people been in supplying information that at times the present writer has felt his relationship to the finished thesis to be that of editor or compiler rather than writer.

Most impressive has been the cooperation of the Presbyterian churches. Letters were sent to eight Presbyterian churches in four states and all eight responded. Appreciation must also be expressed to the many Baptist churches and individuals who responded, often making available copies of records and histories.

Descendants and members of the Dayton family have cooperated extensively in compiling the genealogical chart in Appendix B. Some, because of their particular interest or background, were more helpful than others. Mr. Harold V. Dayton, Bernardsville, New Jersey, provided information about the ancestry of A. C. Dayton. Dr. and Mrs. W. A. Eakin, Chattanooga, Tennessee, were most gracious in providing the information about their family descent through Laura Dayton Eakin (pronounced by the family a kīn). Also, they provided the only unpublished primary source about Dayton that was found—a scrapbook kept by Laura. Although all of the articles were clipped from published newspapers, several clippings included in the scrapbook were not found elsewhere. A descendant of Lucy Dayton Phillips, Mrs. D. C. Poole, Clayton, North Carolina, rendered valuable assistance in relating information about that branch of the family. To Mr. Laurance Harrison Kannon, New Orleans, Louisiana, also is extended an expression of appreciation for his unusual interest in the subject of the thesis, his monetary assistance, and information about
the line of descent from Narcissa Dayton Kannon.

Others to whom the present writer is indebted include the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tennessee, for so graciously making the resources of the Dargan-Carver Library available; Mrs. Martha Cooper, Historian of Perry County, Georgia; and the many other individuals who took time to answer correspondence, check records, and make suggestions.

Sincere appreciation is expressed to Dr. Leo T. Crismon, librarian of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, for his aid in providing materials and information about the subject and the era in which he lived.

An expression of gratitude is extended to the professors who have guided this study: Dr. C. Penrose St. Amant, supervisory professor; Dr. Glenn Hinson, and Dr. W. Morgan Patterson. Their suggestions and encouragement were most helpful.

The writer would like to express his most grateful appreciation to Mrs. Walter Delamarter, Louisville, for her patience and the pains-taking care with which she typed the manuscript.

Finally, to the writer's family--Mary and Paul--a deep expression of gratitude must be extended. Had it not been for their understanding and patience, their willingness and cooperation, the thesis would not have been written.

In conclusion a final statement may be made relative to the thesis itself. The research for the biography proved to be interesting and, at times, almost exciting. It is as a researcher of facts, rather than an interpreter of these facts, that the present writer sees himself. If the thesis is a contribution to Baptist history, it is felt that its worth will be found in the accumulating and recording of facts about the life
of Amos Cooper Dayton. Any real interpretation and analysis of these facts remain yet to be done. In the hope that this might be done, all of the materials utilized and collected in this study are being placed on deposit with the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.
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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE (1813–1853)
CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE (1813-1853)

When the race of Southern Baptists was young, there appeared on the horizon a thought. Simply stated, this thought—the primacy of the local church—was not opposed by any.

But the thought became incarnate in the lives of men, and the incarnation grew to disruptive proportions. The seeds had sprouted numerous times through the ages, but never had there been found a seedbed so fertile as the Old Southwest in the last half of the nineteenth century. The seed, when it was full-grown, was denominated Landmarkism.

This thesis records the life of just one individual in whom this seed sprouted and bore fruit—Amos Cooper Dayton.

Influences on His Life

That "no man is an Iland, intire of it selfe" John Donne affirmed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A man's life draws its sustenance from roots that extend far into the past. If man would be known, his past must be examined, for its component parts are that from which he is fashioned.

Genealogy

The Dayton Family

At an unknown date, sometime between the years 1635-1639, Ralph
Dayton, the first Dayton in America, arrived at Boston harbor from Bedfordshire, England. There is evidence that Ralph Dayton was of Norman-French descent, and that at one time the name was spelled Deighton.1

Amos Cooper Dayton was of the seventh generation of Daytons in America.2 Briefly, his line of descent from Ralph Dayton may be given as follows: (1) Ralph Dayton (1588-1658), (2) Robert Dayton (1629[?]-1712), (3) Samuel Dayton (1665-1745), (4) Jonathan Dayton (1700-1776), (5) Robert Dayton (1742-1814), (6) Jonathan Dayton (1786-1849), and (7) Amos Cooper Dayton (1813-1865).3


2This statement is supported by the genealogical chart in Appendix B, but is in disagreement with his own daughter, Laura Dayton Eakin, "Amos Cooper Dayton," Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9 (September, 1900), 569, who states that A. C. Dayton was "the eighth in line from Ralph Dayton, who came from Yorkshire in 1620, landing at Boston." There is some truth in her statement, but it is filled with half truths. A. C. Dayton is a descendant of Ralph Dayton, but he is seventh and not eighth in line from him. Ralph Dayton did land at Boston, but not in 1620. No other source gives this date for his landing. Some place it as early as 1636-1638 (National Cyclopedia of American Biography, XVII, 77) while a family genealogist gives the date as 1639 (Letter from H. V. Dayton, Bernardsville, New Jersey, July 22, [1964]). Too, what would appear to be more reliable sources state that Ralph Dayton came from Bedfordshire, not Yorkshire, England (National Cyclopedia of American Biography, XVII, 77).

3See genealogical chart in Appendix B for documentation of both the order and the dates of these men.
The Parents of Amos Cooper Dayton

The parents of Amos Cooper are hidden in obscurity. About the only information that is available comes from church records. Jonathan Dayton was born January 30, 1786, and died June 27, 1849. Amos Cooper's mother, Phoebe Dayton was born April 22, 1789, and died probably in 1870, surviving her second son by five years.

The date of Jonathan and Phoebe's marriage has not been determined, but it would appear to be sometime about 1810. At this time Jonathan was twenty-four, and she was twenty-one. To this marriage were born three

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5Letter from Mrs. Bertha Mather, Church Secretary, The Presbyterian Church in Morristown, New Jersey, quoting the "History Register of the Presbyterian Church in Morristown, [N.J.]."


7Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569; Letter from Harold V. Dayton.

8Letter quoting the "History Register of the Presbyterian Church in Morristown, [N.J.]."

9Three dates are given for her death: (1) the letter quoting the "History Register" has the following information: "DAYTON, MRS. PHEBE; L[etter] 31 March 1866 fr. Sturges, Mich.; 'Dead'--"; (2) the letter from Arch Carswell quoting the New Jersey Historical Quarterly, I, 126, gives the date as being February 4, 1871; and (3) a letter from Harold V. Dayton, states: "His (ACD) mother is listed in my records from 'Family Bible published 1817'--I don't know whose Bible--Mrs. Phebe Dayton died Feb. 2, 1870 at Morristown, N. J. aged 82 years."

This latter date would seem to be correct, for when added to her birth date this would total eighty-two years.

10Their first child was born in 1811.
children—all sons. They were Harvey Dayton (1811-1887), Amos Cooper Dayton, and Charles Henry Dayton (1831-1899).

Jonathan Dayton emerges as a rather typical farmer in the state of New Jersey. He moved several times, but always remained within the same neighborhood. He was of Presbyterian faith and appeared to take his faith seriously.

**Noteworthy Ancestors**

In the Dayton genealogy there are a number of noteworthy persons. Chronologically, the first Dayton of national prominence was Elias Dayton (1737-1807), a great uncle of Amos Cooper Dayton. Elias was a member of the New Jersey Assembly for 1791-1792, 1794-1796.

A son of Elias, Jonathan Dayton, gained national prominence as the youngest signer of the Constitution of the United States. He also served as speaker of the House of Representatives for both the fourth and fifth Congresses. He was instrumental in the settling of Dayton, Ohio, and the city is named after him.

Another relative of national status was William Lewis Dayton (1807-

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11 Letter from Harold V. Dayton, Bernardsville, N. J.

12 Ibid.


14 Ibid.

William Lewis Dayton served as United States senator and ran with Fremont as the first vice-presidential nominee on the Republican ticket in 1856. In 1861, he was appointed as minister to France and played a decisive part in the attitude of the French toward the Union in the American Civil War. This man, a cousin of Amos Cooper Dayton, and a contemporary, gained national recognition, but as far as this writer has ascertained, Amos Cooper never made any public acknowledgement of this relationship.

The National Scene

The life of Amos Cooper Dayton is compressed between two wars—the War of 1812 and the Civil War. The one was a war in which America asserted, and was unified by, her nationalism; the other was a war in which American nationalism was so shattered that remnants still remain even today.

The period of history into which Amos Cooper Dayton was born was one in which the young nation was testing its new independence. The Revolutionary War had "segregated the materials for an independent nation," and the War of 1812 gave these materials "new form and effective unity." This consciousness of nationality was the chief political result of the


17 Ibid., p. 167.

United States' second war with England.\textsuperscript{19}

The end of the war brought with it a new vision; one that was away from the seas and toward the West. The treaty signed at Ghent, England, which officially brought the War of 1812 to a close, also served as a passport westward. For now the young nation no longer worried lest an approaching ship be an English vessel. Conditions in Europe had undergone a metamorphosis. But now, "with the Peace of Vienna, Europe turned to problems that had little interest for America; and with the Peace of Ghent, America turned its back on the Atlantic."\textsuperscript{20}

Thus was ushered in an "'era of good feelings.'"\textsuperscript{21} After the War of 1812, the United States was as united politically as it would likely ever be. Concern for the future now occupied the nation's attention and "experimentation, reorganization, readjustment, [and] expansion"\textsuperscript{22} characterized its actions.

The Religious Scene

Such a national climate could not but affect the religious climate in the United States.

The effect of this fresh, free impulse, this fine sense of detachment and of opportunity, affected the . . . religious life of America. . . . It aided the "theological thaw" which had already begun before 1815. The emotional side of the revolt from the hardness of the old orthodoxy found its expression in the attempts of Campbell in the West and Hosea Ballou in the East to reduce religion to a simpler

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p. 193.


\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{22} Babcock, p. 192.
matter, as over against the complex, severely logical exclusiveness of Calvinism and its modifications. The Unitarian movement had been spreading for a decade when the peace of Ghent was made.

This religious climate was to influence Amos Cooper Dayton in many different ways. First among these ways was the influence that the local religious community would exercise. As early as 1732, the Dayton family had played an influential role in the Basking Ridge Presbyterian Church. When the Great Awakening came, the church experienced revival under the leadership of George Whitefield and James Davenport. On November 5, 1740, Whitefield visited the church at Basking Ridge. John C. Rankin quotes Whitefield from an undesignated source:

"When I came to Basking Ridge," says Whitefield, "I found that Mr. [James] Davenport had been preaching to the congregation. It consisted of about three thousand people. In prayer I perceived my soul drawn out, and a stirring of affection among the people. I had not discoursed long, but in every part of the congregation somebody or other started to cry out, and almost all were melted to tears. At night also there was preaching to an immense audience in Mr. Cross's barn, when God was present in great power. One cried out, He is come, He is come; and could scarce sustain the discovery that Jesus made of himself to his soul. Others were so earnest for a like favor, that their eager cries compelled me to stop. Most of the people spent the remainder of the night in prayer and praise. Oh, it was a night much to be remembered!"

In 1795, the first recorded meeting of the session of the Presbyterian Church at Basking Ridge was held. There were nine members present. Among these was Robert Dayton, father of Jonathan Dayton and grandfather of Amos Cooper Dayton.

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23 Ibid., pp. 199-200.
25 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
26 Ibid., p. 18.
The religious background of the country, the local community, and the Dayton family influenced the life of Amos Cooper Dayton. The Dayton family was deeply devoted to Presbyterianism and appear to have been so dedicated for several generations.

Possibly the earliest Baptist influence in Dayton's life came not from the regular Baptists, but from the Seventh Day Baptists. The Sabbatarians were strong in this area, and Dayton himself noted that he remembered their unique practice of meeting on Saturday, the seventh day of the week. 27

Birth and Childhood

The exact location of Dayton's birthplace is unknown. The majority of biographical sketches cite Plainfield, New Jersey, as his birthplace, 28 but there is no documentation of this in primary sources.

His oldest daughter, Laura, suggested Baskingridge, New Jersey, as the place of this event. 29 This would appear to be more accurate

27 A. C. Day[ton], "Difficulties in the Way of Sabbath Schools. No. 2," Tennessee Baptist, XVI, No. 35 (April 28, 1860), 2. The same article is to be found in the Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist, May 3, 1860, p. 1, and the Western Recorder, March 17, 1860, p. 1.


29 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9 (September, 1900), 569.
because of the following reasons: (1) The parents of Amos Cooper Dayton were members of the Basking Ridge Presbyterian Church at the time of Dayton's birth. 30 (2) Dayton's oldest daughter would probably have a more exact grasp of his biographical facts than would his other children. At his death Laura was twenty; Lucy, the next oldest, was fifteen. In the final analysis, however, one must simply state that the place of his birth is unknown.

His birthdate is even more confused than the place of his birth. At least three dates are suggested: February 4, 1813; 31 April 4, 1813; 32 and September 4, 1813. 33 This latter date appears to be the correct one since it is given in the "History Register of the Presbyterian Church in Morristown." 34

Shortly after Dayton's birth, 35 his family apparently moved the few miles from Basking Ridge to Morristown, New Jersey. On November 2,

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30 Letter from Mrs. Bertha Mather, Church Secretary, the Presbyterian Church in Morristown, New Jersey, quoting the "History Register of the Presbyterian Church in Morristown," June 17, 1964.

31 Hailey, "History . . .," p. 398.

32 Hensley and Grice, Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I, 351.

33 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569.

34 Letter from Mrs. Bertha Mather, Church Secretary, the Presbyterian Church in Morristown, New Jersey, quoting this "Register," June 17, 1964. Too, all of the biographers follow this date except Hailey—whose reliability, it seems, is always to be questioned—and the Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists. There seems to be no reason why the Encyclopedia gives this date; no documentation is provided. It is possible that this is a clerical error.

35 One plausible suggestion is that Jonathan had already moved to Morristown before the birth of Amos Cooper, but simply had not joined the church until after his second child was born. If this would be true, Morristown, not Basking Ridge, would be the place of his birth.
1813, the Morristown Presbyterian Church received Jonathan and Phoebe Dayton by letter from the Presbyterian church in Basking Ridge. Four months after this date, Amos Cooper Dayton was baptized on March 4, 1814, in the Morristown Presbyterian Church. 36

Phillips states that "when twelve years old he [Dayton] united with the Presbyterian church." 37 This would be a reference to his acceptance of full church membership—not to his baptism. Although this was an ordinary rite of the church, he dated his conversion from this point. Later, however, "he doubted that he was truly converted at that time, [but] those who knew him best think that he became a child of God in all truth and earnestness." 38

The next few years of his life were spent on his father's farm. His daughter writes:

I have often pictured to myself the rambling old-fashioned house, with moss on the sloping roof, and the tall oaks in front that had stood the storms of a century; the green, shaded yard where the quiet, thoughtful boy spent his idle hours, looking up to the sky that sketched its deep blue above him, with such heaven-high hopes, such aspirations for future greatness, that the child was not a child at a time when a boy's world usually consists in the kite that soars highest and the top that spins longest. 39

During these early years of his life, "spent in the village of his birth [Basking Ridge] and in Morristown and Plainfield," 40 Dayton worked on his father's farm. His first remunerative activity was gathering nuts

36 Mather quoting the "History Register."

37 Phillips, Sketches of Tennessee Baptist Ministers, p. 207. Cf. also his statements in Biographical Sketches of Pioneer Baptist Preachers, ed. Burnett, I, 136: "At the age of twelve he became a recognized member of a Presbyterian church."

38 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1. 39 Ibid.

40 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569.
and selling them. He purchased books with the proceeds. 41

When Dayton was seven, an incident occurred that was to have lifelong repercussions. He was caught in a sudden shower and thoroughly drenched. When he reached home, no one was there and the house was locked. He lay down in the yard and went to sleep. 42 From this experience he contracted the rheumatism which was to afflict him all his life.

Dayton seldom mentioned his early childhood. Only three notices were found by the present writer, and two of these concern his association with the church.

In the first reference Dayton urged children to save their money in order to subscribe to the Children's Friend, a periodical which he published: "When Uncle Dayton was a little boy he drank his tea and coffee without sugar for a month together, to save a quarter to give to the missionaries." 43

The second reference is his description of his early religious training: "I was reared in a Christian family, and carefully taught the doctrine of the gospel. At the age of 12 [sic] years I had committed most of the New Testament to memory, and had been familiar with much of the old." 44

Another mention of his early childhood involved his association with slavery:

41 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, l.
42 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569.
43 A. C. D[ayton], "How to Send for It," Tennessee Baptist, XVI, No. 41 (June 9, 1860), 2. Italics his.
44 A. C. D[ayton], "Infidel's Daughter," Christian Index, XXXIX, No. 20 (May 16, 1860), 1.
Many . . . have, like myself, been nursed in their childhood by slaves—learned their first lessons in their arms—heard the lullabys which soothed our infant slumbers, from their sable lips—played in our childhood with our dusky play-mates [sic], and though as we grew up, the lines were drawn between us and those who had been our constant companions and familiar friends, yet there still exists on their part, the respectful and tender affection of those who have loved us from our infancy, and watched us as we grew up from cradle to manhood. And on our part there must be in many cases, at least, a fond and tender regard for the lowly friends of our childhood.  

The picture that emerges of Amos Cooper Dayton, the child, is that of an emaciated farmer's son devoted to learning and the church and cared for by a negro slave. This is a preview of his life to come. He retained all of these early influences and interests except the agrarian, and he never completely departed from it.

Youth and Early Manhood

During adolescence, Dayton was subjected to frequent recurrences of illness. Added to his rheumatic condition was "an extreme weakness in his eyes." This became so severe that at sixteen he was forced "to leave the little country school which up to this time he had regularly attended. . . ."

Teaching

Unable to attend school, "the beardless boy" set out "with all his earthly possessions contained in a handkerchief and half a dollar in his pocket," to secure a teaching position. His eyesight gradually

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46 L. H. D[ayton], *The Baptist*, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
improved and he taught one year and then attended school himself the next year.  

It was within this period that Dayton first began to contemplate entering the ministry—the profession "nearest to his heart." But this pursuit was ruled out because the reading requirements were too stringent for his impaired eyesight.

Medical Training

His next vocational consideration was that of medicine. Aware that the requirements for medical school would also be exacting, he hired a boy to read for him. His inability to read forced him to develop his power of retention. This practice soon proved to be of great value to him, for he came to remember nearly everything he heard or read. This attribute, coupled with a devotion to study which characterized him throughout his life, enabled him to work his way through the medical school of New York City. He purportedly received his diploma from that institution in 1834. At this time he was twenty-one or twenty-two years of age.

50 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569.
51 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.  
52 Ibid.
53 The prescribed course of study could have been completed in less than three years. Probably the period required two years of study. This statement is based on the fact that it was not until 1875 that the State University of New York College of Medicine began requiring three years of work. In 1896 the course of study was lengthened to four years (American Medical Association Directory [20th ed.; Chicago: American Medical Association, 1958], pp. 41-42.).
54 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1. This, however, cannot be documented. There is no "Medical School of New York City" listed in the American Medical Association Directory, pp. 41-92, as ever having been in existence in New York. There are several schools with similar names or schools which chronologically and geographically could have been the one from which Dayton graduated. These are the following: New York
The next few years were spent in the service of healing sickness. In this connection the proverb "physician, heal thyself" was never more applicable. Symptoms of tuberculosis began to develop, and in 1841, he had hemorrhages in one lung.\textsuperscript{55} Rheumatic, tubercular, and with impaired eyesight, Dayton decided to seek a different climate for the improvement of his health, and eventually found his way to Shelbyville, Tennessee.\textsuperscript{56}

Religious Doubts

At about this same period of physical incapacitation, Dayton was undergoing severe religious doubts. Although raised in a rather strict Calvinistic home, Dayton began to doubt the validity of his religious beliefs. In a semi-autobiographical article, Dayton described this period of questioning:

I left home at an early age and fell among universalists and embraced their faith. A little later I met with the writings of [Thomas] Paine, and though I could even then see the fallacy of most of his arguments, I became at first a doubter, and then an infidel. In the course of the year, I was, sad to tell, almost an atheist. I said nothing of all this, I made no profession of infidelity. I attended church as others did. I seldom spoke except in terms of respect of the Bible or of religion.\textsuperscript{57}

Medical College; New York University Medical College; Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons; New York Reformed Medical College, Eclectic; New York School of Medicine; and College of Medicine, Botanic. The three former institutions are still extant, but correspondence with each of them indicates that they have no record of A. C. Dayton's having graduated from their institution. The latter three institutions became extinct in 1839, 1833, and 1836, respectively. None of these last three was recognized by the New York State Board of Regents.

\textsuperscript{55} Eakin, \textit{Christian Repository}, LXIV, No. 9, 569. \textsuperscript{56} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{57} A. C. D[ayton], "Infidel's Daughter," \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XVI, No. 35 (April 28, 1860), 2. This is an article telling how and why he wrote the book by the same title. This same article appeared in the following: \textit{Christian Index}, XXXIX, No. 20 (May 16, 1860), 1; \textit{Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist}, I, No. 32 (May 17, 1860), 1; \textit{Mississippi Baptist, New Series I}, No. 24 (June 14, 1860), 1, and the \textit{Biblical Recorder}, XXV, No. 20 (May 17, 1860), 2.
Accompanying this tendency toward universalism also came a desire to avoid the unpleasantries of the Gospel. Particularly did the topic of hell disturb him: "We well remember when . . . we thought it rude and out of taste, almost a breach of pulpit courtesy and politeness, to bring up hell, in all its naked and terrible fearfulness."\(^5^8\)

This period of religious testing was never actually a break with his religious heritage. It was that which lies unacknowledged and concealed in thousands of hearts, even among those who are accounted as orthodox believers. . . . . .[It] is not so much a theoretical as a practical unbelief in God. . . . They have never given it form, never embodied it in words, never felt it needful to defend it by arguments, and it yet as truly exists, and will be to their souls as fatal in its results, as if it were fully understood by themselves, and avowed to the world.\(^5^9\)

This period of doubting, while not unlike the questioning of religious values by other young men, was to serve Dayton well. This was simply an interval of testing in which he examined the "faith of his fathers," found it lacking and then moved from faith to faith--from the faith transmitted from his fathers to a mature faith of his own.

Dayton seldom referred to his parents. It is at this point in his life, however, that he spoke of the influence of his mother: "I loved my mother and could not speak lightly of what she had taught me; however, I might feel that she had been mistaken."\(^6^0\) This concern for his mother and another attack of a crippling disease, caused Dayton to weigh the alternatives between atheism and theism. He wrote:

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\(^5^8\) A. C. D[ayton], "Knowing the Terms of the Lord We Persuade Men," Home and Foreign Journal, VII, No. 2 (August, 1857), 3. Italics his.

\(^5^9\) A. C. Dayton, "A Word of Explanation" in Emma Livingston, the Infidel's Daughter; or Conversations upon Atheism, Infidelity and Universalism (Nashville: Southwestern Publishing House, 1860), p. iii.

\(^6^0\) A. C. D[ayton], Tennessee Baptist, XVI, No. 35, 2. Italics his.
Disease laid hold upon me. Death stared me in the face—eternity seemed very near. As a physician I saw that there was little probability that I could survive a year. I had already determined to examine, anew, the argument... I began to think. I could not prove there was no God—could I prove that the Bible was not his book? ... The result of my study was a full and firm conviction that the Bible is of God, and Universalism of the Devil.

The exact sequence of events at this period of his life is undeterminable. This religious doubt and physical suffering probably occurred after he left home to teach and lasted until about the time of his marriage in 1842.

**Marriage and Early Life in Tennessee**

Enfeebled by sickness, Dayton traveled south "as a lecturer on Phrenology and Temperance." His travels brought him to Shelbyville, Tennessee, where he "became acquainted with the family of Capt. Robert P. Harrison, an old and respected citizen of the place." His acquaintance with this family was more than casual, for Captain Harrison had a seventeen-year old daughter, Lucinda, "a woman after his [Dayton's] own heart." After an acquaintance of only one week, the couple

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61 Ibid. It is interesting to note that his conclusions confirm that "the Bible is of God" rather than confirming the existence of God. This could simply be a slip of the tongue. However, it could reflect an equation of the Living and the Written Word. His Landmark position would support the latter view.

62 L. H. D[ayton], *The Baptist*, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid. Clark and Grice, *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptist*, I, 351, give her name as Lucile. Her real name was Lucinda, as evidenced by the seventh and the eighth United States Censuses.

became engaged; five weeks later they were married. The exact date of their marriage is not available, and, surprisingly, there is a wide range of suggested dates. The earliest date suggested is 1836; the latest is 1844.

Several things discount the 1836 date, although the primary reason is that in 1836 Lucinda would have been only twelve years old. A key event in dating the marriage is a revival that Dayton attended at the Shelbyville Presbyterian Church. His daughter states that "about a year after his marriage, during a visit to his wife's old home" both Dayton and his wife united with the Shelbyville Presbyterian Church. Correspondence with this church reveals the following information: "Listed [in the church roll book] as having joined the church on July 9, 1842 is the name of A. C. Dayton. Listed as having joined on July 16, 1842 is the name of Lucinda Harrison." Thus, the church records indicate that at the time

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66 Ibid. Cf. also Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569. It is interesting to note that J. M. Phillips, husband of Lucy H. Dayton, while tending to follow his wife's article from The Baptist almost verbatim, mentions only that it was "a brief courtship and a few weeks engagement" (Biographical Sketches of Tennessee Baptist Ministers, 1880, p. 207.). When his article appeared in the 1919 edition of Sketches of Tennessee Pioneer Baptist Preachers, I, p. 136, he fails to mention this "brief courtship" altogether.

67 Hensley and Grice, Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I, 351. They give no documentation for this date, and the present writer could find no reference which would substantiate it.

68 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569.


70 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.

71 Personal correspondence with R. E. Cogswell, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Shelbyville, Tennessee, March 2, 1965.
Dayton joined the church in 1842 he was not married.

It is possible that Dayton met Lucinda Harrison on the night that he joined the church.\(^{72}\) The "one week" courtship period could be the week between July 9-16. This would then suggest that on the Saturday night Lucinda joined the church the couple announced their plans to be married. A five weeks' engagement period would allow their marriage to have taken place sometime during the week of August 21-27, 1842.

One other source of information which aids in confirming this 1842 date is Lucinda's age. One of her daughters later states that she was seventeen when she was married.\(^{73}\) Both the 1850 and the 1860 United States Censuses, while not giving the month and day, give the year of her birth as 1824. If at the time of her marriage she had not already had a birthday in 1824, she would have been seventeen.

Although it would appear that the marriage occurred in 1842, such a statement cannot be made definitely with the present information. Placing the marriage at this date leaves a period of eight years (1834-1842) unaccounted for in his life, and it is a period which must be bypassed for lack of information. The only possible reference to this time, and it is far from conclusive, is a statement by Dayton that "we [editorial] heard a sermon from a Methodist minister once in Smithland, Ky. . . . We were not then a Baptist."\(^{74}\) This serves to illustrate only one thing—sometime

\(^{72}\) If he did meet her at this time, this would discount the suggested 1844 date. Both L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1 and Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569 are in agreement on the length of the short period of acquaintance.

\(^{73}\) L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.

\(^{74}\) A. C. Dayton, "The Majesty of Truth, as Illustrated in a Book Called 'Theophilus Walton--A Reply to Theodosia Ernest,"" Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 11 (November 13, 1858), 2.
prior to his becoming a Baptist [1852], he was in Smithland, Kentucky. Possibly this visit was before his marriage.

After the marriage, the couple left on a wedding trip to Tallahasee, Florida, where they apparently stayed for about six months to a year, returning sometime in 1843.75

Residence in Columbus, Mississippi

After the trip to Florida the couple removed to the state of Mississippi, and settled in Columbus. Laura, the eldest daughter, writes that "at the time of my birth [1845] and for ten years later, he [Dayton] was an elder in Columbus, Miss[issipi]."76

In 1855, Dayton was in Mississippi and visited Columbus. Of this trip he wrote:

75 Cf. Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 569 and L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, I. Phillips, Biographical Sketches . . . , ed. J. J. Burnett, p. 20 states that Dayton was in Florida for about three years. Hensley and Grice, Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I (1958), 351 and William Cathcart (ed.), Baptist Encyclopedia (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), I, 320 all indicate that his stay in Florida was for about three years. However this long of a residence in Florida would not fit the chronology of the rest of his life if the marriage be placed in 1842. No information about his trip to Florida was found. Correspondence with Mrs. Mary McKenzie, Church Secretary, First Presbyterian Church, Tallahassee, Florida, January 11, 1965 shows that Dayton had no association with that church although the records are complete for the period that Dayton would have been in Florida.

76 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 570. Both the Seventh Census of the United States and the Eighth Census of the United States place the year of her birth in 1845. There is, however, a discrepancy in her statement. Correspondence with the Presbyterian Church in Natchez, Mississippi, indicates that Dayton and his wife were members of that church, having come from the Presbyterian Church in Shelbyville, Tennessee by letter. The record book does not give any dates. Dayton and his wife were dismissed from the Natchez church to Vicksburg. From Vicksburg he moved back to Shelbyville, Tennessee, and joined the Baptist Church. He was never a member of the Columbus, Mississippi, Presbyterian church and thus could not have served as elder.
I visited Columbus a few weeks since. It was delightful to meet again with many loved and tried friends whom I had not seen for eight years. It was delightful to wander about among the streets and walks with which I was once so familiar. 

Eight years prior to the date of writing would be 1847. It would then follow that Dayton was a resident of the state possibly as early as 1843 and rather certainly by 1845, and that he stayed a maximum of five years.

It is probably at this point that Dayton established his dental practice, having found that the life of a doctor was too strenuous for his frail health. For some unknown reason, about 1847, Dayton left Columbus.

Residence in Natchez, Mississippi

Accepting Dayton's statement that it had been eight years since he had been in Columbus, he left there prior to 1847. Dayton's next probable residence was Natchez, Mississippi.

The records of the First Presbyterian Church of Natchez, Mississippi, indicate that "Dr. A. C. Dayton and his wife, Lucinda" were members of the Natchez Presbyterian Church, having been received by certificate from Shelbyville, Tennessee. The date of their admission and departure is missing from the record book. 

No other information about Dayton's activities in Natchez is available. That Dayton is listed as "Dr. A. C. Dayton" would lead one to conclude that he practiced dentistry in Natchez, as he had apparently done in Columbus.

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78 Letter from Julian J. Chisolm, Member of the Session, First Presbyterian Church, Natchez, Mississippi. January 18, 1965.
The Dayton's' sojourn in Natchez was only for about two years. Some-
time around the first of the year 1849, they left Natchez and moved to Vicks-
burg, Mississippi. 79

Residence in Vicksburg, Mississippi

On February 8, 1849, "Dr. A. C. Dayton and his wife, Mrs. Lucinda
Dayton" were received into the Vicksburg Presbyterian Church by transfer
from the church at Natchez. 80

At this time Dayton's family, in addition to himself, consisted
of his wife, Lucinda, aged twenty-six, and the one daughter, Laura, aged
four. The next year, 1850, his second daughter was born. She was named
Lucinda H[arrison] Dayton, after her mother. 81

Dayton seemed to have taken an active part in the Presbyterian
Church at Vicksburg, where he served as a ruling elder. But all was not
well in his spiritual life. The process of examination of spiritual matters
which he had begun earlier was continued into the matters of church doc-
trine. Dayton began seriously to question the baptism of the Presbyterians
with particular reference to the mode. He described this process of exam-
ination in the third person:

There was a Presbyterian Elder who had chanced to pick up [Edward]
Beecher's book on Baptism [Baptist with Reference to Its Import and
Modes. New York: J. Wiley, 1849.] and learned from it what he might
have known before, viz: That baptiso [sic], as it is used in the New
Testament is not an English, but a Greek word. And that to learn its

79 Letter from John O. Raworth, Clerk of the Session, First Presby-
terian Church, Vicksburg, Mississippi. December 22, 1964.
80 Ibid.
Warren County, Mississippi, p. 198.
meaning, we should not go to Webster or Walker, but to a Greek Lexicon. His attention was excited, his mind was interested in the inquiry, and he determined at his first leisure to refer to some standard Lexicon, and see what it really did signify in the Greek Language. But in the mean time [sic] he went to the house of a Methodist minister, and there he met with [Alexander] Carson [Baptism in its Mode and Subjects. London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1844]. He did not read [italics his] it, but only glanced over a few pages. He saw however, that a very respectable argument could be in favor of immersion; and in fact an argument which he just then could see no way to answer. He determined to take time and examine the subject thoroughly; and in this work he spent the leisure hours of two years, when he was at last compelled, by reading [Moses] Stuart, [Is the Mode of Christian Baptism Prescribed in the New Testament? Nashville: Graves, Marks, 1855.] to yield the point, and be himself baptized. This man became a Baptist minister, wrote of Theodosia Ernest, and hopes yet, by the will of God, to accomplish something for the welfare of the Churches, to the building up of which, he now devotes his life. 82

This account by Dayton differs with, and at points is contradictory to, the other published accounts of his conversion to Baptist principles. However, the one common thread that runs through them all is that Alexander Carson's book on baptism played a part in his conversion to Baptist views. 83

Whatever the circumstances, Dayton had determined to become a Baptist. As he studied the matter he wrote out "the arguments on both sides, not for publication, but in order that he might be able to weigh them more accurately." 84 He had done this same thing in his earlier struggle with infidelity. 85


83 This account is most antithetical to O. L. Hailey's account in J. R. Graves, Life, Times and Teachings (Nashville: [n.p.], 1929), pp. 74-75.

84 A. C. Dayton, "To My Brethren the Constituents of the Southern Baptist Convention, Number II," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 34 (May 1, 1858), 3.

85 A. C. Dayton, Christian Index, XXXIX, No. 20, 1.
Dayton made his final decision to become a Baptist in 1852, during a crisis situation precipitated by "a long and most distressing illness." As he began to convalesce, he moved from Vicksburg to Shelbyville, Tennessee. Why he moved is not clear. Hailey stated that it was at the request of his attending physician that he should seek a "higher altitude in which to regain his strength." His eldest daughter indicated that they had just "drifted" to "the Middle Tennessee village," of Shelbyville.

One of the bitter enemies Dayton was to incur at a later period in his life, R. B. C. Howell, gave his account of Dayton's removal from Vicksburg to Shelbyville. According to Howell, Dayton had "insulted more than one lady by his indecent liberties in his office." Such a case occurred about 1850.

The husband of the lady was from home at the time, but returned in a few days, and seeking Mr. Dayton severely punished him for his insulance. An Elder of the Presbyterian church in Vicksburg waited the next day upon the gentleman who chastised him [Dayton] to procure the facts in the case to lay before the session of the church of which he was a member. Mr. Dayton was too fast however, for the slow

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86. L. H. D[ayton], *Tennessee Baptist*, III, Nos. 21-22, 1, gives this date and also states that "how he was led to make this change, he tells in his last journal, kept from 1853-1863 . . . ." Extensive attempts were made to locate his journal, but they were unsuccessful. Mr. Homer Grice, a noted writer on Landmarkism, suggested that it is "most likely that it [the journal] and other historical data he had was [sic] left to [J. M.] Phillip's wife." (Personal letter, March 17, 1964.). This branch of the family was contacted through Mrs. D. C. Poole, Clayton, North Carolina, great-granddaughter of Lucy Dayton Phillips. Mrs. Poole relates a family consensus that all of Dayton's papers and journal were probably destroyed in a fire which J. M. Phillips and Lucy had either at Watertown or Lebanon, Tennessee (Personal letter, July 3, 1964.).


89. Eakin, *Christian Repository*, LXIV, No. 9, 570.

movement of his church. In less than six weeks from that time, he had come to Shelbyville in this state [Tennessee], five hundred miles from the scene of his offence, had been converted to Baptist principles and had been received and baptized a member of the Baptist church in that town.91

The validity of this allegation is doubtful. Only one other reference was found which could substantiate this claim to any degree, and it is uncertain as to meaning and questionable in derivation.92 There seems to be sufficient evidence to substantiate the claim that Dayton was quite ill at the time he moved to Shelbyville. Too, the Vicksburg Presbyterian Church did not grant them letters of dismission until July 13, 1852, two years after the alleged misbehavior.

Conversion to Baptist Views

Arriving in Shelbyville, Dayton availed himself of the first opportunity to join the Baptist church. Hailey gives a very romanticized version of this. Having come to a higher climate for his health, Dayton was staying with his sister. On the first Sunday morning Dayton heard a church bell ringing and upon inquiry was told that it was the bell of a "poor little Baptist church on an obscure street where they [sic] had an illiterate man who came in from the country twice a month and preached

91 Ibid.

92 This is the only reference that was found to this incident with one possible exception. In a letter criticizing Dayton for allegedly forging a statement purportedly made by Samuel Hodges of the Bible Board, C. A. Fuller suggests that Dayton "can prepare a few more certificates, to bolster himself in public estimation, and I would suggest that Vicksburg, Mississippi [italics his], would be a very proper place to get signatures to them" ("Protests--Again," Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 6 [October 9, 1858], 2.). This might be taken as a reference to the story that Howell related at a later date in "The Memorial." If it does not refer to that incident, it at least refers to something else of a clandestine nature.
to them, [and] that the congregation was small and insignificant."\(^{93}\)

Dayton indicated an interest in attending this service but his sister discouraged him because it was not fashionable to be a Baptist. But Dayton insisted that he attend. When he arrived the service had already begun. The presence of such a "dignified, cultured and well dressed stranger" greatly upset the poor pastor. At the conclusion of the service, "much to the perturbation of the timid pastor," Dayton made his way to the front. Such action on the part of this "dignified, cultured and well dressed stranger" completely unnerved the unlearned man, who said:

Excuse me, sir, I fear that you do not understand me. I was offering opportunity to anyone who wished to join our church; I was not asking for criticism upon my sermon." Dr. Dayton . . . replied, "I understand you perfectly, sir, and it is for this reason that I have come forward." The hasty interview while they were concluding the song led the pastor to say, "This brother is presenting himself for membership in our church and he will tell his own story." Whereupon Dr. Dayton arose, faced the congregation and recited his experiences. . . . Of course he was received and baptized.\(^{94}\)

This is indeed a truly heart-warming story. However, Hailey has left out some facts and added some events to what would seem to be the original account.

The first inaccuracy in the account is that Dayton was supposedly staying at the home of his sister. Dayton was the second of three boys born to Jonathan Dayton. He had no sister.\(^{95}\) There is the possibility that this "sister" could have been his sister-in-law, for Shelbyville was the home of his wife's family.

The picture of the "illiterate," "timid pastor" who "came in from

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\(^{93}\)Hailey, J. R. Graves . . ., p. 75.

\(^{94}\)Ibid.

\(^{95}\)See Genealogical Chart, Appendix B.
the country twice a month" does not altogether fit the picture of the pastor. Although Hailey never names the pastor, Eakin states that he was E[ugene] Strode. 96 On the same page of the Tennessee Baptist which carried the notice of Dayton's ordination, there is also a notice that E. Strode had resigned the church at Shelbyville to go to the church at Chattanooga, Tennessee. 97 It is unlikely that a church in a city the size of Chattanooga would have called such a timid, fearful man as the one pictured by Hailey. 98 This same "timid" individual preached the annual sermon at Union University on June 16, 1854, about a year and a half after he baptized Dayton at Shelbyville. 99 Thus, suspicion is cast upon the whole narrative reproduced by Hailey.

Baptism

The fact is that Dayton joined the Baptist Church at Shelbyville, Tennessee, and was baptized in the Duck River that same day, or within a very short time, in the midst of a driving rain. 100 The exact date he

96 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 570. However, the Duck River Association, Minutes, 1853, indicates that the pastor was J. H. Eaton, president of Union University.

97 Tennessee Baptist, IX, No. 18, 2.

98 Attempts to find the size of the church at this time failed. There are no records available which cover this period. However, the church was meeting regularly in a log schoolhouse. On "May 20, 1852, the church was reorganized, a constitution adopted with rules of order and Articles of Faith" ("First Baptist Church, Chattanooga," Baptist and Reflector, LXXXIX, No. 50 [September 13, 1923], 4.).


100 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 570.
joined the church is unknown. However, he kept his membership at Shelbyville until 1855.

He was baptized sometime during the month of September, and on the next Sunday he preached his first sermon. He chose for his theme "The Love of God," and probably used Ephesians 3:17-19 as his text.

Ordination

The church at Shelbyville soon became pastorless, and it is possible that Dayton preached there on several occasions during the next few months. At any event, he so greatly impressed the church that "soon after his baptism, he was licensed to exercise his gifts as a preacher.

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101 Eakin, ibid., states that he was ordained one week after his baptism. His ordination came on January 2, 1853 (Eugene Strode, "Ordination," Tennessee Baptist, IX, No. 18 [January 15, 1853], 1.). If her chronology is followed this would make his baptismal date December 26, 1852. This would bring too closely together his baptism and his ordination. It appears best here to follow L. H. Dayton who states that he preached his first sermon the week after his baptism (Tennessee Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.). Cf. also A. C. Dayton, "General Association of Tennessee and North Alabama," Home and Foreign Journal, V, No. 7 (January, 1856), 2, in which he states that his baptism was at Shelbyville.


103 Strode, ibid., IX, No. 18, 1. The same article was reprinted in the True Union, IV, No. 5 (February 3, 1853), 2.

104 L. H. Dayton, Tennessee Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1, and Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 571. Phillips, who usually follows L. H. Dayton quite closely, adds to his 1919 account (Sketches of Preachers, I, 137) the scripture reference "John 3:16." It is noteworthy that L. H. Dayton does not give this reference. Neither does it appear in Phillip's own account written in 1880 (Biographical Sketches ..., p. 208.).

105 Tennessee Baptist, IX, No. 18, 2.

106 Strode, ibid., IX, No. 18, 1. Cf. also a statement by Dayton in the Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 4 (September 25, 1858), 2, in which he states that he became a Baptist, was licensed, preached his first sermon, and was ordained within the confines of the Duck River Association. He does not give any dates of these events.
Shortly after the new year began, Amos Cooper Dayton was ordained to the gospel ministry. On January 2, 1853, the presbytery convened at the Shelbyville Baptist Church. His pastor, E[gene] Strode, read the scripture, the Rev. B. Kimbrough preached the ordination sermon and the ordaining prayer was given by J. C. Holt. Strode then gave the charge to the candidate, and the Bible was presented by A. D. Trimble. Dayton himself led in the concluding hymn and offered the benediction. 107

Dayton took seriously his call to the ministry. He felt that it issued from God, but yet that it was conditioned by his own response:

"A call to the ministry is of God. It is not miraculously made known. God speaks in His providences. . . . The person is often not very distinctly conscious of the possession of the talents, but is very conscious of the conviction of duty." 108

Dayton now entered fully into the life of Baptists. In reflecting upon this experience and his feeling for Baptists, Dayton asserted that "the Baptists are . . . [my] kin-folks and friends." 109 His own kinfolk and friends had, he felt, left him when he accepted Baptist views.

Dayton felt this desertion most keenly in the relationship with his own wife. Although he was completely convinced of the necessity for changing his church membership, his wife did not feel this same compulsion. Lucinda Dayton continued to hold membership in the Presbyterian church until about five months before Dayton died. On November 13, 1864, she

107 Ibid.
108 A. C. D[ayton], "[A Call to the Ministry]," Baptist Banner, V, No. 11 (February 6, 1864), 2.
was received for baptism by the Baptist Church at Perry, Georgia.\textsuperscript{110}

In spite of this domestic disagreement, Dayton soon plunged into the full round of activities of the Duck River Association, and came to look upon its molding influence as a spiritual "mother."\textsuperscript{111} At the June, 1853, session of the "Ministers' and Deacons' Meeting" Dayton attended and actively participated. He was appointed to write a paper for the next session on the subject "Benefits Arising from a Church Library."\textsuperscript{112} It would seem that his colleagues were greatly impressed with the literary accomplishments of this new recruit into their ranks.

\textbf{Early Published Efforts}

\textbf{First Published Articles}

The first known article that Dayton published after he became a Baptist appeared in the July 9, 1853 issue of the \textit{Tennessee Baptist}. This article, "To the Ministers, Deacons and Members of the Baptist Churches of Duck River Association," was the first of a series of articles which was to run consecutively for five weeks.

The motif of the articles was developed around the approaching

\textsuperscript{110}Perry, Georgia, First Baptist Church, \textit{Minutes}. On November 13, 1864, the minutes state that Lucy Harrison Dayton came from the Perry Presbyterian Church. How active the wife of the author of \textit{Theodosia Ernest} was cannot be discerned. However, the fact that she had joined the Presbyterian church at Perry would seem to indicate that she at least attended with some degree of regularity.

\textsuperscript{111}A. C. Dayton, "Duck River Association," \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XIV, (October 24, 1857), 2.

\textsuperscript{112}"Ministers' and Deacons' Meeting of Duck River Association," \textit{ibid.}, IX, No. 41 (June 25, 1853), 2. No record has been found that this paper was ever prepared. He was in Georgia at the time of the next annual meeting.
protracted meetings held each fall. These articles were all of an evangelistic, devotional character. In the last contribution he summarized the points which he had made in the four previous articles:

(1) The ministers should exercise a special carefulness, study and prayer in the preparation of their sermons for these extra occasions.

(2) Special endeavors should be made to fix in the minds of the ministers and to impress upon the minds of their people the great truth that "all our efforts are utterly vain without the blessing of God."

(3) Previous to the time of the meeting each minister should make a special visit to all the families in his charge and have personal conversation with each person (if possible) concerning the meeting, and especially concerning the salvation of that member's soul. 113

This series is noteworthy not only because it represents Dayton's first recorded published efforts, but also because it, again, aids in removing part of the romantic myth which has been woven around his early activities.

Refutation of Hailey's Account

The most popular account of his maiden writing experience is told by O. L. Hailey. The Monday morning after his baptism in September, 1852, Dayton, W. P. Marks--brother-in law to J. R. Graves--and several other members of the Shelbyville Baptist Church were engaged in conversation. Dayton remarked that he was now a man without a calling, for having now become a Baptist his Presbyterian clientele could not be expected to patronize him. W. P. Marks then presented Dayton with a roundtrip ticket

113A. C. Dayton, ibid., IX, No. 47, 4. Italics his.
from Shelbyville to Nashville where he told Dayton to seek out J. R. Graves.

Upon meeting Graves, Dayton related his story of how he had become a Baptist. In response, Graves is said to have handed Dayton an article written by William Cary Crane which advocated union Sunday Schools and instructed Dayton to write a reply. When Dayton returned with his finished product opposing such union, Graves is said to have remarked: "I can tell you what you can do; you can write." Out of this meeting between Graves and Dayton supposedly came the agreement to write a "serial story setting forth the differences between Baptists and PedoBaptists. . . ." This book was to be published later under the title of *Theodosia Ernest*, Dayton's magnum opus.

Dayton, however, gave quite a different account of these events. If Hailey's chronology is followed, Dayton's trip to Nashville to meet Graves would have been in September, 1852. There are many reasons why it is unlikely that Dayton had met Graves at such an early date as this.

In January, 1854, Dayton himself stated that he had not seen Graves at this time. This in itself would cause the chronology of Hailey's

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114 Hailey, J. R. Graves ..., p. 76.
115 Ibid.
117 [A. C.] D[ayton], "Do you pray for the Editor?" Tennessee Baptist, X, No. 17 (January 7, 1854), 1. The article is simply signed "D. Shelbyville," but in his salutatory in the Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 36 (May 15, 1858), 2, he remarks: "If I do not forget, the first piece that I ever wrote for this paper, soon after I became a Baptist, was an earnest exhortation to its readers to 'pray for your Editor.'" [Italics his.] This is not his first published article, but rather it is the sixth. He had previously published the series of articles "To the Ministers, Deacons and Members of the Duck River Association," and an article appeared the week preceding the article "Do You Pray for Your Editor?" which also appeared to be written by Dayton. That article asked the readers to pray over their articles before they write them (Tennessee Baptist, X, No. 18 [December 24, 1853], 4.). This article was also signed "D, Shelbyville," but it is so similar in both content and arrangement that it can safely be assigned to Dayton.
account to be revised.

"Union Sunday Schools" Article

The article on union Sunday Schools by William Carey Crane to which Dayton replied could not be found. However, an anonymous article in the Southwestern Baptist entitled "A Case of Liberality That Deserves Notice"¹¹⁸ is probably the article to which Hailey referred. General consensus may have delegated the authorship to Crane, although this would not appear to be an accurate decision. The article mentions a situation in which Baptists engaged in union activities in Independence, Texas. About six weeks after this article was originally published, it was reprinted in its entirety in the Tennessee Baptist under the same title, but with an added refutation by A. C. Dayton.¹¹⁹ The polemical nature of the refutation by Dayton is too advanced for a man who had been a Baptist for a period of less than a week. The story told by Hailey may have at least a basis for truth, but it would appear that the facts are certainly garbled.

By Dayton's own statement he conceived the idea for Theodosia Ernest before he ever met J. R. Graves.¹²⁰ It is entirely possible that out of their initial meeting came an agreement for the writing of the book, but the idea of Theodosia had been conceived as early as November, 1853, atop Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, Tennessee, in the company of the man who baptized him, the Rev. Eugene Strode.¹²¹ At this time Dayton was on his

¹¹⁸ June 8, 1854, p. 3. No author is given, but the article is written by a non-Baptist, and not by William Cary Crane, as stated by Hailey.


¹²⁰ A. C. Dayton, ibid., XIV, No. 36, 4. ¹²¹ Ibid.
way to Georgia, and he did not meet Graves until he returned to Tennessee about the first of May, 1854. The information that Hailey records would seem to fit at this point. Dayton had been in Georgia as an agent of the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and also as an agent of the Georgia Bible Committee. He left Georgia to return to a sick family. This could well have been the time when his finances were depleted. He returned in May, 1854. The article on union Sunday Schools appeared in the Southwestern Baptist June 8, 1854. Dayton's reply appeared in the Tennessee Baptist July 22, 1854.

This connection with J. R. Graves was to open a new era in the life of Amos Cooper Dayton. No longer was he to be a "man without a calling." The clarion call was sounding and Dayton was ready to respond. In the next decade he was to be ushered into a place of leadership and responsibility as rapidly as any man in the history of the Southern Baptist Convention. But he was a man capable of meeting such opportunity with ready hand. His family background in Pedobaptism was to give him an inside perspective into the camp of the enemy of Landmarkism. These years before the mid-century mark, which had been given to "professional and literary pursuits," prepared him to stand with confidence in the ranks of the leaders.

Dayton was to play a subordinate role to the towering personality

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122 Dayton, in referring to his trip to Georgia, states that "at this time I had never seen Bro. Graves" (Tennessee Baptist, IV, No. 36, 4.).

123 Supra, pp. 31-32.

124 A. C. Dayton, "For the Index," Christian Index, XXXIII, No. 18 (May 4, 1854), 2.

of J. R. Graves. In fact, he was to be described as Graves's "armorbearer."\textsuperscript{126} But yet, he is a man worthy of note in his own right. As one has remarked, he was "a most unorthodox sword-bearer. For he waded into the fray himself, wielding an effective pen in behalf of the Landmark doctrines\textsuperscript{127}--a pen he had unsheathed before he became associated with J. R. Graves in any manner.

\textsuperscript{126} Dayton has been dubbed the "sword-bearer" by W. W. Barnes, \textit{The Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-1953} (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1954), p. 103. There is however, a contemporary reference that Dayton occupied such a relationship to Graves. "Sheva the Scribe," in a satirical blow at Landmarkism ("From the Book of Chronicles," \textit{Southern Baptist}, XIII, No. 4 [April 20, 1858], 1.), relates that "in the land of Hickory, in the city of Rock, there was a mighty man who was named James [R. Graves].

James also had two armorbearers; the name of the first was Theodosia, a beautiful man to look upon and a cunning scribe, and a mighty man of valor,

And the other was Penny, the Landmarker; he also was a cunning scribe and a mighty man of valor."

CHAPTER II

THE YEARS OF CONTROVERSY (1854–1861)
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Few men can lay claim to such a rapid rise to prominence among Southern Baptists as A. C. Dayton. The instrument by which he was catapulted into this prominence was the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Early Connection with the Bible Board

Dayton's first connection with the Bible Board came in the fall of 1852, shortly after he became a Baptist. Convalescing from an illness and still unable to walk, Dayton read an appeal by W. C. Buck asking for contributions to enable the Bible Board to send the Bible to China. He wrote Buck, offering his services as an agent for the Board, but his letter was not answered because Buck was out of the city.¹

Bible Board Agent

When Dayton had sufficiently regained his health, he visited Nashville and called upon J. J. Toon, a member of the Bible Board. Upon Dayton's request, Toon called a meeting of the Bible Board. After hearing of Dayton's interest in its activities, the Board appointed Dayton to

¹A. C. Dayton, "To My Brethren, the Constituents of the Southern Baptist Convention," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 36 (May 15, 1858), 4.
travel in Georgia to collect funds for the distribution of the Bible. Under this arrangement, he was to serve without a specified salary. ²

Dayton began his work about a year after he had written his first letter to W. C. Buck. From November, 1853, to January, 1854, he traveled throughout Georgia, distributing Bibles and religious books under the auspices of the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. ³

Georgia Bible Committee Agent

Around the first of the year Dayton resigned his connection with the Bible Board and, on January 11, 1854, he was appointed Bible agent for the Georgia, Washington, and Hepzibah Associations, as well as the whole eastern half of Georgia. ⁴ He was to receive thirty-three per cent of the amount he collected. ⁵ The possibilities for monetary returns were much greater in this capacity than in that which he had formerly held with the Bible Board. ⁶

²Ibid. Although Dayton stated that he received no salary, it is entirely possible that he worked on a commission basis. W. C. Buck in "Plan of Operation," Home and Foreign Journal, II, No. 7 (January, 1853), 2, described the plan of operation under which the colporteur was to work. Each colporteur was to sell the Bibles and New Testaments and receive a twenty per cent commission on these. The same commission applied even if the Bibles were distributed gratis. In addition to this, the Southern Baptist Publication Society in Charleston, South Carolina, furnished each colporteur with a "stock of denominational books" which he could sell at the same rate of twenty per cent commission. Such an arrangement, according to Buck, should have netted an industrious man "an annual income of from $300 to $400 per year." It is likely that this is the type of arrangement under which Dayton worked.

³A. C. Dayton, Tennessee Baptist, IV, No. 36, 4.

⁴A. C. Dayton, "Bible Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention," Christian Index, XXXIII, No. 4 (January 26, 1854), 2. The article itself is dated "Penfield, Jan. 20, 1854."

⁵Georgia Baptist Convention, Minutes, 1854, p. 34.

⁶By April 21, 1854 Dayton had received a total of $332.58 for commission and $14.00 for expenses (ibid, p. 37.).
Just slightly more than three months after Dayton had assumed the position with the Georgia Bible Committee, he was forced to resign and return home to a sick family.\(^7\) Although his stay had been relatively short, he had left his mark on the Baptists of Georgia and they had also impressed him. While in the state he had collected over a thousand dollars for the Bible Committee,\(^8\) had attended the state Baptist convention at Penfield,\(^9\) and had contributed at least two articles to the *Christian Index*\(^{10}\) and one to the *Tennessee Baptist*.\(^{11}\)

In his farewell letter to Georgia Baptists, he expressed his great appreciation for them and confided: "I hope, in the providence of God, to be permitted . . . to cast my lot among them [Georgia Baptists] as a permanent citizen of their State."\(^{12}\) Dayton returned to Shelbyville, Tennessee, where events were soon to lead to his meeting with the man who would be most instrumental in his life, J. R. Graves.

That the Georgia Bible Committee was pleased with his work is indicated by the following resolution:

Resolved, that an expression of the approbation and thanks of this committee be communicated to Elder A. C. Dayton, for the faithful and successful service rendered by him during his short term of appointment in behalf of the objects under the charge of this committee.\(^{13}\)

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\(^7\) A. C. Dayton, "For the Index," *Christian Index*, XXXIII, No. 18 (May 4, 1854), 2.

\(^8\) Ibid.

\(^9\) Georgia Baptist Convention, Minutes, 1854, p. 4.

\(^10\) January 26, 1854 and May 4, 1854.

\(^11\) A. C. Dayton, "Mrs. Mary Carter," *Tennessee Baptist*, X, No. 24 (February 18, 1854), 4. This is an obituary notice.

\(^12\) A. C. Dayton, *Christian Index*, XXXIII, No. 18, 2.

\(^13\) J. P. Tustin, "[Note on A. C. Dayton]," *Tennessee Baptist*, X, No. 41 (June 17, 1854), 4.
After Dayton returned to the state of Tennessee, he was for several months unemployed. While in Georgia he had collected materials for Theodosia Ernest, and he probably utilized this period of unemployment to work on his book.

Sometime between May and July, 1854, Dayton met Graves. Dayton, "encouraged by Brother Graves and others, hastened to complete" Theodosia Ernest. By August, 1854, Dayton had the "plan all arranged and much of the writing done. . . ." 18

Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention

In 1851 the Southern Baptist Convention voted to establish a "Board, whose seat of operation shall be the city of Nashville, to be styled 'the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.'" W. C. Buck was elected the first corresponding secretary and served in that capacity until he resigned January 30, 1854, to accept the pastorate of the Baptist church at Columbus, Mississippi. Upon Buck's resignation the Tennessee Baptist editorially lamented his loss and described it as "most serious, if not

14 A. C. Dayton, ibid, XIV, No. 36, 4. 15 Ibid. 16 Supra, p. 33-34.
17 A. C. Dayton, Tennessee Baptist, IV, No. 36, 4. 18 Ibid.
20 Report of the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Adopted June 15, 1858. This same report, which occupies one oversize page, also appeared in the following papers: Baptist Watchman, III, Nos. 48-49 (July 8-15, 1858), 1-2, 1; Christian Index, XXXVII, No. 27 (July 7, 1858), 2; Southern Baptist, XIII, No. 17 (July 20, 1858), 1; Southwestern Baptist, X, No. 10 (July 15, 1858), 1f. The Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1855, p. 16, indicates that Buck withdrew from the Board "about the first of March, 1854."
irreparable. . . . We freely confess that we know of no one in the South so well qualified to take the charge."\textsuperscript{21}

Initial Appointment as Corresponding Secretary

For several months the Board was without the services of a corresponding secretary. After some time had elapsed, J. R. Graves, then president of the Bible Board, presented the name of A. C. Dayton as a candidate for the office. On August 11, 1854 Dayton was elected to serve until January, 1855, with the understanding that if both parties were pleased with the arrangement, it would be made permanent.\textsuperscript{22} His salary was to be about six hundred dollars a year.\textsuperscript{23} At the time of his election Dayton, while known to Graves, was supposedly "unknown to the other members of the Board,"\textsuperscript{24} and could have been acquainted with Graves for a period of no more than three months.\textsuperscript{25} Evidently Dayton had greatly impressed Graves in their first few contacts.

Dayton entered energetically into his new work and greatly pleased the Board with his seemingly untiring efforts. His first contact with the

\textsuperscript{21}[W. C. Buck]," \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, X, No. 19 (January 14, 1854), 2.

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid. Although Dayton accepted this arrangement, he did not move to Nashville until July, 1855 (J. M. Phillips, "A. C. Dayton," \textit{Biographical Sketches of Tennessee Baptist Ministers}, ed. J. H. Borum [Memphis: Rogers and Company, 1880], p. 208.). On October 10, 1855, he moved his church membership to the First Baptist Church, Nashville ("Membership Roll, First Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee," [n.p.]).

\textsuperscript{23}A. C. Dayton, "The Duties of Corresponding Secretary," \textit{Southwestern Baptist}, IX, No. 35 (January 14, 1858), 1.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid. This is somewhat confusing. Just a year before Dayton had appeared before the Board and asked to be authorized to collect funds in Georgia (A. C. Dayton, \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XIV, No. 36, 4.).

\textsuperscript{25}A. C. Dayton, \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XIV, No. 36, 4. In this article he states that he had not met Graves before he returned from Georgia, which he did in May, 1854.
Board had been relative to a communication of W. C. Buck in which Buck had asked for funds to send Bibles to the Chinese. Likewise, his first published notice after assuming the responsibility of corresponding secretary was an appeal to send Bibles to the insurgents in China.

The time at which he entered his work was not most advantageous to his own personal acclaim or to the Bible cause. He entered the field "just at that time when the pestilence . . . and drought throughout almost all the country began to be felt in the pecuniary transaction of the people." 28

Permanent Election as Corresponding Secretary

But Dayton survived the first few months of difficulty and soon launched the Bible Board on a campaign that was greater than anything in its short history. His untiring energy led the Board to make the following decision on December 2, 1854: "On motion the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. A. C. Dayton, was unanimously elected to fill said office until next May." 29

Now assured of his position Dayton urged individuals, groups, churches, associations, and conventions to contribute funds for the distribution of the Bible. His letter in 1855 to the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky is an example of his appeal. In this letter he stated:

26 Ibid., XIV, No. 36, 4.

27 A. C. Dayton, "Demand for Bibles in China," ibid., XI, No. 4 (September 23, 1854), 2.


29 Report of the Bible Board . . . ., [n.p.].
1st. We want Bibles and testaments for China. . . . 2d. We want Bibles and Testaments for the Chinese in California. . . . 3d. We want Bibles and Testaments for Africa. . . . 4th. We want Bibles for the supply of our Indian mission. 5th. . . . We want Bibles and Testaments to supply the immense destitution of many parts of our own country.

Organization of Auxiliary Societies

The basic pattern that Dayton followed was to write churches or interested individuals urging them to contribute funds. Somewhat later, he began to include in his letters not only a request for funds, but also a request for the organization of Bible Societies, auxiliary to the Bible Board. He enclosed a sample constitution and other pertinent materials and suggestions as to how this could be done. He attempted to place this request in the hands of every association and, if possible, every church, in the Southern Baptist Convention. 31

30 General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, Minutes, 1855, p. 37.

31 A. C. Dayton, "Bible Societies--No. 1," Home and Foreign Journal, V, No. 8 (February, 1856), 2. The following is a copy of the constitution:

CONSTITUTION OF A CONGREGATIONAL BIBLE SOCIETY

The Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention are [sic] earnestly desirous to secure in all the southern states, permanent Bible associations, consisting of congregational and local societies, in every church; associational Bible societies in every Association and state Bible societies in connection with every State Convention or General Association; and to secure something like uniformity, would respectfully recommend the adoption of the following Constitution for congregational and associational societies.

Believing that the general diffusion of the Word of God, among all classes and conditions of men, is greatly to be desired, and that it is our duty and our privilege to aid in supplying the vast destitution of the Scriptures which exists, both in our own and other lands, we hereby agree to form ourselves into a society, for the more perfect accomplishment of this object, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.--This society shall be called .

ARTICLE II.--The object of this society shall be to aid in the circulation of the Scriptures in our own and other lands.

ARTICLE III.--Any person may become a member of this society by
The request itself was "in reality very simple. . . ." It consisted of the following:

1st. It contemplates the formation of a State Bible Society, with provisions for life memberships, and life directorships, to hold its annual meeting at the same time and place with the [state] Convention.

2d. The formation of Associational Societies in every Association auxiliary to the state society, and which will hold their meetings at the same time and place with the Association to which they respectfully [respectively] belong.

3d. The formation of church or congregational Bible Societies in every place where it is practicable, auxiliary to the associational societies, or if they prefer, to the state society. These local societies, consisting mostly of members of the church and congregation where they are formed, will of course hold their meetings on Saturday, or Sabbath, with the churches in whose meeting house they are organized.

It is quite apparent that if such a plan had been executed properly by all churches, associations, and state conventions that this would have

paying the sum of ______ yearly, or the sum of ______ quarterly.

ARTICLE IV.--The officers of this society shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, a Secretary and Treasurer who shall perform the duties common to such officers in similar associations. They shall be elected yearly, at the regular annual meeting; but in case of a failure to elect, from any cause [,] shall hold their places till another election.

ARTICLE V.--The regular meeting of the society shall be held yearly, on the ______ Sabbath in the month of ______, at which time the following order of business shall be observed.

1st.--A sermon, or other addresses suitable to the occasion, shall be delivered.

2d.--An opportunity shall be given to those present to become members, by contributing to our funds.

3d.--Officers shall be elected for the coming year, and a speaker appointed to deliver the sermon or address at the next meeting; after which any other needful business may be done, such as the appointment of delegates to the Associational or State Societies., &c., &c.

ARTICLE VI.--If any portion of this business is not done at a regular meeting, it may be completed at an adjourned or called meeting. A meeting may be called by any one of the officers at any time.

ARTICLE VII.--The funds collected by this society shall be sent up to the Associational Bible Society of our Association, or to our State Bible Society, or to the Bible Board at Nashville.

ARTICLE VIII.--This Constitution may be altered by a vote of two thirds of the members at any regular meeting. ([A. C. Dayton], "The Constitution," Home and Foreign Journal, V, No. 4 [March, 1856], 2. All capitalization and punctuation are his.)

32 A. C. Dayton, "Bible Rooms," Christian Index, XXXIV, No. 29 (July 19, 1855), 2.
resulted in the most complex and vast network of organization known to the Southern Baptist Convention. Of course, all the involved groups did not respond to his plea. A large number did cooperate, although no specific datum was found wherein the exact number of organized societies was given.

The advantages of this network of organizations were, according to Dayton, the following: (1) It will ultimately eliminate collecting agents. (2) Where agents are needed, their task will be made much easier. (3) It will lighten the load by enlisting more persons in the cause. (4) It will expedite and facilitate the spread of information. (5) It will provide regular income. (6) It will furnish the best means for discovering and supplying the needy with religious books or Scriptures.

A Plea for the Bible Board

In July, 1856 Dayton published A Plea for the Bible Board. Twenty thousand copies of this twenty-page pamphlet were printed and by December, 1856, Dayton had mailed out most of them to "all those brethren and churches whose post offices he . . . [could] obtain." Churches were even

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33 One church responded to his plea by stating that there were two other Bible societies in the confines of their state and since they had done nothing for either of them they thought it best to do nothing for the Bible Board (A. C. Dayton, "What an Excuse," Home and Foreign Journal, VI, No. 3 [September, 1856], 2.).

34 A. C. Dayton, Christian Index, XXXIV, No. 29, 2.

35 A. C. Dayton, "A Plea for the Bible Board," Home and Foreign Journal, VI, No. 1 (July, 1856), 2 gives the date of publication. See also A. C. Dayton, A Plea for the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention Located at Nashville, Tenn[essee], (Nashville: Southwestern Publishing House, 1856) and A. C. Dayton, "The Plea," Home and Foreign Journal, VI, No. 6 (December, 1856) 2.

36 A. C. Dayton, Home and Foreign Journal, VI, No. 1, 2.
urged to read it instead of, or in addition to, the regular sermon.  

The purpose of the Plea was to set forth the "exact relation which 'The Bible Board' at Nashville sustains to the Baptist Denomination in the South." He did this by presenting the history of the Bible Board and delineating how it differed from the American Bible Society, the American and Foreign Bible Society, and the American Bible Union. After differentiating between these groups he concluded with a description of the general plan of work of the Bible Board.

In addition to mailing out 20,000 copies of this Plea and numerous amounts of constitutions "with a few brief lines with each," Dayton also wrote "over four thousand letters" to individuals and churches and "over two hundred and fifty letters . . . to Associations and Conventions." This would seem to be a prodigious amount of clerical labor performed in the days prior to the use of the typewriter.

**Growth of Contributions**

The result of such labors was to be seen in the financial contributions received by the Bible Board. In its first two years of existence the Board received $8,073.86. In 1885 the contributions rose to

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37 A. C. D[ayton], "[Reading of the 'Plea']," ibid., VI, No. 5 (November, 1856), 2.

38 A. C. Dayton, A Plea for the Bible Board . . ., (inside front cover).

39 [A. C. Dayton], Home and Foreign Journal, V, No. 9, 2.

40 A. C. Dayton, Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 36, 4.

41 Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1853, p. 80.
$10,126.90,\textsuperscript{42} and in 1857 the contributions totaled $30,135.27.\textsuperscript{43}

In addition to his clerical labor, Dayton also traveled considerably. His journeyings took him as far north and east as Washington, D. C. and Richmond, Virginia. He traveled south throughout the states of Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina.

Controversy

Dayton's life was not to proceed peacefully, however. The controversy which was to be most influential in his life had its beginning in an inauspicious report to the 1855 Southern Baptist Convention, which met at Montgomery, Alabama.

Book Charges

The report in question was the biennial report of the Bible Board to the Convention, which was read by Dayton. As was customary, the report was referred to a committee whose task it was to take action upon the suggested recommendations and changes made in the report. Samuel Henderson, editor of the Southwestern Baptist, served as chairman of the committee, which presented the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Bible Board be instructed in all future appointments of colporteurs, so far as practicable, to negotiate such an arrangement with our publication societies as will combine the dissemination of their publications with the Holy Scriptures.

\textsuperscript{42}Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1855, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{43}Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1857, p. 72. This latter figure was to prove to be a source of contention at a later date. Cf. infra, pp. 54-58.

\textsuperscript{44}Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1855, p. 61.
This resolution was offered on the assumption that "very nearly, if not quite as much could be done in the distribution of Bibles, by using the same agency in the dissemination of religious and denominational books and tracts. . . . "45

Home and Foreign Journal

A second matter was included in this same report which was also to play a part in the controversy. The committee stated:

We are of the opinion that if the Bible Board could secure two or three columns of the Home and Foreign Journal [sic] for the publication of such items of intelligence as would be interesting to our brethren connected with its operations, it would greatly promote that cherished cause.

Henderson's resolution concerning the distribution of books was a new development. There is no indication that Dayton in his original report to the Southern Baptist Convention had even suggested a system of book colportage. 47 The resolution instructing the Bible Board to institute such a system appears to be a development with which Dayton had nothing to do. 48

Southwestern Publishing House

Another element soon entered the discussion to confuse the issue further. Dayton's first full-length book, Theodosia Ernest, or, the Heroine of Faith, began to appear serially in the Tennessee Baptist on September 1,

45 Ibid. 46 Ibid. 47 Ibid. 48 As proof of this, Dayton stated two years later that "our plan of operation . . . did not contemplate such a course. . . . We had therefore no . . . means of carrying into effect the spirit of the instructions given to us by the Convention at Montgomery. . . . " (Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1857, p. 18.) The book distribution was delegated to the local Bible societies which were auxiliary to the Bible Board. The Board itself never engaged in distribution of any book other than the Bible.
1855. In February, 1857, the second volume was published. Both volumes were later published in bound form by the Southwestern Publishing House, and for the works "Bro. Dayton received from that House a valuable consideration, and thus became intimately interested in its prosperity." This was the interpretation of the Bible Board as well as many others.

The 1855 Montgomery Convention enacted a second item of business relative to the Bible Board which became rather uniquely involved in the first. Dayton had accepted the suggestion of the Committee that he be responsible for two columns of the Home and Foreign Journal, and arrangements had been made to that effect. He began writing regularly, reproducing many of the same articles that he published in other Baptist papers, particularly the Tennessee Baptist and the Western Recorder.

But Dayton soon conceived the prospect of a paper that would belong almost exclusively to the Bible Board. Rather than begin publication of a new paper, Dayton suggested using one already in existence. The Bible Board report to the 1857 Southern Baptist Convention declared, "We are confident that it will be every way for the good of the denomination to transfer the Home and Foreign Journal to Nashville." The convention, however, was not in favor of such an arrangement and stated, "We see no necessity for making any change in the location of our organs of publication."

49 Report of the Bible Board . . ., [n.p.].
50 The first article by Dayton appeared in November, 1855.
This abortive attempt to gain editorial control of the paper cast a certain odium over Dayton's relationship with the Journal, making his use of its columns suspect. This, coupled with his increasing "intimate interest" in the Southwestern Publishing House, soon led to cries of malfeasance. The charge was made that he was "spending too much time in making books," and that he was "occupying too much space in the Home and Foreign Journal" in advocating the works of the Graves-Marks firm, "to the neglect of the interests of the Bible."

The conditions reached a climax on August 31, 1858, when the Bible Board appointed a committee "to examine the records of the Convention and report the facts to this Board" concerning the responsibility of the Board relative to the colportage of books other than Bibles and the use of space in the Home and Foreign Journal to advertise these books.

Charleston Churches

Another separate controversy had originated earlier as the result of an offhand remark Dayton made about the Baptists in Charleston, South Carolina. In July, 1857, Dayton wrote about the work of the Bible Board in South Carolina. He concluded his remarks by stating that although most of the Baptists in South Carolina were working for the Bible cause, the churches of Charleston "stand aloof not only from us, but from the Bible Board of their own convention."

53 Report of the Bible Board . . . , [n.p.].
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
Such a charge brought immediate reaction from several points. 57 Dayton wrote a semi-retraction, but concluded with another barbed reply:

I was glad to learn . . . I was mistaken about the Churches in Charleston. . . . They gave us their money, both in the Southern Baptist Convention, and in the State Convention, and I could not help feeling that it was very inconsistent in them to be so lavish of their counsel while they so carefully withheld their cash. 58

These irresponsible statements by Dayton seem to have been entirely unprovoked, and, after the initial exchange of views, the Charleston churches sought to ignore this matter rather than pursue it. Dayton had, however, aroused the ire of some who may have been neutral in the ensuing difficulties. 59

**Southern Baptist Sunday School Union**

In October, 1857 an incident occurred which precipitated the removal of all deterrents and allowed criticism to be heaped upon Dayton. On October 23, 1857 60 the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union met in Nashville. At this initial organizational meeting the Landmarkers rapidly gained control by—the opposition charged—prior scheming, planning, and sheer numbers.

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59 J. P. Tustin and Dayton had become acquainted while Dayton was working for the Georgia Bible Committee in 1854. When Dayton left Georgia, Tustin wrote to the _Tennessee Baptist_ (June 17, 1854) describing Dayton as "an excellent minister. . . ."

60 This organization is discussed here only incidentally as it bears on the controversy with the Bible Board. See _infra_, pp. 62ff. for a more detailed discussion of the Union.
The anti-Landmark faction which rapidly developed was led in this case by R. B. C. Howell. So intense did the clash become that the Convention deterred any definite organization until the next April at Americus, Georgia. An exchange of accusations and counter-accusations resulted eventually in the placing of the whole scheme in such a dubious light in the eyes of the rest of the convention that the majority refused to support the new movement. Dayton's position clearly identified him with the Landmark movement, and the non-Landmarkers began to criticize him for his associations with the organization on the basis that he was spending too much time with the Union and thus was delinquent in his duties as corresponding secretary of the Bible Board. Chief among his critics were the editors of the Alabama Southwestern Baptist.

We are sorry that he [Dayton,] being the Secretary of one of our most important Boards, is allowing himself to become so involved in matters, altogether alien from his office, as is likely to prejudice that cherished interest in the estimation of a large portion of the denomination.61

In response to this accusation Dayton replied:

Until the Union can be organized ... it must be to some of us, an extra labor prompted by the love we have for Jesus and his cause. But in this case, it was, as I conceived [,] more properly my work than that of any other. It was a part of my official duty. ... Sabbath Schools ... will probably want within a year ten dollars worth of Baptist books, Bibles and Testaments. ... One thousand new schools in the South ... would have added ten thousand dollars to the amount of Bible and Book circulation. Was not this worth even a little "pressing" to attain it?62

Criticism continued to mount, and the editors of the Baptist


62A. C. Dayton, "The Duties of Corresponding Secretary," ibid., IX, No. 35 (January 14, 1858), 1. Italics his.
Watchman\textsuperscript{63} and the Southern Baptist\textsuperscript{64} renewed the charge, made previously at the Nashville Convention, that the work of the Sunday School Union would hamper the work of the Southern Baptist Publication Society. In the face of this criticism Dayton contended that the Sunday School Union would "operate greatly to the advantage" of the Publication Society, "provided, always, that it [Publication Society] will show a disposition heartily to engage in the promotion of the objects which the Union proposes to accomplish."\textsuperscript{65} Dayton even declared that if the Sunday School Union had been formally organized at Nashville he had been prepared to offer a resolution that the Publication Society "publish their books, provided it would do so on as favorable terms as it could be done elsewhere."\textsuperscript{66} But this conditional statement did not satisfy his critics. The Southwestern Baptist declared: "The resolution . . . has quite a show of fairness, and may do some men; but, if the reader will pardon the egotism, it will not do for us."\textsuperscript{67}

As the conflict heightened, the charges moved out of the sectional or local category and into the area of convention-wide concern. The charge of misrepresentation of funds, while growing out of the sectional controversy, was raised by Samuel Henderson and soon spread throughout the convention. In the final analysis, it was this charge which had the most

\textsuperscript{63}[Matthew Hillsman], "Elder Dayton--Sunday School Convention,"\textit{Baptist Watchman}, III, No. 20 (December 24, 1857), 2.

\textsuperscript{64}[Taliaferro], \textit{Southwestern Baptist}, IX, No. 30, 2.

\textsuperscript{65}A. C. Dayton, "That Sunday School Union, Again,"\textit{Southwestern Baptist}, IX, No. 31 (December 10, 1857), 2.


\textsuperscript{67}[Taliaferro], \textit{ibid.}, IX, No. 30, 2.
detrimental effect on Dayton by negatively influencing many who would have remained neutral.

**Misrepresentation of Funds**

In the February 18, 1858 issue of the *Southwestern Baptist*, Samuel Henderson submitted an article in which he described his recent trip to Nashville. In this article he stated:

We . . . learned, while in Nashville, from credible authority, that upon sifting all the vouchers in the possession of the treasurer of the [Bible] Board of all extraneous matter, and reducing the amount received and disbursed by that Board for purely Bible Operations, instead of reporting to the last [Southern] Baptist Convention at Louisville, $33,135.27 as the aggregate of the last year's operations, there could not have been more than four or five thousand dollars properly stated.

. . . There is quite a difference between thirty-three thousand and four thousand dollars. But I forbear any comment.

Dayton personally did not respond to this charge of misrepresentation of funds, but in the next issue of the *Tennessee Baptist*, J. R. Graves termed the allegations a "flagrant and outrageous slander upon the Bible Board," and called the whole controversy "a war upon MEN more than MEASURES." In his response Graves challenged "brother Henderson" to "give some further explanation of the matter."

Henderson, being accused of slandering the Bible Board, warmed to the increasing contest and declared: "Yes, 'brother Henderson' will 'give some further explanation in his next issue' that will be still more

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68 [Samuel Henderson], "The Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention," *ibid.*, IX, No. 40 (February 18, 1858), 2. Italics his.

69 [J. R. Graves], "It Is a War upon MEN More Than MEASURES," *Tennessee Baptist*, XIV, No. 26 (March 6, 1858), 3.


astounding."

The senior editor of the Southwestern Baptist noted that two members of the Bible Board had written to thank him for these "astounding disclosures" and that a third Board member had "confirmed them in a recent communication to the Baptist Watchman."

In the March 25, 1858 issue of the Southwestern Baptist the "further explanation" came. Henderson had earlier alleged that the amount for "purely Bible operations" was not more than four or five thousand dollars for the past year. In this latest communication he corrected this statement by noting that this amount was for the past two years. The exact amount of money collected by the Bible Board—not including the amounts contributed by the different societies—was $8,839.09. The subtraction of expenses diminished the figure to $4,103.55, which represented an amount of slightly over $2,000 a year collected for purely Bible purposes.

In a later communication Henderson again revised these figures downward. After examining the 1857 biennial report of the Bible Board more closely, he declared, "We made a mistake IN FAVOR OF THE SECRETARY"

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72 [Samuel Henderson], "What Does It Mean?" Southwestern Baptist, IX, No. 44 (March 18, 1858), 2.

73 Ibid. See A Member of the Bible Board [pseud.], "The Secretary of the Bible Board," Baptist Watchman, III, No. 25 (January 28, 1858), 2. This letter, written anonymously and signed only "A Member of the B.[ible] B.[oard]," seeks to repudiate all responsibility for Dayton's activities. The letter makes several specific charges, viz., (1) that the Board is opposed to the distribution of books, "if they engage in book distribution at all," unless they are "publications of our Publication Societies:" (2) that they are not in sympathy with the way Dayton has used the space in the Home and Foreign Journal; (3) that they disapprove of the use of book funds for the basis of representation in the Southern Baptist Convention; and (4) that they disapprove of Dayton's connection with the Sunday School Union. Again, it is Graves who replies rather than Dayton in "The Secretary of the Bible Board," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, Nos. 26-27 (March 6-13, 1858), 2-3, 2.

74 [Samuel Henderson], "Figures and Facts," the Bible Board and Its Corresponding Secretary Again," Southwestern Baptist, IX, No. 46 (April 1, 1858), 2.

75 Ibid.
in the report of March 25. He then cited the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total reported income</td>
<td>$33,135.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received from and disbursed to the same societies</td>
<td>$25,769.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Total</td>
<td>$7,366.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid out for salaries and expenses</td>
<td>$4,735.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Total</td>
<td>$2,630.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this set of figures Henderson concluded:

The denomination is absolutely paying out $7,366.06 in order to create a Bible fund of $2,630.52—-or nearly three dollars expended to get one dollar into the Treasury!! We defy elders Dayton or Graves to deny this statement.

We alleged that brother Dayton reported between twenty-five and twenty-six thousand dollars to the last Convention as "Bible Operations," which he had no right to report.

We have been charged with treating brother Dayton with unnecessary severity. But there is a great principle involved in this whole matter; it is this:--THE FACTS DISCLOSED IN REGARD TO THE LAST "BIENNIAL REPORT" OF THE BIBLE BOARD OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION HAVE A TENDENCY TO WEAKEN THE CONFIDENCE AND EXCITE THE SUSPICIONS OF THE DENOMINATION IN THE REPORTS OF ALL OUR BOARDS, and indeed in all our benevolent agencies. This is bro. Dayton's offence. . . . We owed it to the denomination and to ourselves to make this EXPOSE [sic] in regard to the Secretary of the Bible Board.

Dayton, not being able to respond to these charges at this time because of a serious illness, was vociferously defended by Graves and

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76 Ibid. Italics his.

77 Although Dayton did not reply to these charges at this time he did present a quite lengthy (twelve oversize columns) refutation at a later date which appears to be quite valid. The article is substantiated by reference to the Southern Baptist Convention Proceedings . . . , as well as being documented from other sources. This particular defense is a part of a series of three articles which Dayton published in the Tennessee Baptist under the title of "To My Brethren, the Constituents of the Southern Baptist Convention [the first article lacks the words 'My Brethren']," XIV, Nos. 33,34, and 36 (April 24-May 8, 1858), 2; 3; 1.

78 [J. R. Graves], "Systematic Opposition," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 27 (March 13, 1858).
J. M. Pendleton. 79 Dayton did not respond, said Pendleton, because he could not "write without injuring himself." 80 Dayton had undergone a serious illness and was still unable to write or be about his work. 81

The various issues combined in a solid front against Dayton. All had stemmed from two or three sources which were either directly or indirectly related. The chief issue became

whether the proceeds of the sales of books other than the Bible, issued by the Publishing Houses and Publication Societies, and sold by colporteurs of Societies auxiliary to the Bible Board, should be recognized by that Board as Bible operations, reported to the Southern Convention, and recognized as the basis of representation in that body.

Any attempt to analyze these controversies and to place the guilt on one party or other is neither possible nor feasible. Whether or not Dayton practiced fraud in regard to misrepresentation of funds will probably never be determined. However, in the light of the past history and practices of the Board and the recommendations of the Southern Baptist Convention, 83 it would appear that he was acting entirely within his

79 J. M. P[endleton], "The South Western Baptist and the Bible Board," ibid., XIV, No. 32 (April 17, 1858), 2. This same article was reprinted in the Southwestern Baptist, IX, No. 49 (April 29, 1858), 1.

80 Ibid. Pendleton does not actually speak to the charges against Dayton, but rather he describes "the amicable, the accomplished, the devoted Dayton" as "being pursued to his grave by those who ought to love him."

81 Although Pendleton indicates that Dayton is too incapacitated to write his defense, Dayton publishes an article in the same issue of the Southwestern Baptist in which Pendleton writes. The article, entitled "General Plan of Co-operation," has a request affixed to it asking that it be published "without note or comment."

82 [Samuel Henderson], "The Bible Board and Its Late Secretary," Southwestern Baptist, X, No. 8 (June 24, 1858), 2. (Italics his.)

83 At the Louisville Southern Baptist Convention, 1857, the report of the Bible Board specifically requested instructions from the convention as to whether the funds--derived from book and Bible operations--that were contributed by the auxiliaries of the Bible Board should form "a basis of representation in the Convention, or only so much as could ascertained to have been employed in the exclusive purchase and circulation of Bibles"
His own predecessor, W. C. Buck, wrote, "If Elder Dayton has sinned, I more, for I preceded him in office, and he had my example to mislead him." Buck went on to indict "every other Secretary of a parent board" for having "sinned the same way."

Resignation as Corresponding Secretary

Dayton at last succumbed to this "systematic opposition." At the April 5, 1858 meeting of the Bible Board, he submitted his resignation as corresponding secretary. The resignation was not accepted at that time

(Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1857, p. 22b. Italics his.). Through its committee on "Bible and Book Colportage," the convention, while not specifically answering the request, stated: "Your committee do [sic] not see the necessity of making any important changes, but would simply advise the Board to continue the work which they have so favorably commenced—to furnish their colporteurs with books of our Publication Societies, in addition to Bibles—to establish auxiliary societies wherever practicable, and to employ all suitable means to awaken a general interest in the Bible cause throughout the southern States" (Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1857, p. 56.).

The primary purpose of his article, "To my Brethren, the Constituents of the Southern Baptist Convention, Number III," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 36 (May 8, 1858), 1, is to prove that he was acting entirely within the recommendation of the Southern Baptist Convention.


One thing that does appear certain is that there was no intrigue on the part of Graves and Dayton to "take over" the Southern Baptist Convention by seeking to get a majority of the representation through funds from book sales. This allegation was made in The Trial of J. R. Graves, pp. 48-49. The author here claimed that Graves and Dayton were plotting the overthrow of the Convention by the Landmark forces. That this is not valid is seen in the fact that the constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention clearly forbids any organization to have more than five representatives (Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1857, p. 33.).

This is Graves's term to describe what he felt was an organized movement to usher Dayton from the Bible Board. In an article entitled "Systematic Opposition," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 27 (March 13, 1858), 2, Graves outlines a series of eight "systematic attempt[s] to cripple down the Secretary of the Bible Board."
but was laid on the table "in the hope, by some members of the Board, that something might occur which would render such a measure unnecessary."\textsuperscript{88}

The resignation, however, was accepted at the May Board meeting.

On June 15, 1858 the Bible Board published its complete report of its dealings in the controversy.\textsuperscript{89} The report, an attempt to vindicate the Board completely in its actions, traced the history of Dayton's activities with the Bible Board. A month later Dayton published his "Review of the 'Report of the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Adopted June 15, 1858...',"\textsuperscript{90} in which he responded to the charges made in the Bible Board's report.

Thus a stormy relationship had come to a physical separation. It would appear that the two parties had divided ideologically and theologically sometime previously. Who was right and who was wrong in the controversy? This is a question which one asks almost by rote, and the present writer feels that it cannot be answered objectively.

However, the following statements may be made subjectively. One cannot help but feel that there was provocation on both sides; neither camp was without fault. It would appear that the Bible Board began the first assault by appointing the committee on August 31, 1857 to "institute an inquiry as to the instructions of the Southern Baptist Convention..."

\textsuperscript{88}\textit{Report of the Bible Board...}, [n.p.]. The resignation appeared in full, along with editorial comments, in the \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XIV, No. 36 (May 15, 1858), 2.

\textsuperscript{89}\textit{Report of the Bible Board...}, [n.p.]. See supra, p. 40, n. 20 for a list of papers which also carried the report.

\textsuperscript{90}\textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XIV, No. 45 (July 17, 1858), 1,3,4. This report was abstracted in the \textit{Baptist Watchman}, III, No. 51 (July 29, 1858), 1. The report, a massive work extending to eighteen columns and occupying nearly three oversize pages of the \textit{Tennessee Baptist} proves, according to Dayton, that it is he who is vindicated, not the Board.
even though this was to be done "without at all impeaching the fidelity of the Corresponding Secretary." This in itself was enough to sow the seeds of distrust in Dayton's mind. Dayton's actions, however, were not always the most honorable. One must conclude, also, that Dayton's association with J. R. Graves played at least a minor role in the affair. Such was the dislike for Graves by many in Nashville and throughout the Convention that any person who was as closely associated with him as was Dayton became, automatically, a foe to be feared. In the final analysis, the whole affair would appear to be an instance where neither side was willing to let the other have the final word, but where each side felt called upon, in good Southern tradition, to defend its wounded honor.

The Southwestern Publishing House

Tennessee Baptist

The same issue of the Tennessee Baptist that carried Dayton's first installment of "To My Brethren, the Constituents of the Southern Baptist Convention," also carried with it an announcement of a new editorial

91 Report of the Bible Board . . . , [n.p.].

92 J. R. Graves, in Both Sides: A Full Investigation of the Charges Preferred against Elder J. R. Graves by R. B. C. Howell and Others, September 8 and October 12, 1858 by A Council Composed of Delegates from Twenty Churches, of Concord Association, Held in Odd Fellows Hall, March 1-3, 1859. Together with the Report of the Council and the Action of the Church (Nashville: Published by Order of the Spring Street Baptist Church, 1859), p. 32, quotes a letter from A. C. Dayton. In this letter Dayton speaks of a conversation during the summer of 1857 between himself and W. P. Walton, corresponding secretary of the Middle Tennessee and North Alabama Baptist Convention. Walton stated that those who were most active in "this persecution" of Dayton really considered him to be a man of good Christian character but "it was part of the plan to reach . . . Graves. It was thought by the leaders of that attack in this city [Nashville], that it was necessary, first, to destroy . . . [Dayton's] influence and standing, before they could effectually act against him [Graves]."

arrangement of the paper.

We take pleasure in informing our patrons that the services of Eld. A. C. Dayton and J. M. Pendleton, have been secured as associate editors of the Tennessee Baptist [sic].

... Of course this paper will be doomed to suffer all the damages the Knoxville, Tuskegee and Charleston papers have inflicted, or may be able to inflict upon Dayton's character. ... We have periled, if it be a peril, the interests of this paper with his writing; for it to stand or fail with him.

Dayton, in his "Salutatory," reiterated how he was disappointed by the Bible Board, but he now appealed for peace. However, he added, "if there be need for strife, I shall not shun the contest."94

Dayton's first association with the Tennessee Baptist had begun July 9, 1853. From the time of his appointment as corresponding secretary of the Bible Board, Dayton had been a frequent contributor to the paper. Prior to August 1, 1857, the articles in the Tennessee Baptist dealt with matters that concerned, directly or indirectly, the Bible Board. In the August 1 issue, the paper carried "The Communion Question." This was his first non-Bible Board contribution after coming to that organization. After this date articles of a similar nature appeared with regularity.

Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic

In addition to the editorial tasks he assumed as junior editor of the Tennessee Baptist, Dayton also became associated with another Southwestern Publishing House publication in 1858, the Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic. Shortly after coming to the Bible Board, Dayton had contributed


an article to this periodical. He shared editorial duties on the 
Review with Graves and Pendleton. Dayton replaced N. M. Crawford, who had served as editor of the periodical since its organization in 1855.

Dayton appeared to have exercised little editorial responsibility in regard to the Southern Baptist Review. He reviewed no books for the Review, a task which was left to Graves and mostly to Pendleton. However, it would appear that Dayton had more responsibility for the Tennessee Baptist than did Pendleton; the paper was usually edited by Dayton when Graves was absent. This arrangement of responsibility can probably be accounted for by the geographic proximity of Dayton to Nashville; whereas, Pendleton now resided at Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Dayton maintained his junior editorship of the Tennessee Baptist for slightly less than a year and a half. The October 22, 1859 issue dropped his name from the masthead. Although still a regular contributor, Dayton had assumed the responsibilities of corresponding secretary of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union, and hence, ceased his editorial relationship with the Tennessee Baptist. He did maintain his connection with the Southern Baptist Review until he fled Nashville in 1862.

Southern Baptist Sunday School Union

Background and Organization

In July, 1857 Dayton voiced his idea of a "Southern Baptist Sunday

95 "The Bible and Spirit Rappings," Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic, I, Nos. 2-9 (February-September, 1855), 110-126, 276-288, 413-425; 515-530. The article is signed "A. C. Dayton, M. D." The term "Eclectic" was dropped from the title in January, 1857.
School Convention [meeting] at some central point." The motivating factor was the desire to secure a Baptist Sunday school library. Dayton shared his concern with Graves, and they agreed that Graves would make the suggestion editorially and that Dayton would follow it with an article. Dayton's article expounded the need to take this whole subject [of Sunday school literature] into consideration and adopt some means to establish a Sunday School paper suitable for the South and some means to call out the talent of Southern Baptists in the writing of Sunday School books.

Concord Association

The Concord Association, to which the Nashville First Baptist Church belonged, met at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, August 3-5, 1857. The matter was raised at this meeting, and R. B. C. Howell, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Nashville, and chairman of the committee on Sunday Schools, offered a resolution to the effect that a convention be called for October 23, 1857 to be held with the First Baptist Church, Nashville.

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99 A. C. Dayton, Tennessee Baptist, XIII, No. 47, 3.

100 Ibid.

101 John Bond, History of the Baptist Concord Association of Middle Tennessee and North Alabama (Nashville: Graves, Marks & Co., 1860), pp. 88-89. The resolution was printed in many of the denominational papers. Cf. [Joseph Walker], "Southern Baptist Sunday School Convention," Christian Index, XXXVI, No. 34 (August 26, 1857), 2. Dayton himself also wrote several articles urging attendance at the meeting: A. C. D[ayton], "Sunday School Convention," Home and Foreign Journal, VII, Nos. 3-4 (September-October, 1857), 2, 3. The same article was in the Western Recorder, XXIV, No. 38 (September 30, 1857), 3.
Nashville Meeting

The meeting, to be held prior to the Middle Tennessee and North Alabama Convention, convened on Friday afternoon, October 23, 1857. Howell, serving as temporary chairman, called the meeting to order. Dayton made the motion to organize and was appointed by Howell as chairman for the committee to write a constitution. Dayton had prepared a constitution prior to the session after learning that Howell "would probably not prepare any outline or a constitution"\textsuperscript{102} to lay before the group.

Early Opposition

It was this rapid action which first aroused the suspicions of the group. Howell also appointed Elders Sharp, Hawthorne, Keep, Toon, and Hillsman to serve with Dayton. Howell, as chairman, was also a member of the committee. When the committee made its report, Matthew Hillsman and Howell dissented. Their arguments were that the constitution would prove detrimental to the already established Southern Baptist Publication Society,\textsuperscript{103} and that the group present was not sufficiently representative of the Southern Baptist Convention to consummate a Southern Baptist Sunday School Union.\textsuperscript{104}


\textsuperscript{103} R. B. C. Howell, "Letter from Dr. Howell," \textit{Christian Index}, XXXVII, No. 1 (January 6, 1858), 2.

\textsuperscript{104} Homer L. Grice, "Southern Baptist Sunday School Union," \textit{Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists}, II (1858), 1267-1268, states that there were eighty people present; nine were from Kentucky, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia, and the rest were from Tennessee and Alabama. However, the vote taken on the report of the nominating committee, read by J. R. Graves, was twenty-seven to twenty-two ("Sunday School Convention," \textit{Southwestern Baptist}, IX, No. 29 (November 26, 1857), 1.).
After a stormy session, the convention was adjourned to meet at the First Baptist Church, Americus, Georgia, in April, 1858. No definite organization was effected at the Nashville meeting. The convention was adjourned to allow time for discussion in all the churches.

South-wide Opposition

The controversy in the convention at Nashville was simply a prelude to the cacophony which arose throughout the South. R. B. C. Howell led those opposing the Union, and the controversy rapidly developed along the theological lines of Landmarkism versus anti-Landmarkism.

Howell declared that he had been duped and "deceived by the wire-workers" of the movement whom he denominated as Graves and, specifically, Dayton. Dayton accepted the full responsibility for the "origination..."
of this movement." The responsibility, he declared, "rests not upon brother Graves or any one else but myself. Had it not been so bitterly denounced I should have been silent. . . . If there be disgrace, let it fall where it belongs."\(^{108}\)

The most oft-repeated charge was the one made at the convention that the Union would be in competition with the Publishing Society. It appeared that the opponents were not so worried about the detriment to the Publication Society\(^{109}\) as they were about the Union's infusing the minds of the young people of the South with the "New Theology"\(^{110}\) through their books.\(^{111}\)

\(^{108}\)A. C. Dayton, "The Southern Baptist Sabbath School Union," \textit{ibid.}, XXXVI, No. 49 (December 9, 1857), 1.

\(^{109}\)Dayton, in an attempt to absolve himself from the charges of injuring the Publication Society and infusing Landmark principles into the Sunday School literature, wrote to J. M. Pendleton (A. C. Dayton, "Letter to J. M. Pendleton," \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XIV, No. 23 [February 13, 1858], 1.) and asked him to give a "faithful history of what actually transpired in the Convention," as well as what happened "privately, or publicly, in the social circle, in confidential conversation, [and] in the [Concord] Association" concerning the alleged attempts to injure the Publication Society and inject Landmark principles into the Sunday School Union. Pendleton confirmed Dayton's statements by a five column letter which gave the history of the Sunday School Union (J. M. Pendleton, "Reply," \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XIV, No. 23 [February 13, 1858], 1.).

\(^{110}\)[H. E. Taliaferro], "Rev. A. C. Dayton," \textit{Southwestern Baptist}, IX, No. 31 (December 10, 1957), 2. This fear was an oft repeated charge. Graves, at one juncture in the controversy tried to still the distrust of the opposition: "We assure brother P. . . . that it is nothing but a 'Mare's Nest' that the Southern Baptist has found in the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union [italics his]!" To which the Southwestern Baptist ("Mare's Nest," IX, No. 45 [March 25, 1858], 2.) replied: "Well, every parent has a right to name his own child; and as the editor of the Tennessee Baptist [sic] has dubbed this last bantling of his with the Sobriquet of 'Mare's Nest,' we hope it will be recognized by 'all the world and the balance of mankind.' The next issue of the 'Southern (?) Baptist Register and Almanac,' will of course, duly announce to the religious world the following new organization of the age:

"'Mare's Nest.'"

"A. C. Dayton, President
"J. R. Graves, Recording Sec." (Italics his.)

\(^{111}\)[H. E. Taliaferro], \textit{Southwestern Baptist}, IX, No. 31, 2.
In this respect Dayton received the full fury of the opposition.

His original purpose for forming the Union had been to publish books. To the charge of attempting to teach the "New Theology" he replied:

I confess most freely . . . that I was moved to this understanding by a very earnest desire to get the control of the young and imbue them most completely in the new theology which I embraced when I left the denomination among whom I had been sprinkled in my babyhood [sic], and was baptized into the church of Jesus Christ my Lord. That theology, though new to me then, I found was not regarded as very new by some others. But new or old I found it in the Bible. . . . And I do desire most earnestly that every child in all the land and especially every child of Baptist parents shall be taught how to find it in the Bible for himself. . . .

Annual Meetings

Memphis Meeting

The Americus Church, viewing the raging controversy with disapprobation, declined the decision of the Nashville Convention to have the adjourned meeting of the Sunday School Union meet at their church.\(^{113}\) The meeting, originally scheduled for April, was postponed. At the request of the West Tennessee Baptist Convention,\(^ {114}\) the Sunday School Union convened at Memphis, Tennessee, November 12, 1858.

\(^{112}\) A. C. Dayton, "The Sunday School Movement in Nashville," Christian Index, XXXVI, No. 50 (December 16, 1857), 1. Italics his. Dayton also published his "creed"--an attempt to prove that he did not believe any "new theology" (see Appendix C). The Southwestern Baptist, "Rev. A. C. Dayton's Creed," IX, No. 33 (December 21, 1857), 2 reproached Dayton for publishing the creed because it did "not touch those questions which make it unsure and highly improper to place our Sabbath School literature under the management of the present organization [Sunday School Union]."  

\(^{113}\) Louis Bruner, "Baptist Church Action at Americus," Christian Index, XXXVII, New Series, XXVI, No. 12 (March 24, 1858), 2. This was a resolution passed by the church because "the editor of the Christian Index . . . has expressed the opinion that it is by no means desirable that we have the exciting discussion which will probably result. . . ."  

Dayton was unable to attend because of a serious illness, but he was represented by a letter read to the convention by J. R. Graves. The delegates expressed sympathy for Dayton's condition and passed resolutions concerning his illness and his extensive efforts for the Sunday School Union. The convention also ratified Dayton's nomination for president of the Union, which had been made the previous year at Nashville.

Dayton retained the position of president for less than three months. In a February 5, 1859 communication Dayton stated that he had been "earnestly solicited by the Board of Managers" to resign his position as President, and accept that of corresponding secretary and book editor of the Sunday School Union. Dayton soon had a standing column in the *Tennessee Baptist* entitled "Sabbath Schools," which he usually filled with original articles, although occasionally he would quote an article from another source. The column later was headed by the Latin expression, "Non satis multi, sed satis toti."

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116 George F. Cooper, "Southern Baptist S. S. Union," *Christian Index*, XXXVII, No. 50 (December 15, 1858), 2.

117 A. C. Dayton, "At Our Post," *Tennessee Baptist*, XV, No. 22 (February 5, 1859), 2. Punctuation and abbreviation his. The *Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union*, p. 24, indicates that the corresponding secretary, editor, and agent received salaries of $1,252.30. How much of this was Dayton's is not clear. Cf. also, *ibid.*, p. 27 where the "Committee on Salary of Corresponding Secretary and Editor" indicates that the scheme used the first year was not adequate and that more money must be provided for Dayton's salary.

118 The first time this column appeared was in the March 19, 1859 issue of Tennessee Baptist.
Canton Meeting

The Southern Baptist Sunday School Union held its first annual meeting in Canton, Mississippi, November 25-28, 1859. Dayton delivered the introductory sermon on the subject, "The Duty of Bringing Young Children to Christ," using for his text Mark 10:15,16. The convention requested that the sermon be published as one of the Union's Sunday School books.

About one hundred delegates attended the session, coming from the states of Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Texas. The convention voted to hold its next session in Louisville, Kentucky.

Rome Meeting

Between the Canton and Louisville meetings, the Union held a semi-annual meeting at Rome, Georgia, on July 27, 1861. Dayton spoke at this meeting and traced the history of the Union.

119 Aaron Jones, one of the editors for the Mississippi Baptist, wrote the proceedings of this session and published them under the title, "Southern Baptist Sabbath School Convention," Mississippi Baptist, III, No. 35 (December 1, 1859), 2. Other papers reprinted the report: Baptist Messenger, I, No. 14 (December 9, 1859), 2; Tennessee Baptist, XVI, No. 16 (December 10, 1859), 2; Western Recorder, XXVIII, No. 2 (January 9, 1860), 2; Baptist Correspondent, I, No. 3 (January 18, 1860), 1.


121 Jones, Mississippi Baptist, III, No. 35, 2.

122 A. C. Dayton, How Children May Be Brought to Christ (St. Louis: St. Louis Baptist Publishing House, [1860]).

123 Cf. the following: A. C. Dayton, "Meeting at Rome," Baptist Correspondent, I, No. 22 (June 6, 1860), 4; A. C. Dayton, "Semi-Annual Meeting," Mississippi Baptist, IV, I, No. 11 (March 15, 1860), 2; A. S. Worrell, "Southern Baptist Sunday School Union," Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist, I, No. 40 (August 9, 1860), 3. This latter is a summary of the proceedings of this meeting.
Louisville Meeting

On November 23, 1860 the Union met with the East Baptist Church, Louisville, Kentucky. The meeting was poorly attended, due, among other things, to extremely inclement weather. A highlight of the session was the report of the Board of Managers which indicated that "at least a thousand Sabbath Schools" had been organized "as the result of the Union's operations."125

Helena Meeting

The 1861 meeting, scheduled to convene at Helena, Arkansas on November 23, was never held. Dayton published a notice that the meeting had been postponed, but upon examination of the constitution he found that postponement of the session lay beyond his jurisdiction. Although the time of the meeting could not be deferred, he stated he was not going to attend.127 While not indicated, the logical cause of the postponement was the Civil War.

Effects of the War

The war took its toll on the Sunday School Union, as it did on

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126 A. C. D[ayton], "The Meeting of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union at Helena, Arkansas," ibid., XVIII, No. 7 (October 19, 1861), 2.

127 A. C. D[ayton], "The Meeting at Helena," ibid., XVII, No. 11 (November 16, 1861), 2.
nearly everything else in the South. As early as December 15, 1860, the Union was in a financial plight. The Louisville convention had not been well attended, and the contributions left much to be desired. Coupled with the increasing inflationary circumstances of the war, this compelled Dayton in May, 1861 to write: "We have not suspended." Although not suspended, the Union's publishing efforts were inoperative due to lack of funds. By November he was forced to face the live issue of selling the Union's holdings to pay the indebtedness.

Can we . . . afford to sell our plates, lose our copy-rights [sic] throw up our subscription list, lose our paper, and virtually abandon the work which has cost us so much of anxious care, . . . labor, and . . . money? . . .

In the last issue of the Tennessee Baptist published before Fort Donelson and Nashville fell to the Northern armies, Dayton admitted that the work might have to suspend, but that it would fail had never occurred to him. In an attempt to keep the people posted on the state of their activities, he also wrote in the same issue: "We have received less encouraging replies to our letters of late."

The work did eventually suspend; it also failed. When the war was over and the Union met again, Dayton had been dead for almost a year.


129 A. C. Dayton, "We Have not Suspended," ibid., XII, No. 35 (May 4, 1861), 2.

130 A. C. Dayton, "Can We Afford to Wait?" ibid., XVIII, No. 10 (November 9, 1861), 2.

131 A. C. Dayton, "Will It Fail?" ibid., XVIII, No. 23 (February 8, 1862), 2.

132 A. C. Dayton, "How the Work Goes," ibid., XVIII, No. 23 (February 8, 1862), 2.
The Union, although in serious financial difficulties during the war, managed to survive without great financial loss. The Union's stereotyped plates were saved, as well as some of the book manuscripts. Their only indebtedness was to Graves, Marks and Company in the amount of $106.89. Assets were listed at $4,177.59.\(^{133}\)

Controversy with the First Baptist Church, Nashville

The Sunday School Union was the precipitating event that led ultimately to the clash between the two opposing ideologies. Dayton, for his role in the Union, had already been forced from the Bible Board, but Graves, the leader of the Landmark movement and the primary spokesman for that group, had not been affected materially by the opposition to the Union, and it was felt that some action ought to be brought against Graves. The course decided upon resulted in his being brought to trial in his own church, the First Baptist Church of Nashville.

Trial of Graves and Dayton

Dayton's role in these difficulties was originally subordinate. But, upon the formal statement of charges by the church against Graves,\(^{134}\) Dayton became embroiled in the controversy. Following the first session of Graves's trial, Dayton "invited the friends of Mr. Graves to remain"\(^{135}\)

\(^{133}\)"Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union," The Baptist, I, No. 5 (May 11, 1867), 4.

\(^{134}\)Two books contain nearly the whole of the Graves's trial by the First Baptist Church, Nashville. They are Both Sides . . . and Trial of J. R. Graves before the First Baptist Church of Nashville. Review of His Defence before the Ex parte Council of His Friends. Correspondence between the First Baptist Church Nashville and the First Baptist Church at Marietta, Ga., ([n.p.], 1858). The former was published by the Graves's faction; the latter was brought out by the Howell group.

\(^{135}\)"Nashville Correspondence," Southwestern Baptist, X, No. 24 (October 21, 1858), 2.
and read to them a previously prepared "Declaration." The document declared that the First Baptist Church of Nashville was no longer the true church because it had violated Scriptural law, and, thus, the minority were now the true church.

Of the charges brought against Graves, one was that he sought to bring reproach and injury upon R. B. C. Howell by "forcing him into collision with Rev. A. C. Dayton." The following are the ways by which Graves, according to the church's allegations, sought to bring about this "collision":

136 Cf. Both Sides . . . , pp. 46-49 and Trial of J. R. Graves . . . , pp. 3, 5-6. The charge is that the eighteenth chapter of Matthew requires a personal attempt to settle differences. If this fails then the matter can be brought before the church. The Baptist Standard, "A. C. Dayton on the 18th [sic] of Matthew," I, No. 6 (December 25, 1858), 3, turns the charge around and reminds the schismatics that if Graves was the one injured—as he claimed—that it was Graves's responsibility to call upon Howell. The article extracts a lengthy quotation from Dayton's Theodosia Ernest, or Ten Days' Travel in Search of the Church, II (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1866 [originally published, 1857]), 107-108. This quotation serves as proof, according to the Baptist Standard, that the burden of responsibility rests with Graves—not Howell—to seek restitution. The article concludes by citing another quotation from Theodosia: "If this should fail, he must not let the wound continue to fester and the sore to spread. HE MUST NOT GO OUT INTO THE WORLD AND PROCLAIM HIS BROTHER'S FAULTS, OR MAKE KNOWN HIS OWN COMPLAINTS."

137 Southwestern Baptist, X, No. 24, 2. It is from this point that the Graves faction refers to the established First Baptist Church as being the "Howell Society" (cf. A. C. Dayton, "More Work for the Churches," Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 9 [October 30, 1858], 2.). "An Inquirer" wrote to the Baptist Standard, "More Work for the Churches--Information Wanted," I, No. 1 (November 10, 1858), 2, and interrogated Dayton as to the exact point in time when the First Baptist Church became a "Society" and ceased being a church. Cf. also in this connection A. C. Dayton, "The First Baptist Church in a Theatre," Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 9 (October 30, 1858), 2; A. C. D[ayton], "Had We the Right to Do It?" ibid., XVI, No. 40 (June 2, 1860), 2; A. C. D[ayton], "What Else Could We Have Done?" ibid., XVI, No. 43 (June 23, 1860), 2.

138 Trial of J. R. Graves . . . , p. 1. Proof of these allegations, according to the church, could be found in the following sources: The Southern Baptist Register, 1858; Tennessee Baptist, No. 23, February 13, 1858; No. 24 (February 20, 1858), and No. 45 (July 17, 1858).
1. He [Graves] alleges that Dr. Howell was engaged in a systematic attempt to cripple down Mr. Dayton.
3. That he [Howell] casts suspicion on him [Dayton].
4. That he [Howell] is envious of the good he [Dayton] had done, and desires to make him pay the penalty of his superiority and usefulness. . . .
5. That Dr. Howell casts a most unkind and cruel suspicion on Mr. Dayton.
6. That he [Howell] knew it [Howell's letter to the Christian Index] would wound him [Dayton], and consequently sought to wound him, and mar his peace.
7. That he [Howell] knew that it was calculated to excite suspicion against him [Dayton], and intended to do so.
8. That he, the President of the Bible Board, reproduced insinuations against Mr. Dayton, which had appeared in a paragraph published by a member of the Bible Board.140

Graves in his Both Sides defended these charges and reaffirmed their veracity.141

As the trial progressed, there was some indication that the First Baptist Church contemplated prosecuting Dayton in the same manner as it had Graves. A committee, originally appointed on November 15, 1858, but unable to talk to Dayton because of his illness, reported on January 4, 1859.142

139 Christian Index, XXXVII, New Series, XXVI, No. 1 (January 1, 1858), 2. The letter was reprinted in the Southwestern Baptist, XII, No. 45 (February 2, 1858), 2.

140 "Review of the Speech of J. R. Graves Before the Ex-parte Council of His Friends. Second Night of the Trial," Baptist Standard, I, No. 30 (June 18, 1859), 2. Italics his. Cf. also, "Trial of the Rev. J. R. Graves," Baptist Standard, I, No. 6 (December 25, 1858), 2-3, in which a similar list of twelve allegations by C. A. Fuller is given. The list is more general and does not always relate to Howell, although it does all relate to Dayton.


142 Dayton charged that the committee, composed of C. K. Winston, Anson Nelson, and J. R. Briggs never met with him to attempt to reconcile him to the church (A. C. Dayton, "To C. K. Winston, A. Nelson, J. R. Briggs," Tennessee Baptist, XVI, No. 17 [December 17, 1859], 2.). No denial of Dayton's charge was made by the men, although it was declared that the charge of absenting himself wholly from the services of the church was not "fully applicable to Bro. A. C. Dayton because of his protracted illness" ("Special Meeting of the F.B.C.," Baptist Standard, I, No. 14 [February 26, 1859], 1.).
It recommended that Dayton not be tried separately but that he be tried along with the other schismatic members of the church who had joined with the Graves faction. The report continued:

Your committee do not believe that any investigation of his [Dayton's] conduct as Editor of the Tennessee Baptist [sic], or as Secretary of the Bible Board, would result in any good to him or to the church. We therefore most respectfully recommend that no such investigation be made and that he be dealt with only in connection with the said schism. 143

The church's vote on February 15, 1859 was unanimous in declaring that Dayton was

guilty of the sin of schism; guilty of the sin of disorder; guilty of the sin of banding himself, with others, against the Church; guilty of the sin of refusing to hear the Church; guilty of the sin of defaming the Church, guilty of the sin of conspiring with others to break down and destroy the discipline of the Church. . . . 144

Dayton, following Graves's earlier precedent, made no attempt to defend himself against these charges. At a later time Dayton enumerated his reasons for not defending himself and for not submitting to the discipline of the church: (1) The majority of the church was wrong. (2) The church was not scriptural in the way she proceeded. (3) A minority who believed the church to be unscriptural is not bound to be disciplined by the majority. (4) It was best to withdraw from the church before the trial rather than after it; after the trial there is no appeal. 145 Dayton felt that had he not withdrawn from the church it would have been necessary

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143 First Baptist Church, Nashville, "Minutes and Records, 1822-December 4, 1861."

144 Ibid. Cf. also Baptist Standard, I, No. 14, 1. These seven points are expanded as to the specific violation in "Exclusion of the Recusants," Southern Baptist, XIII, No. 50 (March 15, 1859), 1.

145 A. C. Dayton, "Why Did I Aid in Resisting the So-Called Discipline of the First Baptist Church?" Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 33 (April 23, 1859), 2.
for him to have been restored to membership by another church. This would
have been tantamount to an admission "that the act of a majority exclud-
ing us for doing our duty was a lawful and valid act, and that we had lost
our membership. . . . This we had not done." 146

Spring Street Baptist Church

Although attempts were made by many individuals, churches, 147
associations, 148 and conventions 149 to heal the breach between the two
groups, both parties were adamant and the damage was irreparable. Graves,
Dayton, and their friends, had formed the Spring Street Baptist Church
which met regularly in the "halls of one of the fire companies." 150 By
November 20, 1859, the group had received forty-seven members and continued
to report at least a nominal growth. 151 Graves was called as pastor and

146 A. C. D[ayton], "What Else Could We Have Done? No. 4," ibid.,
XVI, No. 40 (June 23, 1860), 2. This is the last of a series of four
articles which Dayton wrote defending the action of the Spring Street
Baptist Church. The previous three articles were entitled "Had We the
Right to Do It?" ibid., Nos. 40-42 (June 2-16, 1860), 2.

147 Cf. Correspondence between the First Baptist Church, Nashville,
Tennessee, and the Baptist Church, Marietta, Georgia (Nashville: Bang,
Walker & Co., 1859), bound with Trial of J. R. Graves . . . .

148 Cf. Concord [Tennessee] Baptist Association, Minutes, 1859,

149 Cf. Mississippi Baptist Convention, Minutes, 1860, p. 18. This
convention appointed a committee to mediate the difficulties between the
two groups. Their efforts were of no avail. See also in this connection
the following articles: A. C. Dayton, "The Mediating Committee," Tennessee
Baptist, XVII, No. 5 (September 29, 1860), 2; the same article appeared
in the Christian Index, XXXIX, New Series, No. 41 (October 10, 1860), 3;
First Baptist Church, Nashville, "Minutes and Records," September 6, 1860.

150 [A. C.] D[ayton], "Our Church in Nashville," Tennessee Baptist,
XV, No. 12 (November 20, 1858), 2.

151 Ibid., [A. C.] D[ayton], "[Additions to the Spring Street Church],"
ibid., XVI, No. 2 (September 10, 1859), 2.
Dayton frequently preached in his absence.\textsuperscript{152}

**Personal Life and Miscellaneous Activities**

In July, 1855,\textsuperscript{153} Dayton had moved his family from Shelbyville, and settled in Edgefield, a suburban area across the Cumberland River from Nashville, and not far from the residence of J. R. Graves.\textsuperscript{154} Dayton's family had grown considerably since the birth of their first child, Laura, in 1845. In 1860 his family included Laura, fifteen; Lucy, ten; Elizabeth, eight; Robert, five; John, three; Lawson, one.\textsuperscript{155} Also, in 1860 Dayton listed real estate holdings of $4,500 and personal property valued at $1,200,\textsuperscript{156} while reporting an annual income of $750.\textsuperscript{157}

**Sickness**

For a considerable portion of his life, Dayton was afflicted by illness. At the height of the controversy with the First Baptist Church, Nashville, he was confined to his bed with such a severe illness that

\textsuperscript{152}[G. C.] \textit{C[onner]}, "Spring Street Baptist Sabbath School," \textit{ibid.}, XVI, No. 3 (September 17, 1859), 2.


\textsuperscript{154}The Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, lists Dayton's family as being numbered 261 "in the order of visitation." Graves's dwelling was 213.

\textsuperscript{155}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{156}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{157}Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1857, "Treasurer's Report, Bible Board," p. 72. Dayton received $800 for his work from August, 1854 to May, 1855 (Proceedings . . . , 1855, p. 22.). From May, 1857 to May, 1858, he received $1,000 (Proceedings . . . , 1859, p. 37.). There is a discrepancy in these figures. Dayton wrote in "The Duties of the Corresponding Secretary," \textit{Southwestern Baptist}, IX, No. 35 (January 14, 1858), 1 that his salary was $1,200 a year. The present writer knows no way to reconcile these two figures.
there was some doubt that he would live. Pendleton, writing of Dayton's illness, states: "The bone for several inches between the right knee and hip is diseased--dead--I believe the Doctors call it Nekrosis [sic necrosis]. New bone must be formed and the diseased part must come out." Of this experience with death Dayton wrote:

Some three or four times in our lifetime, God has been pleased to bring us thus down to the very door of death, and twice we have been enabled by his grace... to so trust [sic] in Jesus that we could look death calmly in the face and wait his coming.\(^{159}\)

As he gradually improved he could walk with the help of crutches. By the middle of April, 1859, Dayton was desirous of getting out to carry on his business as corresponding secretary of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union. On April 16, 1859 the \textit{Tennessee Baptist} carried the following request:

Bro. Dayton wishes to hire a steady [,] trusty boy, from 12 to 16 [sic] years old, to wait upon him and drive him about. He is now shut up for want of such a boy. Will not some brother oblige him greatly by hiring him such a boy.\(^{160}\)

This illness left Dayton a cripple until 1862 when he was able to walk with only the use of a cane. Finally this, too, was discarded, and

\(^{158}\)J. M. P[endleton], "Eld. A. C. Dayton," \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XV, No. 20 (January 22, 1858), 2. The first reference in the \textit{Tennessee Baptist} is November 20, 1858: "Brother Dayton has been confined to his room for several weeks past, and to his bed lately. He is suffering greatly." On December 4, 1858, he was reported to be in "a very critical condition." The December 11 issue stated that he was "suffering something less, perhaps, than last week." Christmas Day, 1858 found Dayton in "a hopeful condition, which is all we can say today." The January 8 issue reported that he was "improving slowly," as did the January 22 issue.

\(^{159}\)A. C. D[ayton], "The Death Light," \textit{Tennessee Baptist}, XV, No. 22 (February 5, 1858), 3. The "twice" that he refers to here would probably be this sickness and the illness through which he passed at the time of his conversion to Baptist views in 1852.

\(^{160}\)The article ran for three weeks and was also printed in the \textit{Christian Index}, XXXVIII, No. 18 (May 4, 1859), 3.
he wrote, "I can walk once more. Oh! What a blessing it is to be able to walk."\(^{161}\)

**Preaching Engagements**

In addition to his many duties, Dayton was a frequent speaker and preacher at churches, associations, and state conventions. During the years 1859-1860 Dayton also accepted his first pastorate. The church, the New Bethel Baptist Church,\(^{162}\) which is still extant--is located on White's Creek Road about five miles north of Nashville.\(^{163}\) Dayton met with this church once a month on the fourth Saturday and Sunday of the month.\(^{164}\) He also preached on several occasions for the Columbia, Tennessee, Baptist Church during the fall of 1859, while the church was without a pastor,\(^{165}\) although it does not appear that he was ever called as pastor.

Dayton was well received as a speaker at Union University where,

\(^{161}\)L. H. D[ayton], "A Sketch of the Life and Labors of Eld. A. C. Dayton," *The Baptist*, III, Nos. 21-22 (January 29, 1870), 1. From a statement made by Dayton later, it seems that his mother visited him at this time. He makes reference to "such nursing as only a devoted wife, a doting mother and a loving daughter could bestow . . ."(A. C. Dayton, "At Our Post," *Tennessee Baptist*, XV, No. 22 [February 5, 1859], 2. This is the first article by him in the paper since November 27, 1858. A brief note had appeared December 18, 1858.). (Italics his.)


\(^{163}\)R. D. Brooks, *One Hundred and Sixty-Two Years of Middle Tennessee Baptists, 1796-1958* (Nashville: Cullom & Gherter, 1958), p. 62. This is one of the oldest churches in Tennessee, having been established in 1794. It was formerly called White's Creek.


in 1858, he delivered a series of lectures on the subject "the Authenticity of Holy Scriptures." The lectures began on January 11, and concluded on January 26. On June 24, 1860, he also delivered the annual sermon before the Philolethian Society of that school.

In these antebellum years, Dayton was a man of extremes—well liked by his friends and bitterly resented by his enemies. The following illustration is an example of how a friend saw him. The man had called on the firm of Graves, Marks, and Company, and W. P. Marks had given him instructions concerning the location of Dayton's house. The stranger, John Smith, wrote:

So I went round to the queer square-topped house, painted pink and white.

I knew Brother Dayton must be a kind, good humored, fat old gentleman. And I didn't feel at all afraid but what he would be glad to see me. So I walked up to a poor sickly consumptive looking man that was setting [sic] out on the porch talking to a black, long-haired dog that looked in his face, and grinned, as though he understood every word he said.

"Pleasant morning, Sir," says I. "Very pleasant," says he, without getting up. "Won't you come in sir." Just then a little girl came to the door, and says he, "Sweet, bring the gentleman a chair." Well, I sat down, and says I, "I would like to see Mr. Dayton a minute, if he is at home."

"My name is Dayton," says he.
"But I want to see Brother Dayton, the preacher."
"I preach sometimes," says he, looking at me with his great dark eyes, in a way that made me start a little.
"Are you the Brother Dayton that wrote Theodosia?" says I.
"They lay it to me," says he, very indifferently.

166 [Samuel] H[enderson], "Editorial Correspondence," Southwestern Baptist, IX, No. 38 (February 4, 1858), 2.

167 Cf. ibid.; S. P. Forgy, "[Union University Lecturers]," Western Recorder, XXV, No. 5 (February 3, 1858), 1. Dayton was to be followed by R. B. C. Howell, Nashville; Samuel Henderson, Montgomery, Alabama; and the Rev. Hendrickson, Memphis, Tennessee (J. M. Pendleton], "Lectures on Theology," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 18 (January 5, 1858), 3.).

"Is your name A. C. Dayton?"
"That's the way I write it," says he.
"Well, well," says I to myself. "If I had started out to shoot the author of Theodosia, I would have passed a hundred such looking men as this, without cocking my rifle."[169]

But all were not as interested in A. C. Dayton as was John Smith. There were others—both North and South. There was war—both civil and theological. The theological warfare Dayton could withstand; the civil he could not. The forces of the war began to move closer and closer to Nashville. Dayton's livelihood was earned by rendering service as corresponding secretary and book editor of the Sunday School Union. However, there was no money with which to publish books. Eventually, there was little money to reimburse the corresponding secretary.[170] The last few months of 1861 and the first two months of 1862 were indeed times that tried men's souls. Although desperate, these months were only a prelude to the next year when Amos Cooper Dayton—editor, minister and Sunday School worker—would be Amos Cooper Dayton, the refugee. On February 15, 1862, Fort Donelson fell to the rapidly advancing Union forces.

[170] During the time between December 14, 1861 and February 8, 1862, Dayton publicly reported receipt of three gifts totaling $55. His gracious thankfulness would lead one to conclude that the money was received by a deserving person. See the Tennessee Baptist for the following dates: December 14, 1861; December 24, 1861; and February 8, 1862.
CHAPTER III

THE YEARS OF WAR (1862–1865)
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Removal from Nashville

"War is hell," declared a contemporary of Amos Cooper Dayton. With this statement Dayton certainly would have been in complete agreement. Upon evacuating Nashville, 1 Dayton, his wife, and seven children journeyed first to Shelbyville, Tennessee, where after a stay of a few months, Dayton left his wife and all but the oldest child. 2 With Laura, now sixteen, he traveled to Alabama. 3 The first positive dating of his presence after he left Nashville is in April, 1862. Dayton passed through Atlanta, sometime during the latter part of April, 4 on his way to the

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1 The exact date he left is not known. Although Fort Donelson did not fall until February 15, 1862, there is some indication that Dayton left Nashville before this date. His daughter, Lucy, states that "the horrors of 1861 drove us from our home" (L. H. DAYTON, "The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.). However, seven of his articles appear in the February 8, 1862 issue of the Tennessee Baptist.


3 Laura indicated that his reason for not staying in Shelbyville with his family was that he was afraid "to risk the rigors of a Tennessee winter" (Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 571.).

4 "Elder A. C. Dayton," Biblical Recorder, XXVII, No. 20 (April 30, 1862), 2. This is a quotation from the Banner and Baptist, which for this period is not available. The only extant copy of this periodical is located in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. In this collection the papers published between April 12, 1862 and May 9, 1863 are missing. When the issues cease the name is Banner and Baptist. When they commence again the title is Baptist Banner. The date the name was changed is not discernable.
Georgia Baptist Convention. He met with this convention at LaGrange, Georgia, on April 26, 1862 and was received as a visiting minister.5

"Our National Sin" Campaign

After the convention, Dayton stayed in Georgia6 and traveled throughout the state lecturing on the subject, "Our National Sin."7 In a letter to Samuel Boykin, Dayton indicated the purpose and nature of this series of lectures.

I feel that I have a great mission from God to the citizens of our Confederacy. I can deliver my message as well in a school house or court house, as in a Baptist meeting house, or in one of any other denomination. . . . My mission is not ecclesiastical, but patriotic. It is not denominational, but Christian in the widest sense of that word as commonly employed.

Dayton's proposed itinerary, which began on June 8 at Newnan, Georgia and continued through June 29, included thirteen different engagements in twenty-two days, in twelve different towns.9 This was a rather

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5Georgia Baptist Convention, Minutes, 1862, p. 7.

6It would seem that Dayton resided temporarily at Cartersville, Georgia. Three communications by him are dated from this place. The first communication is dated May 26, 1862 ("Preaching Tour," Christian Index, XLI, No. 17 [June 3, 1862], 3.); the second is dated June 2, 1862 ("The Law of the Sabbath," ibid., XLI, No. 18 [June 10, 1862], 3.); the third is dated June 16 ("Is God on Our Side?" ibid., XLI, No. 19 [June 17, 1862], 3.).

7In the column entitled "Editorial Jottings and Sips from Our Exchanges," ibid., XLI, No. 15 (May 20, 1862), 2, there is a brief notation of this. The reference is probably from the Banner and Baptist, and is the first reference to this series of lectures which Dayton delivered.

8A. C. Dayton, Christian Index, XLI, No. 17, 3.

9"Elder Dayton's Appointments for June," ibid., LXI, No. 18 (June 10, 1862), 2.
demanding schedule for one who, at this time, could not "walk except a little way, and that with pain..."

Upon the completion of this schedule he announced three other appointments, terminating July 7, at Griffin, Georgia. While still suffering from the crippling disease of 1859, Dayton's strength increased as he traveled and spoke. He wrote on June 16, 1862: "By the favor of God, I have grown stronger rather than weaker..."

Concerning the "national sin" of the Confederacy, Dayton was very specific. This, according to him, was definitely not slavery, for slavery "has the direct sanction of God himself and so must be not only innocent but desirable." But there was one particular area in which

10 A. C. Dayton, ibid., XLI, No. 17, 3.

11 A. C. Dayton, "Elder Dayton," ibid., XLI, No. 20 (June 24, 1862), 3. Cf. also a notice in "Hasty Telegrams," ibid., XLI, No. 21 (July 1, 1862), 3, which indicates he will attend the general meeting of the Bush Arbor Church, Rome, Georgia, June 13, 1862.

12 A. C. Dayton, ibid., XLI, No. 20, 3.

13 A copy of this sermon is to be found in "Rev. A. C. Dayton, Sermon," ibid., XLI, No. 22 (July 8, 1862), 2.

14 A. C. Dayton, ibid., XII, No. 17, 3. Written before Nashville fell, the following prayer describes as well as any other statement Dayton's views on slavery: "Oh Lord God Almighty who rulest among the nations, who settest up one and casteth another down, these our enemies have come against us to destroy us, because we have in our midst a relation which thou thyself didst institute among the Jews, which thou thyself didst recognize in that great moral law which thou didst write upon two tables of stone, and which thou didst again recognize under the gospel by commanding slaves to be subject to their masters, and masters to be just and kind to their slaves, we therefore come to thee as the God of the Bible, and ask thee to protect us from these thy enemies, and ours, who have declared that if thou dost teach such things in the Bible, they will not receive or obey thy Bible. Shall these rejectors of thy Holy Word triumph in this hour of trial? Wilt thou not give victory to us as we contend for our homes, our firesides, our wives, our little ones, and for that relation of master and servant which thou thyself hast ordained? As far as we have failed to fulfil [sic] the duties which thou dost require of us as masters, we pray that thou wilt lead us to repentance, and bless
he felt the Confederacy was not "on God's side," and that was in the practice of Sabbath breaking. 15 "The sin of our government is, that it not only permits but requires, by law, the weekly violation of the fourth commandment." 16 Dayton's chief complaint was against the practice of operating the post office and ordering men in the army to drill on Sunday. 17 Dayton continued to berate the Confederacy for its "national sin" 18 throughout 1862-1864, even though leading Baptists differed with him 19 and others even accused him of attempting to violate the principle those troubles to our growth in grace, to the greater security of our homes and the increase of godliness among both masters and servants." (A. C. Dayton, "How Shall Our Churches and Sabbath Schools Be Affected by the War?" Tennessee Baptist, XVIII, No. 5 [October 5, 1861], 2.) In another article, Dayton stated that "[I am] myself a slaveholder. . . ." ("Slavery in the Light of Religion," Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist, II, No. 24 [March 23, 1861], 1.) This article is reprinted from his Dayton's Baptist Monthly, I, No. 1 (March, 1861). (Italics his.)

15 A. C. Dayton, Christian Index, XLI, No. 19, 3.


18 Cf. the following articles by Dayton: "Our National Sin," Christian Index, XLII, No. 31 (August 7, 1863), 1; "The Law of the Sabbath," ibid., XLI, No. 18 (June 10, 1862), 3; "To Baptist Associations," ibid., XLII, No. 37 (September 18, 1863), 4. Similar articles appear in the Baptist Banner in the following issues: August 15, 1863; October 24, 1863; May 14, 1864; July 23, 1864; and August 27, 1864.

19 "A Great National Sin," Christian Index, XLII, No. 37 (September 18, 1863), 2 refuted Dayton's claim that Sabbath breaking was the national sin. The article, unsigned but apparently written editorially by Samuel Boykin, suggests that the Confederacy's national sin was the "abuse of the divine institution of slavery."
of separation of church and state. He continued to feel that observance of the Sabbath would earn victory for the Confederacy.

Southern Baptist Historical Society

On July 27, 1861, the first Southern Baptist Historical Society met in Atlanta, Georgia. Dayton was unable to be present but was listed as being one of the "brethren, though absent, [who] were understood to desire their names recorded." On July 26, 1862 Dayton attended the second, and apparently last, meeting of this society which also was held at Atlanta. At this session Dayton was elected vice president representing the state of Tennessee.

Refugeeing

Return to Tennessee

In the early fall of 1862, Dayton returned to Shelbyville, Tennessee, where he "found his family all well, and more numerous, by one

20 [J. L. Reynolds], editor of the Confederate Baptist, criticized Dayton for his efforts to secure legislation for better Sabbath observance. "We are opposed to all attempts to sustain the institutions of religion, by secular power. All we ask of Caesar is to let us alone. This is the ground occupied by Baptists, from time immemorial. . . . We would advise our brother to reset that old landmark, and let the Gospel and its institutions stand upon that foundation." ("Going Down to Egypt for Help," I, No. 44 [September 2, 1863], 2.) Dayton reacted by stating that he was not seeking for "legislation to secure the observance of the Sabbath, but for the repeal of that which now requires the desecration of it" (quoted in [J. L. Reynolds], "Baptist Banner," Confederate Baptist, I, No. 47 [September 23, 1863], 2.). The Christian Index, "Sabbath Desecration," XLII, No. 37 (September 18, 1863), 2, while disagreeing with Dayton's view, that Sabbath desecration was the national sin, nevertheless defended him against the Confederate Baptist. (Italics his.)


22 N. M. Crawford, "Baptist Historical Society, Atlanta, July 26, 1862," Christian Index, XLI, No. 29 (August 26, 1862), 1.
dear little girl, than when he left it last spring." At this time Dayton's health had broken again, and he now faced the prospect of losing his voice permanently.

Upon recuperation Dayton then moved with his family to Sand Mountain, Jackson county, Alabama, in an attempt to escape the ever advancing Union army. The family lived in a log cabin provided by Z. H. Gordon. They lived in Alabama for some four or five months, when the advance of the enemy again made it necessary for them to leave their home.

LaFayette, Georgia

LaFayette Baptist Church

From Sand Mountain, Alabama, Dayton moved his family to LaFayette, North Georgia. On January 3, 1863, the First Baptist Church of LaFayette extended a call to Dayton to serve as its pastor.

In accepting the call, Dayton stated that he and his daughter, Laura, were members of the Spring Street Baptist Church, Nashville, but because of the hostilities it would be impossible for them to receive letters of dismission. The church waived this formality and accepted both of them into full fellowship as members.

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23 "Elder A. C. Dayton," Religious Herald, XXXV, No. 24 (October 23, 1862), 1. This is a quotation from the Banner and Baptist. The note also appears in the Biblical Recorder, XXVII, No. 46 (October 29, 1862), 2. This daughter was his last child. She was named Narcissa.

24 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.

25 Ibid.

The movement of such a large family proved expensive, and coupled with the inflationary conditions which accompanied the war, this soon forced Dayton to engage in other activities for a means of support.

**Dayton's Select School for Girls**

Dayton and Laura, now eighteen, established an academy for girls in LaFayette. The following advertisement ran in the *Baptist Banner*.27

**DAYTON'S SELECT SCHOOL FOR GIRLS**

at LaFayette, Ga.

Elder A. C. Dayton [,] President, and Teacher of Chemistry, Botany, Mental Philosophy, Rhetoric, etc.
Miss Laura H. Dayton, Teacher of the Latin and Greek Languages, Algebra, Geometry, etc.

Tuition: In the preparatory classes per term of five months - - - - - - - - - - - $10 00
In the Higher Classes- - - - - - 25 00

Board can be had, in good families, from twenty to twenty-five dollars per month.

Only a limited number of Pupils will be received, as our object is to give to each one the most thorough mental discipline.

The pupils should bring with them all the requisite books, as it is difficult to secure them here,

LaFayette, February 9, 1863.

The school was in session for only one school year. It enrolled no more than thirty-five pupils.28

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27"Dayton's Select School at LaFayette, Ga. [Advertisement]" *Baptist Banner*, IV, No. 25 (May 9, 1863), 4. The advertisement is dated February 9, 1863. Copies of the *Baptist Banner* prior to this date are not available. A very short announcement concerning the school also appeared in "Editorial Brevities," *Christian Index*, XLII, No. 8 (February 23, 1863), 2.

28 L. H. D[ayton], *The Baptist*, III, Nos. 21-22, 1. Evidence of this school's existence is difficult to document. Mrs. Albert Campbell, church clerk, First Baptist Church, LaFayette, Georgia, stated in personal correspondence that "there was at one time a Female Academy located here but I cannot tell you anything about it." The only information in addition to the two announcements referred to in N. 27 is through personal
Dental Practice

In addition to his preaching and teaching, Dayton was also forced to return to his old profession of dentistry.29 His daughter quotes from his journal:

"I have been bothered about whether it is right for me to go back to my instruments and operating chair, but have reasoned that as Paul made tents when other means failed, so I may use the knowledge and skill which I possess to secure those comforts of which my family would be deprived if I did not do this."30

Baptist Banner

It was also while Dayton was in LaFayette that he began an association with the Baptist Banner, which was to last even longer than did his connection with the Tennessee Baptist. Sometime prior to May 9, 186331 Dayton became an associate editor of the paper, which was then published in Atlanta. He was to hold this or a similar relationship until his death.

The war relentlessly pursued Dayton. The LaFayette church records note that "public worship and discipline" were suspended after the July 4, 1863 meeting. The reason for suspension was the "calamitous consequences of the war of the present revolution in dispensing our membership, resting [arresting] our house and appalling every interest of society and

correspondence with Mrs. Elizabeth Morrow of Birmingham, Alabama. According to Mrs. Morrow, her mother attended this one session of Dayton's Select School for Girls, but she has no information about it (Personal letter, February 16, 1965.).


30 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.

31 Issues before this date are not available. How much prior to this date is not discernable.
country." Just six months from the time Dayton accepted the pastorate of the church, he resigned in order that he might, once again, flee the advancing Northern army.

Perry, Georgia

On July 24, 1863, the trustees of the Houston Female College announced that they had secured the services of A. C. Dayton to serve as president of the institution. Dayton moved to Perry in the summer of 1863, and on August 22, 1863, he presented himself as a candidate for membership to the Perry Baptist Church, coming by letter from the LaFayette Baptist church.

Houston Female College

Dayton performed about the same activities with this institution that he had performed at LaFayette. Both he and his daughter, Laura, taught. Courses were offered at the primary, college preparatory, and college levels. French, Latin, Greek, music, and piano could be studied.

32 Neal and Wert, p. 27.
33 Ibid.
34 "Houston Female College [Advertisement]," Christian Index, XLII, No. 29 (July 24, 1863), 3. Dayton's acceptance letter was published two weeks later ("To My Brethren and Friends in Georgia," ibid., XLII, No. 31 [August 7, 1863], 3.).
35 First Baptist Church, Perry, Georgia, Minutes, August 22, 1863. It is possible that his family had not yet moved to Perry. Laura Dayton, who had also been a member of the LaFayette Baptist Church did not present herself for membership until November 21, 1863.
36 "Dr. A. C. Dayton," Baptist Banner, IV, No. 36 (July 25, 1863), 3.
37 A. C. Dayton, Christian Index, XLII, No. 31, 3.
In addition to this, "special instruction in the SCIENCE AND ART OF TEACHING" was offered "under the immediate direction of the president." 38

The college numbered about one hundred students39 and five or six teachers. 40 Dayton served as president until shortly before his death when, upon the insistence of his family, he resigned because of ill health. 41

Pastorates

Perry Baptist Church

At the December, 1863, monthly conference, Dayton "was unanimously called to preach . . . one Sabbath in each month . . . "42 to the Perry Baptist Church. He accepted this arrangement and agreed to preach at Perry the first Sunday of each month. B. F. Tharp was to preach in the remaining services.

38 A. C. Dayton, "Houston Female College," Baptist Banner, IV, No. 36 (July 25, 1863), 2. Italics his.

39 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.

40 A. C. Dayton, "Houston Female College," Christian Index, XLII, No. 48 (December 11, 1863), 2.

41 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1. Other references which contain information about the college and Dayton's activities are the following: Arthur Jackson, "Houston Female College," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I (1958), 653; B. D. Ragsdale, Story of Georgia Baptists (Atlanta: Foote and Davis Co., 1932), I, 98; Christian Index, January 12, 1865; Baptist Banner, November 28, 1863 [two articles]; December 25, 1863; January 16, 1864; May 7, 1864; May 14, 1864 [two articles]; June 18, 1864; July 23, 1864; August 13, 1864; October 1, 1864; December 31, 1864.

42 First Baptist Church, Perry, Georgia, Minutes. These minutes are microfilmed and are in the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.
Houston Factory Baptist Church

In addition to preaching at the Perry Church, Dayton had previously accepted the sole pastorate of the Houston Factory Baptist Church, about five or six miles outside of Perry. In October, 1863 the church "made choice of Brother Dayton to serve the church the balance of the year and for 1864." Dayton preached regularly at this church until his death. Services were usually held on the third Sunday of the month, although this at times varied.

Baptist Banner

The first issue of the Baptist Banner had appeared October 5, 1859 under the title of Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist. It was born out of a desire to have a paper in Georgia that would be more sympathetic toward the Landmark principles than was the Christian Index. Dayton, in commenting upon the prospectus of the paper, remarked that "the new paper will probably have a large circulation in all parts of the State [of Georgia], unless the course of the Index [sic] should be very materially changed." Dayton had been a frequent contributor to the paper, having an article in the first issue, and as early as May 9, 1863, he had become

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43 Houston Factory Baptist Church, Perry, Georgia, Minutes. The church is now called Houston Lake Baptist Church. These minutes are microfilmed and are in the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

44 "Editorial Summary," Christian Index, XXVIII, No. 23 (June 8, 1859), 3.

associate editor. The July 18, 1863 issue carried an announcement that the "editorial services of Elder A. C. DAYTON" had been secured. A week later Dayton wrote: "Since my engagement to furnish an amount of editorial matter for The Baptist Banner, I have become part owner of the paper." The same issue carried the caption of "Dayton, Ells & Co." on the masthead. Dayton was to serve as the editor of the denominational and religious news while James N. Ells was to have the responsibility of the secular department and the actual printing and publishing of the paper.

Dayton's salutatory is noteworthy, for it states his views of other denominations, while at the same time reiterating his willingness to engage in controversy.

It may be expected by some that my articles will be all of a denominational character; I do not intend to make them so. There is much of truth which is held by others as well as by Baptists, and comparatively but little which we alone believe and practice. Those things, however, in which we differ from other denominations are of vital importance to the faith, the order, and organization of the church of Christ. They may not be neglected. . . . It is the agitation of the waves that purifies the waters of the sea. . . .

It appears that Dayton saw this "agitation of the waters" as his primary purpose on the Banner staff. He had accepted the position because friends of the paper had felt that his presence would be a guaranty to the denomination and the world, that it would be the firm and uncompromising advocate of consistency in practice, as well as of soundness in the faith, of our churches. They desired . . . that the paper would not only be "Baptistical," but "Landmark." Such we shall try to make it.

46 "Who Will Help the Banner Now?" Baptist Banner, IV, No. 36 (July 25, 1863), 2.

47 A. C. D[ayton], "Salutatory," ibid., IV, No. 35 (July 18, 1863), 2. Italics his.

48 A. C. D[ayton], "Our Fifth Volumne," ibid., V, No. 2 (November 21, 1863), 2. Italics his.
Dayton remained in Perry and depended on the mails to convey his articles to Atlanta, where the paper was published. As the Union forces neared Atlanta, the Banner office was moved to Augusta, Georgia, and the interruption of the mail service quite often prevented Dayton's articles from reaching the Banner. Dayton maintained his partnership with James N. Ells until sometime prior to October 1, 1864, at which time Dayton's name was removed from the editor's position. No indication is given for the dissolution of the partnership. Although no longer proprietor or partner, Dayton retained the position of corresponding editor until his death.

Opposition to the Southern Baptist Convention

It was not long before Dayton became enmeshed in controversy. From his association and experience with J. R. Graves and the Tennessee Baptist, he had learned that controversy sells copy and boosts the subscription list. Dayton, now proprietor of a Baptist paper, possibly entertained visions of transferring to the Baptist Banner the aura which had surrounded the now suspended Tennessee Baptist. Soon after becoming a partner in the paper, Dayton began to criticize the Southern Baptist Convention.

49 The last issue published in Atlanta was June 25, 1864. The first issue in Augusta was published July 23, 1864.

50 This happened for a four-month period from November 26, 1864 to March 25, 1865.

51 Issues are missing from August 23, 1864 to October 1, 1864.

52 The last available issue of the Banner is April 22, 1865. The next available issue is dated September 9, 1865. Dayton is listed as corresponding editor in the April 22 issue. It is probable that he retained this position until his death.
Opposition to Mission Methods

Although the Christian Index had avoided any lengthy entanglement with the Baptist Banner, this attitude of non-involvement was soon to be altered. Dayton attended the Rehoboth Association in October, 1863, and upon his return he wrote to the Banner commending the association's missionary customs. Dayton was highly complimentary of the association's practice of maintaining its own missionary, apart from either the Foreign or Domestic Mission Boards.

Samuel Boykin, editor of the Christian Index, retaliated and reproached Dayton for what sounded like "an open attack upon the system favored by a majority of Baptists." Boykin further called on Dayton to correct this view lest the people assume that Dayton advocated missionary activities without the instrumentality of the mission boards.

The gauntlet had been cast down and Dayton was not hesitant in picking it up. After reflecting on the statement, Dayton wrote:

We believe, more than ever, that every association should choose its own man. . . . Every church that is able to do so, ought to have its own missionary, supported by itself and reporting to itself, as Paul and Barnabas reported to the church at Antioch.

But while this is the plan which we approve . . . we have no disposition to force it upon our brethren. . . . For ourself, we rather love to be with the minority, especially when the minority happens to be with the Word of the Lord.

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53 [Samuel Boykin], "A.C.D. and Missionary Plans," Christian Index, LXII, No. 40 (October 16, 1863), 2, quotes Dayton's statement from the Baptist Banner. The issue of the Banner for this date is missing.

54 Ibid.

55 A. C. D[ayton], "The Rehoboth Association, Again," Baptist Banner, IV, No. 49 (October 31, 1863), 2. Italicics his.
Dayton-Boykin Debate

The disagreement soon enlarged into a full-scale debate. Dayton and Boykin agreed to debate the issue in the columns of their respective papers. The debate itself took the form of a series of sixteen letters by Dayton and six by Boykin upon the question, "Can Baptists, without violating the Scripture, conduct missionary operations by boards and conventions?" Dayton contended the negative; Boykin the affirmative. Throughout this series of articles both parties maintained a relatively high degree of courtesy and punctiliousness. However, outside these main statements the arguments quite often degenerated into faulty logic and the employment of some of the more common fallacious logical devices—argumentum ad hominem, argumentum ad misericordiam, and argumentum ad populum.

Dayton, in his last letter, summarized his argument in six basic statements. (1) If it is the duty of any to work by boards, it is the duty of all. (2) God has a definite plan, and we must follow this plan. (3) The Scriptures do not give the slightest hint that missionary work should be done by conventions. (4) There is a plan outlined in the Bible. (5) The "God-given plan" is that individual churches perform this act. (6) There is a danger inherent in the board plan: viz., "It is very dangerous to the independence and purity of the churches, and the safety of

56 Dayton's letters were entitled "To Elder Samuel Boykin," and were published in the Baptist Banner, V, Nos. 9-29 (January 23-June 25, 1864). However, letters four and five are missing and could not be located.

57 Boykin's letters were entitled "Can Baptists, without Violating the Scriptures, Conduct Missionary Operations by Boards and Conventions?" and appeared in the Christian Index, XLIII, Nos. 32-37 (August 26-September 30, 1864). Although fewer in number, Boykin's articles are nearly as long as Dayton's.
individual ministers and church members, to place such enormous power in the hands of a few men, irresponsible to the churches."\textsuperscript{58}

The controversy continued until the end of 1864 when it finally died out,\textsuperscript{59} stopped in part by the irregularity of the mail. Although little, it seems, was accomplished by the debate, the series of letters does present as cogent and thorough an argument against the use of boards as had been written in the short history of the Southern Baptist Convention. It is impossible to assess the influence that Dayton's arguments had upon molding the anti-board sentiment in the South. Had the articles been published at a time when the South was not enmeshed in a civil turmoil, it is likely that they would have had a much greater impact.

Reversal of Earlier Views

These anti-board views expressed by Dayton were a permutation of his earlier views. Shortly after his resignation as corresponding secretary of the Bible Board, Dayton was engaged by R. W. Fain, in a tête-à-tête relative to the same basic question he later debated with Boykin. Fain, a Primitive or "Old Baptist," challenged Dayton to give Scriptural support for the practice of the regular Baptists' use of "auxiliary helps or worldly institutions"—that is, any type of determined ministerial support. All types of support, according to Fain, should be voluntary: "... churches, or brethren shall send their voluntary offerings for this purpose

\textsuperscript{58} A. C. D[ayton], "Letters to Elder S. Boykin," \textit{Baptist Banner}, V, No. 29 (June 25, 1864), 2. Italics his.

\textsuperscript{59} In addition to the articles already referred to Dayton wrote more than twenty other articles on this question which appeared in the \textit{Banner} between October, 1863 and November, 1864.
To this argument Dayton remarked that the only difference between the "Old Baptist" and the regular Baptist view was that we have a Convention, and the Convention has a committee of select brethren called a Board. But is the Convention or its Board, any more a worldly institution than an Association, and a committee which it might appoint to pay over the money as it might be needed in the intervals of its meetings? The Association is merely a voluntary combination of the brethren, or churches to effect some object which they could not singly effect so well. If names are anything, we might call the Convention an Association. It is nothing more. It is a voluntary combination of the churches and brethren to do what as isolated and single churches they could not do so well. And our Missionary Boards are only committees of brethren. . . . They have no power to send any one. . . . [The Convention] is only carrying out on a larger scale the associational plan. . . .

It is obvious that Dayton's views had undergone a complete metamorphosis by the time he debated with Samuel Boykin. Such an alteration definitely weakened his arguments against the use of boards.

Opposition to Theological Education

Dayton further evinced his opposition to the Southern Baptist Convention by rejecting the Convention's method of seminary education. Instead of having one centralized seminary at Greenville, South Carolina, Dayton favored having "six or ten young ministers gather in some locality

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60 [A. C.] D[ayton], "Remarks on 'Ministerial Support,'" Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 42 (June 26, 1858), 4. This is Dayton's summary of Fain's argument.

61 Ibid. Italics his.

62 It is probable that a primary factor in his change of views are his bitter controversy with the Bible Board.

63 Boykin reminded Dayton of his reversal of views and contended that Dayton's "present argument . . . would have been entitled to so much the more respectful attention from us, if it had been accompanied by confession and recantation" ([Boykin], Christian Index, XLIII, No. 32, 2.). Italics his.
most convenient and engage for two years in the study of the Bible under the supervision of some competent minister." 64

This view of theological education was also a reversal of his earlier position. In 1857 Dayton attended the Theological Education Convention which met during the Southern Baptist Convention. At this session he had been appointed to represent the needs of the proposed theological seminary before the people of Tennessee. In doing this, he stated:

... We must have a great Central School, for the study of Theology.
... Let us amply endow it--let us generously patronize it--let us labor to make it all that a Theological Seminary should be. 65

Dayton's opposition to any centralization was grounded in the belief that this was an innovation. Undoubtedly he felt called upon to reinforce the Landmark cause which had been struggling since the beginning of the war. Pendleton had moved to the North; Graves was in Mississippi. Thus, of the original triumvirate, only he had access to the columns of a paper in which he could refurbish the "Old Landmarks" and call upon Baptists to return to the "old paths." This was his intention when he wrote:

It was not the custom of Baptists, in the ancient days to affiliate with the unbaptized... to call on conventions or boards... to perform their missionary work for them... to give the theological education of all their ministers into the hands of half a dozen men in some great central seminary. These are all novelties. 66

64 A. C. Dayton, "Theological Schools, No. II," Baptist Banner, V, No. 43 (November 5, 1864), 2. Italics his. Cf. also "Theological Schools, No. I," ibid., V, No. 42 (October 29, 1864), 2; "Our Theological School in Operation," ibid., V, No. 44 (November 12, 1864), 2; and "Ready to Quarrel," ibid., V, No. 46 (November 26, 1864), 2.


66 A. C. Dayton, "An Innovator," ibid., V, No. 42 (October 29, 1864), 2. The Christian Index, V, No. 46 (November 26, 1864), 2 playfully chides Dayton and urges him to follow Paul's example and walk rather than ride a train; use a stylus rather than a press; wear sandals rather than shoes, and hence shun all the "novelties."
Personal Life and Family

Although one may disagree with his conclusions, one cannot doubt Dayton's sincerity. That he firmly believed that he was right is evidenced by the following statement:

I dare not leave the God-appointed path of truth to go with those I love. Could I have done so, I should not be a Baptist. I should have gone with that *majority* which includes the dearest of all my earthly friends. 67

Baptism of His Wife

This is undoubtedly a reference to his wife. The fact that he could not convince his own wife of the correctness of Baptist views must have been a source of embarrassment and concern to him. This concern was shortly eliminated. On November 13, 1864 his wife presented herself to the Perry Baptist Church and was baptized shortly thereafter. 68 Other than the eldest daughter, Laura, available records do not indicate that any of the other members of the family had been baptized at this time.

Last Sermon

Dayton himself made few references to his wife or family, but from the writings of his daughters the family appeared to be a devoted one. Laura was most helpful in assisting him in his teaching. She also aided him in the selection of his last sermon, which he preached at

67 A. C. D[ayton], *Baptist Banner*, V, No. 29, 2. Italics his.
68 First Baptist Church, Perry, Georgia, *Minutes.*
Houston Factory on May 28, 1865. 69 As he was looking over a collection of sermons, Laura "called his attention to one marked, 'My first sermon.' It was on the 'Love of God,' and the text was Eph. 3:17-19. He selected that sermon, and the first sermon was also the last. . . . "70

Death

The fall of the Confederacy in April had been quite disheartening and demoralizing for Dayton. "He would have gloriied in the triumph of his adopted country as much as he sorrowed for her downfall."71 He faced the future with gloomy forebodings. But Reconstruction was to be one trial that he would not have to endure.

On June 4, 1865, Dayton suffered a stroke.72 While apparently recovering from the attack, on June 10 he developed an abcess in his left lung. "He died June 11th (1865) at ten minutes of eight o'clock, on a

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69 Dayton, according to that church's minutes preached at Houston Factory on May 30, 1865. This date, however, is on Tuesday. It is possible that the May 30 date is a clerical error. Another statement in these minutes which is confusing appears under the date June 18, 1865. "After sermon by Brother Dayton the church met in conference [;] first open[ed] the door of the church for reception of members . . . [and] read and adopt­ed Resolutions expressive of our feeling in regard to the death of our beloved Pastor Brother A. C. Dayton[.]." Dayton's death on June 11 would, of course, have prohibited his preaching on this date. Again the only explanation of this is that it is a clerical error.

70 Eakin, Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9, 571

71 L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1.

72 This statement is based on an article in a scrapbook in the possession of W. A. Eakin, Chattanooga, Tennessee. The article, written by Mary J. Welsh, quotes a letter from Laura Dayton giving the particulars of Dayton's death. The article is dated "Scooba, Mississippi, April 4, 1866" and is addressed "To the Editor of the [Baptist?] Watchman." Copies of the Baptist Watchman (Knoxville) for this date could not be located.
calm Sabbath eve. . . ."

Funeral

Burial services were held the next day at Perry. B. F. Tharpe, the minister with whom Dayton shared preaching duties at the Perry church, delivered the funeral sermon from the text John 5:28-29. Dayton was buried with Masonic rites in an unmarked grave in the Perry cemetery.

Resolutions

Hence within the space of two months, two Southern institutions had ceased. Although an adopted son of the Southern Confederacy, Dayton none the less became a true institution in his own right. The confusion which followed the end of the war prevented any extensive notice of his death.75 However, resolutions were passed by the Perry Baptist Church.76

73 Ibid. Correspondence with Tommie S. Hunt, Clerk Superior Court, Houston County, Perry, Georgia, March 12, 1965, indicates that Dayton owned no property in Houston County and did not leave a will.

74 Attempts to find information about his Masonic connection proved futile. Only one other reference to this was found. During the Nashville First Baptist Church controversy, J. R. Graves reproached C. A. Fuller for some statements he had made about Dayton, with the remark that "it is singular language for a Christian gentleman to use toward a Brother in the same church, and a brother Mason" ("Protests Again," Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 6 [October 9, 1858], 2.). Correspondence with T. E. Doss, Grand Secretary, Grand Lodge Free and Accepted Masons of Tennessee, October 19, 1964, indicated that the lodge in Tennessee has no records on Dayton. Correspondence with Masonic bodies in Perry and Vicksburg, Mississippi, was not answered.

75 It is not until November 23, 1865 that the Religious Herald, quoting the Biblical Recorder (issues of which are not available), notes that news of Dayton's death has just arrived "from a source entitled to credit."

76 Perry Baptist Church, Minutes, June 25, 1865. A copy of these resolutions was supposedly published in the Baptist Banner and the Christian Index. However, issues of these papers for this period are not available.
the Houston Factory Baptist Church, the Rehoboth Association, the Georgia Baptist Convention, the Houston Female College, and the Southern Baptist Sabbath School Union.

In addition to these resolutions, both the Baptist Banner and the Baptist Witness promised memoirs or biographical sketches, but as far as can be ascertained, no such accounts were published by either paper. In the midst of these published tributes, there is a strange silence. The present writer found no acknowledgement or notice of Dayton's death from the pen of J. R. Graves.

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77 Houston Factory Baptist Church, Minutes, June 18, 1865.

78 The association simply incorporated into their minutes the resolutions of the Perry church. Minutes for 1865 are not available for the Rehoboth Association. However, a copy of the resolutions, which appears to be an extract from these minutes, appears in the Eakin scrapbook and is identical to that set of resolutions in the Perry church minutes.

79 Georgia Baptist Convention, Minutes, 1866, p. 12. The tribute erroneously gives his date of death as "about the 24th of June, 1865." Ragsdale, I, 48 also follows this erroneous date.

80 Cf. L. H. D[ayton], The Baptist, III, Nos. 21-22, 1. These resolutions were not found.


83 "The Late Dr. A. C. Dayton," Baptist Witness, I, No. 1 (April 7, 1866), 3.
CHAPTER IV

LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF A. C. DAYTON
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LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF A. C. DAYTON

As a writer, A. C. Dayton was most prolific. Within a space of ten years he produced thirteen published volumes. These range in size from a twenty page pamphlet to a work which is nearly five hundred pages in length.

Dayton's published books may be divided into two basic categories: religious fiction and Sabbath School books. In one sense of the word, Dayton is rather unique as an author in that his first published work, Theodosia Ernest; or, the Heroine of Faith, was also his magnum opus.

Religious Fiction

Trilogy

Theodosia Ernest; or, the Heroine of Faith

The idea of a religious novel which would portray Dayton's own religious struggles first came to him while atop Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, Tennessee, in November, 1853. In the ensuing months Dayton worked on the book, and by August, 1854, he had completed most of it.

1A. C. Dayton, "To My Brethren, the Constituents of the Southern Baptist Convention," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 36 (May 15, 1858), 4.
Sometime before May, 1855 Dayton had the manuscript ready for publication.\(^2\) Publication of the first chapter began in the *Tennessee Baptist* on September 1, 1855.\(^3\) There was real hesitation on Dayton’s part as to whether the work was worthy of publication. Because of this reticence the work appeared anonymously.

Praise for the work was almost instantaneous, and the letters poured in to the *Tennessee Baptist* urging that the story be published. The work was stereotyped, and about the first of May, 1856, the bound volume was published by the Southwestern Publishing House, which had bought the publishing rights for $1000.\(^4\) By June the work had been revised and was passing through the eighth and ninth editions; and total sales were probably well over thirty thousand copies.\(^5\) *Theodosia* eventually won the hearts of people on both sides of the Atlantic and was translated into German,\(^6\) Swedish, and Welsh.\(^7\)

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\(^2\)A. C. Dayton, "[Publication of Theodosia]," *ibid.*, XIV, No. 27 (March 13, 1858), 2. This article indicates that Dayton made overtures to the Southern Baptist Publication Society, Charleston, to have them publish the work.

\(^3\)Twenty-one chapters of the book were printed in the paper. The last appears on February 9, 1856.

\(^4\)"Theodosia," *Tennessee Baptist*, XII, No. 23 (February 16, 1856), 3.

\(^5\)"Theodosia, At Last," *ibid.*, XII, No. 42 (June 23, 1856), 3.

\(^6\)Edward C. Starr (ed.), *A Baptist Bibliography*, VI (Rochester: American Baptist Historical Society, 1959), 72, lists one copy as being a twenty-six thousandth copy.

\(^7\)A. C. Dayton. *Theodosia Ernst, oder: Eine Glaubensheldin*. Translated by Ernst Band. Cleveland: German Baptist Publication Society, [n.d.]. This copy is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

\(^7\)Starr, VI, 72-73, states that the translations were made, but he gives no locations for them.
The second volume of Theodosia, subtitled Ten Days' Travel in Search of the Church, appeared the first of February, 1857, and was advertised as "The Largest Edition of any Baptist Book Ever Published." This work, although it did not achieve the publishers' expectations of thirty thousand, also went through several editions.

Dayton's original purpose in writing Theodosia was to prepare a work "which would present the main facts and arguments upon those points in which, as Baptists, we differ from other denominations, in connection with an attractive narrative, so that they would be read."

The story is woven around the "heroine of faith," Theodosia Ernest, an eighteen year old Presbyterian girl who entertained thoughts of marriage with Mr. Percy, a young Presbyterian lawyer. The opening sentence of the book is addressed to Mrs. Ernest by Theodosia's younger brother, Edwin: "'Mother, have I ever been baptized?'" This question was prompted by his having witnessed a Baptist baptismal scene in the nearby river. Both Edwin and Theodosia were present at the baptism, and Theodosia later remarked that "'if what I saw . . . was scriptural baptism then it is certain that I have never been baptized.'" That evening Theodosia commented to Mr. Percy, "'I do not ask whether it [baptism]"
is essential to salvation, but whether it is commanded in the Word of God. 12

The rest of the story is woven around the illustration and proving of these two points: (1) what is scriptural baptism, and (2) obedience to Christ through baptism. Theodosia, in order to determine if she had received the former and fulfilled the latter, engaged in a ten nights' study of these two questions. Seven nights of study were enough to convince her that she was deficient in both respects. However, Mr. Percy was not so convinced. Even though he warned Theodosia that if she became a Baptist he would not marry her, she was determined to follow her decision to be immersed—even though it meant losing Percy's love. Such a decision by Theodosia proved to be too much for Percy, and he fell ill with an unknown malady. In his delirious state he repeatedly called for Theodosia. Theodosia answered his summons, and the book ends with Theodosia at the bedside of the unconscious Percy—and a note that how matters turn out "will soon be given in another volume." 13

Ten Days' Travel in Search of the Church

The second volume of Theodosia commences with Mr. and Mrs. Percy (he is now a Reverend) on a boat headed down the Mississippi River. In the course of their journey, they and others who conveniently appear on the boat as they are needed, engage a Dr. Thinkwell in a "ten days' travel in search of the true church." In the course of this study, the students, somewhat captivated by being on the boat, learn that "the Church . . . is

12 Ibid., I, 15. Italics his.
13 Ibid., I, 416.
the local and visible judiciary and executive of the kingdom of Christ,"\(^{14}\) and that the true church of Christ can be identified by the following "signs or marks":

1st. It consists only of professed believers in Christ.
2d. Its members have been baptized upon a profession of their faith.
3d. It is a local organization, and independent of all others.
4th. It has Christ alone for its King and Law-giver [sic], and recognizes no authority but his above its own.
5th. Its members have become such by their own voluntary act.
6th. It holds as articles of faith the fundamental doctrines of the gospel of Christ.\(^{15}\)

The arguments are too cogent for Dr. Thinkwell, a Methodist, and by the time the trip is ended he "rethinks" his church connection and joins the Baptists in their "little Church"--the only church which can be found to fit the definition of the true church.

The conclusion of the work carries with it a reference to the third volume of Dayton's trilogy. Dr. Thinkwell, who prior to his becoming a Methodist had been an infidel and an atheist, had earlier promised to relate to Theodosia "the means, or rather the arguments by which he was recovered from his infidelity and atheism, and led to receive the Scriptures as the word of God."\(^{16}\) A footnote informs the reader that he will find these arguments "in the volume styled 'The Infidel's Daughter.'"\(^{17}\)

**Emma Livingston**

Dayton's third work of religious fiction was entitled *Emma Livingston, the Infidel's Daughter; or Conversations upon Atheism, Infidelity,*

\(^{14}\)Ibid., II, 168. Italics his.

\(^{15}\)Ibid.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., II, 484.

\(^{17}\)Ibid., II, 485.
Although the heroine's name is no longer Theodosia Ernest, the work formed a complement with the two volumes of Theodosia, and was designed to do for the arguments on the evidences of Christianity what Theodosia was intended to do for the arguments on baptism and communion; that is, to present them in an attractive form, and in a collo-qual [sic] style.

It may have been a characteristic of the time that people were more interested in attacking and proselyting from other Christian groups or it may have been that the story just did not measure up to the standard of Theodosia, but in either case The Infidel's Daughter was the least popular of the trilogy.

The plot of the story revolved around Dayton's refutation of "the three forms of infidelity--Atheism, Deism, and Universalism" as well as a fourth form--"Necromancy." The principle characters are a young, attractive girl, whose mother is pictured as dying as the story begins, and the widowed husband and father whose only fault is that he does not believe in God. The Infidel, now the lone parent, rears his daughter in his complete disbelief of God. The plot is changed somewhat in this story, for it is the father, who after a series of conversations with the new Baptist minister in town, is led to a conversion experience. But Emma,

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18 The first six chapters appeared serially in the Tennessee Baptist, September 4--December 25, 1858. They also appeared in the Mississippi Baptist, October 21, 1858--February 10, 1859. The first bound edition was not published until the latter part of 1859 ("Infidel's Daughter," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 47 [July 31, 1858], 2.).


20 Review of Emma Livingston, by A. C. Dayton, Religious Herald, XXXIII, No. 9 (March 1, 1860), 3.
thinking that this is an act of capitulation, rebels against such conversion. But she, with the help of Dr. Thinkwell, is able at last to find her way out of the darkness.

Autobiographical Element

Hailed as "'a book of the times'" and as being capable of making skepticism vanish "like the morning fog before the rising sun," Emma Livingston's basic arguments were drawn from Dayton's own experience with skepticism which he had undergone as a young man.

Theodosia Ernest also was autobiographical in nature. The arguments employed in Theodosia were the result of his study concerning the validity of Presbyterian baptism. He had recorded these arguments by which he had convinced himself of the error of Presbyterianism and the validity of Baptist views. The book takes on a slightly different character when one realizes that Dayton's own wife was still a member of the Presbyterian church at the time he wrote and published Theodosia. Whether or not Lucinda Dayton read the book is not known; if she did, as is likely, one cannot help but wonder if she saw in Theodosia Ernest the prototype which her husband wished her to become. One can imagine the effect that this had on the marital rapprochement in the Dayton household.

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23 Cf. A. C. Dayton, "Infidel's Daughter," *ibid.*, XVI, No. 35 (April 28, 1860), 2. See supra, p. 15, F.N. 57 for a list of the other periodicals in which this article appeared.
Opposition to Theodosia

The primary opposition to Theodosia came from Methodists and Presbyterians, although there were some Baptists who criticized the book. One charge levied against Theodosia, while rooted in a denominational difference, was specifically illustrated with references to the book. N. L. Rice, of the St. Louis Presbyterian, alleged that the basic flaw in the book was that it displayed "throughout a consciousness of the weakness of the doctrine [immersion] it . . . intended to advocate." This fissure was revealed in four ways: (1) The author takes advantage of the struggle of faith to present his views. (2) Proof of this is evidenced by the author's having used a heroine— with whom the reader is predisposed to sympathize— instead of a hero. (3) The fact that Theodosia gives up her true love blinds the reader to the real facts of the investigation. (4) The Presbyterians in the book are manufactured to appear as fools and blockheads.

Dayton's answer to Rice was in the form of "a dream." In this dream the Presbyterian minister in Theodosia, the Reverend Mr. Johnson, calls upon Rice and challenges Rice's statement that he was a fool and


26 Ibid.
a blockhead. In his answer to this complaint Rice is made to say that it is much easier to answer Theodosia's arguments in this fashion than with facts, and that for the sake of refuting the powerful arguments of the book, Johnson should not object to being called by the derogatory terms. The end result of the dream is that Mr. Johnson becomes so disillusioned with Presbyterianism that he submits to immersion at the hands of Mr. Percy.  

Two works were published that sought to refute Theodosia's claims. The first of these to appear was Theophilus Walton; or, The Majesty of Truth, by William Pope Harrison, "A Member of the Alabama [Methodist] Conference." The second work was by R. L. Dabney, A Review of "Theodosia Ernest; or, the Heroine of Faith."  

Dayton intended a thorough review of Theophilus Walton soon after it appeared, but his illness of 1858 forced a delay in his reply. The review did appear in 1859 in book form, entitled Baptist Facts against Methodist Fictions. Accused by Theophilus of making false statements and

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27 [A. C. Dayton], "Dr. Rice on Theodosia: A Dream," Tennessee Baptist, XIII, No. 18 (January 10, 1857), 2. This was later bound with Theodosia, I, 427-459. Graves, accused by Rice of having written Theodosia, also replies in "Onslaught on Theodosia," Tennessee Baptist, XIII, No. 18 (January 10, 1857), 1.  

28 A third book published in 1884 in England and not examined by the present writer was Paraleipomena, or Things Left Out, Being More Facts for Theodosia Ernest and All Who Like Her Are in Quest of the True Doctrine of Christian Baptism. By One of Themselves (London: [n.p.], 1884). The book numbers 328 pages and is located in the American Baptist Historical Society Collection, Rochester, New York.  

29 (3rd. ed.; Richmond: Shepperson & Graves, 1869). This book is in the library of the Tennessee State Archives, Nashville. Dayton made no reply to this; it is possible that the work appeared after his death and hence could have received no reply from him. Dayton had carried on a controversy with Dabney in the Religious Herald over Theodosia (See the following issues for 1860: January 12, February 9, April 19, and May 24.).
misrepresenting facts in *Theodosia Ernest*, Dayton wrote to clarify and substantiate his earlier statements made in *Theodosia*. Baptist Facts against Methodist Fictions is simply a rehashing of the arguments in *Theodosia* without the narrative.

Religious Fiction as a Means of Conveying Christian Doctrine

That fiction could be used as a medium to convey Christian truth was not an established belief in the 1850's. The use of fiction to substantiate and refurbish doctrinal views was viewed with suspicion by some. To a certain degree at least Dayton was a pioneer in this area of denominational fiction—he declined the use of the word "novel"—at least among Southern Baptists. The present writer knows of no earlier denominational novel that had nearly as much impact as did *Theodosia Ernest*.

The 1857 Ministers' and Deacons' Meeting of the Concord Association provided Dayton with an opportunity to state his views on fiction in religious writing. Dayton was assigned to write a paper for the meeting on the subject "Is Fiction Allowable in Religious Books?" The paper when

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30 [Joseph Walker], "Books--Novels," *Christian Index*, XXXVI, No. 23 (June 10, 1857), 2, attacks "religious novels" in general and refers to "three of these [Theodosia Ernest, I & II, and Grace Truman?]". He contends that "it is questionable whether the Gospel, or its system of heavenly truths, requires the help of love-and-courtship narratives to commend it to general favor."

31 An interview with Dr. Leo T. Crismon, Librarian, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary indicates that he has compiled a Baptist bibliography (unpublished) in this area and that he was familiar with only one other Baptist novel published prior to *Theodosia*. This was a work by Joseph Banvard, *Priscilla; or, Trials for the Truth. An Historic Tale of the Puritans and the Baptists*. (Boston: Heath and Graves, 1854). Nelson Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, ed. James Wood Smith and A. Leland Jamison (Princeton: University Press, 1961), IV, Parts 3, 4, and 5; 869-902, provides an extensive bibliography of religious novels but lists no denominational novel by any Baptist.
read was heartily approved by the group and was recommended for publication in the *Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic*.32

In the article Dayton contended that

Fiction is not only allowable, but under certain circumstances very desirable, in religious books. I maintain that it is not only right but expedient to employ fiction to communicate, illustrate, or enforce religious truth.33

**Sabbath School Union Books**

Dayton's original purpose in seeking to organize a Southern Baptist Sunday School Union was that it might publish a series of books that would be acceptable for Baptist Sunday Schools to use.34 Upon the formation of the Union, Dayton published several books that were related to its interests.

**Baptist Sunday School Question Books**

His first volume relating to Sunday School work was in the form of a catechetical review of the Gospels and the Book of Acts. On one of his trips Dayton had visited a plantation home in Georgia and there saw

32 "Ministers' and Deacons' Meeting," *Tennessee Baptist*, XIII, No. 35 (May 9, 1857), 4.

33 A. C. Dayton, "Is Fiction Allowable in Religious Books," *Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic*, III, No. 3 (July, 1857), 391. Italics his. This article was reprinted in the *Biblical Recorder*, XXII, Nos. 49-50 (December 3-10, 1857), 1. Cf. also Dayton's "The Barks Is [sic] in Him," *Tennessee Baptist*, XIII, No. 50 (August 22, 1857), 2. This is a quotation from an article from the *New York Examiner* which was written in defense of Grace Truman, a religious novel written by Mrs. S. H. Ford and published after *Theodosia Ernest*. Dayton applies the arguments in the article to those who in general object to the use of religious fiction "to defend Baptist Sentiments [italics his]."

the mistress of the household gather the children and servants together on Sunday morning to instruct them about the Bible. The woman's husband had had a few copies of a brief catechism printed "to assist the children in learning what God would have them know. It was this [catechism] which suggested" to Dayton "the idea of writing ... [the] Scripture Question books. ..." \(^35\)

First noticed and reviewed by J. R. Graves in January, 1858,\(^36\) volume one of the Question Book was published in May, 1858; the second volume, completing the study of the four Gospels, was published the next year. One review referred to the work as being "accurately denominational."

The review continued:

Its theology is sound, ... its Gospel history is in the consecutive order of events, its illustrations simple and captivating, its style child-like [sic], ... its Scripture references to the lesson are full and relevant, and its philological criticisms are supported by quotations from the works of men whose learning is beyond the reach of sophomores and quibblers. In one word, it is a little book for which little children and grown children too, may call Brother Dayton blessed.\(^37\)

How Children May be Brought to Christ

How Children May be Brought to Christ is a reproduction of his sermon before the Sabbath School Union Convention meeting at Canton, Mississippi, in November, 1859. "Designed to address the parents and

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\(^{35}\) A. C. D[ayton], "A Noble Example," Tennessee Baptist, XVI, No. 39 (May 26, 1860), 2.


the teacher,"\textsuperscript{38} the sermon, after stating that the children "are not to be brought by having them Baptized," outlines the following ways by which a child may be brought to Christ:

\begin{quote}
... We are to bring them 1st by \textit{prayer} for their conversion--2d by consecrating them to God and his service--3d by a trusting faith that our offering is accepted, and 4th by carefully instructing them in the truths of the gospel. ... \textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

\textbf{A Catechism for Little Children}

While not actually published for the Sabbath School Union, \textit{A Catechism for Little Children} was "designed to be used in Sabbath Schools and families, for the oral instructions of the little children."\textsuperscript{40} The only book Dayton published after he left Nashville, it treats of the Old Testament and serves as a complement to his earlier two volume question book on the Gospels.

\textbf{Posthumous Works}

Two other works, probably written for the Union, were published posthumously in 1879: \textit{Perseverance of All Saints} and \textit{Gospel Holiness}.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38}[A. C. Dayton], "How Children May Be Brought to Jesus [sic]," \textit{ibid.}, XVI, No. 47 (July 28, 1860), 2. Italics his. The only extant copy of this sermon was published by the St. Louis Publishing Co., [1860], and is in the library of Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Kansas.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{ibid.} Italics his.

\textsuperscript{40}A. C. Dayton, "A Catechism for Children," \textit{Baptist Banner}, V, No. 20 (April 16, 1864), 2. The work itself is written by "Uncle Dayton," and was published in Augusta by James N. Ells in 1864. A microfilmed copy is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

\textsuperscript{41}Both of these were published in Nashville by the Baptist Publishing House. The only extant copies are located in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville. An advertisement on the back cover of J. R. Graves and J. C. Bunnus, \textit{Restorationism Refuted} (Memphis: Baptist Book
The former appears to be substantially the same as a series of articles Dayton published under a similar title for the Baptist Banner in 1864. 42

Miscellaneous Writings

The Civil War greatly upset Dayton's planned publication schedule. While still in Nashville, Dayton had begun to write and publish two periodicals.

Children's Friend

The Children's Friend, published under the auspices of the Sabbath School Union and edited by Dayton, was designed to be a monthly Sunday School paper. Advertisements 43 and prospectus 44 of the paper appeared early in 1859, but the first issue was not mailed out until the last of June, 1859. 45

House, 1880) conveys the following information: "PERSEVERANCE OF THE [sic] SAINTS.--By A. C. Dayton. This book has only lately been published, being found in manuscript among the papers of the late Dr. Dayton." Two other books possibly written by Dayton should be mentioned. Starr, VI, 72, cites the following reference as "probably" written by Dayton: Angel Lily and other Stories. St. Louis: National Baptist Publishing Company, [n.d.]. 48 pp. No location is given for the work. In the Southern Baptist Review, II, No. 1 (January, 1857), 160, reference is made to the following: A. C. Dayton, Is It Ghost or Devil? Nashville: Graves, Marks, & Co., 1857. This would appear to be a republication of his articles "The Bible and Spirit Rappings," Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic, I, Nos. 2-10 (February-September, 1855). No further evidence was found that this book was published.

42 V, Nos. 32-33 (August 6-13, 1864), 1.
43 "The Children's Friend for 1860 [Advertisement]," Western Recorder, XXVII, No. 9 (February 25, 1860), 3.
45 [A. C. Dayton], "The Children's Friend," Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 42 (June 25, 1859), 2, notes that it has been mailed out.
The scarcity of paper and money curtailed the issuance of this monthly over an extended period. It was published, however, every month from June, 1859 to October, 1861 with the exception of one month's issue. The 1858 Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the Southern Baptist Sabbath School Union indicates that the circulation of the paper had reached "about 6000" and was increasing. Publication probably ceased shortly after October, 1861, and it was not revived after the war.

Dayton's Baptist Monthly

A project in which Dayton had a great interest was his Baptist Monthly. The prospectus first appeared August 11, 1860 in the Tennessee Baptist. This prospectus indicated that it would be "an original magazine of Religious Literature." The magazine, to "contain not less than sixty four [sic] pages," was to include a serial department, Sabbath School department, historical department, family and ladies department, and a miscellaneous and theological department.

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46 A. C. D[ayton], "The Children's Friend," ibid., XVIII, No. 7 (October 19, 1861), 2.

47 P. 26.

48 Only one issue of this paper could be located. Vol. I, No. 1 is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. The paper is four pages in length with three columns per page. Twenty-two articles, one poem, a book review column containing reviews of seven Sunday School Union books, and four pictures comprise the issue. The masthead carries pictures illustrating the following scripture verses: "I have not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God (Acts 20:27)"; "One Lord, one faith, and one baptism (Eph. 4:5)"; and "And thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children (Deut. 6:7)."

49 Dayton proposed to publish the following serials: "Deacon Crusty," "The Crazy Preacher," and "The Old Infidel Baptized."
Dayton had hoped to secure a thousand paid subscribers before he published the first number. These did not materialize, but he published the first—and apparently the only—issue in March, 1861. Included in this were the beginning installments of "Deacon Crusty, The Old Infidel Baptized, and the Yankee among the 'Niggers.'" Also contained in this issue was a discussion of "some questions of moral and religious duty" bearing on the then current war, a discussion of providing Sunday School literature for the children, and an article entitled "Slavery in the Light of Religion."

Despite a rather intensive advertising effort, the monetary

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50 A. C. Dayton, "Dayton's New Monthly [Advertisement]," Religious Herald, XXXIII, No. 27 (July 5, 1860), 4.


52 The present writer could find no extant copies of this issue. There is a possibility that a second number was also issued. In an article entitled "Those Tracts," Tennessee Baptist, XVII, No. 32 (April 13, 1861), 2, Dayton refers to some tracts for the soldiers that have not been published by the Sunday School Union because of an absence of funds; he adds, however, that Dayton's Monthly has published "FOUR of them in the first two numbers." For a review of the first issue see [A. M.] P[oindexter], Review of Dayton's Baptist Monthly, edited by A. C. Dayton, Commission, V, No. 9 (March, 1861), 256.


56 This was reprinted in the Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist, II, No. 24 (March 23, 1861), 1.

57 Over twenty articles, advertising and recommending the Monthly, appear in at least six different papers and periodicals (Christian Index, Commission, Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist, Mississippi Baptist, Religious Herald, and Tennessee Baptist) between June 28, 1860 and April 27, 1861.
conditions of the South could not support a new religious paper. After the March, 1861 issue, the paper folded.

Dayton's Bible Dictionary

Another publication interrupted by the war was his Bible Dictionary. As early as 1859, Dayton had planned to prepare a Bible Dictionary or encyclopedia to accompany his "series of Scripture Question books." By the summer of 1860, he was "revising the sheets, subjecting each sentence to careful examination, making it shorter and simpler, arranging cuts to illustrate it and endeavoring to make it worthy of the delay."

A year later the work was completed, but funds were not available for publication. A. S. Worrel, who saw a portion of the manuscript, wrote: "The design of the book is to present in the fewest, simplest words, the best and most comprehensive definition possible. In this, I think, from the examination given, that Bro. D. [sic] has succeeded admirably." But the work was never published, and the manuscript has been lost.

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60 A. C. Dayton, "That Bible Dictionary," ibid., XVII, No. 42 (June 22, 1861), 2. In response to an offer by J. S. P. Jark to give fifty dollars in advance toward the publication of the dictionary, Dayton remarks, "If TEN brethren will do as Brother Jark proposes to do, I will hurry the work through the press with all speed" (A. C. Dayton, "Can Brother Dayton's Bible Dictionary Not Be Got Out This Summer?" ibid., XVIII, No. 1 [September 7, 1861], 2).
Other serial writing of Dayton included "Uncle Arthur; or, a Short Story about Scolding;,"62 and "Cornelia Birdmore; or, Who Have Kept the Ordinances as They Were Delivered to the First Churches?"63 The latter, never published in its entirety, dealt with Episcopalians and looked "at the arguments mainly from the standpoint of a good churchman."64 To be numbered also among his literary achievements is one poem entitled, "Bible Song."65

The "sword-bearer" has sheathed his sword, but he leaves behind him—etched in the life of the Baptists in the South—a monumental work equaled by few other Southern Baptists of the nineteenth century. His work, cut short in his fifty-second year, was for the most part roughhewn and has now lost most of its appeal. But in the age in which he lived his literary prolificness was impressive. A comparison of Dayton's writings for the period in which he was a Baptist with the writings of J. R. Graves for the same period would prove to be an interesting experiment. While volume is not always indicative of influence, there is a certain element of influence attached to one who, in the era prior to mass communication media, wrote as much as did Amos Cooper Dayton.

62 Baptist Banner, V, Nos. 24-26 (May 14-28, 1864).
63 Ibid., Nos. 38-49 (October 1-December 24, 1864).
64 "Cornelia Birdmore," Ibid., V, No. 23 (May 7, 1864), 2.
65 A. C. Dayton, "Bible Song," Home and Foreign Journal, VII, No. 10 (April, 1858), 2. This poem was "written for the Bible Society of the Mary Sharp College, and sung at their anniversary, January, 1858," to the tune of "The Watchers."
CHAPTER V

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

That Amos Cooper Dayton exerted a considerable influence on Baptists in the South is hardly open to question. Hence it becomes necessary to sift through the hundred years' history of Southern Baptists to determine the extent of this influence.

His influences will be examined under two main headings: (1) his influence on Landmarkism, and (2) his influence on the Southern Baptist Convention. It is not possible to make as neat a dichotomy between the Southern Baptist Convention and Landmarkism as the divisions may indicate, but for the purposes of classification, Landmarkism is used here to designate the movement which began with Graves, Dayton, and Pendleton within the confines of the Southern Baptist Convention, but which eventually formed a separate convention.

Influence on Landmarkism

Dayton was styled by a contemporary as being a "cunning scribe and a mighty man of valor."\(^1\) Although this statement was made by a foe of Landmarkism with the thought of depreciation, it would seem that such appellations depict the spirit of this man rather accurately. It is generally felt that Dayton's main contribution to Landmarkism came in

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\(^1\) Sheva the Scribe [pseud.], "From the Book of Chronicles," Southern Baptist, XIII, No. 4 (April 20, 1858), 1.
the form of his writing and its influence.\(^2\) Hence, since *Theodosia Ernest* was his crowning achievement, one can examine this work for ideas and influences which were woven into the fabric of Landmarkism.

Dayton's View of the Church

There yet remains to be done a detailed study of Dayton's influence on the views of J. R. Graves. Graves himself stated that Dayton's view of the church in the second volume of *Theodosia Ernest* was "original, and against the 'received authorities'..."\(^3\) And then he added: "But is it not correct?"\(^4\)

The emphasis upon the church as being a "local" group—an "independent [sic] organized body or assembly of Christian people"\(^5\)—was the concept that Graves developed to a near ultimate: "no one can enter the Kingdom of Christ without becoming a member of one of his visible churches."\(^6\) It is entirely possible that Graves derived the idea for his view from having read *Theodosia Ernest*.


\(^3\) This statement appears in a footnote to Dayton's article "Is There an Invisible Universal Church?" *Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic*, II (September-October, 1856), 544. This article is an extract from *Theodosia Ernest*, vol. II. The note is signed "Ed. G."

\(^4\) Ibid.


Whether or not the view of the church expressed by Dayton in *Theodosia Ernest* constitutes the basis for J. R. Graves's later view of the church, it certainly contributed to the view of Baptist exclusiveness which had been propagated earlier by J. M. Pendleton in *An Old Landmark Re-set*. In this work Pendleton had elucidated what was the original tenet of Landmarkism: "... Pedobaptist societies are not gospel churches ... and ... Baptists should not, therefore, recognize Pedobaptist preachers as gospel ministers."  

Dayton's Opposition to Centralization

Opposition to centralization, though held by others prior to the time Dayton espoused it, gained a true proponent in him. The articles which Dayton wrote controverting the board method of missions and centralization of theological education must certainly have been a factor in the spirit which developed in the mid-eighteen hundreds, and eventually resulted in a split of the Landmark group from the Southern Baptist Convention. This climax over centralization of authority came nearly half a century after Dayton wrote, but it is entirely probable that the views he expressed were instrumental in this division.

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8 Ibid., pp. 25-26.  
Influence on the Southern Baptist Convention

Negative Influence

The influence that Dayton had on the Convention may be considered both negatively and positively. Basically, the negative influences have already been discussed under his influences on Landmarkism. The present writer feels that both the Baptist exclusiveness and the extreme opposition to centralization have had detrimental effects on the Southern Baptist Convention. To the degree that Dayton is responsible for these two views, it is felt that he has negatively influenced the Convention.

Positive Influence

Dayton's positive contributions to the Baptists of the South out-number his negative influences.

Sunday Schools

Prior to the organization of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union, little work of this type had been done among Southern Baptists in this area. Dayton, as the Union's first corresponding secretary, was the leading figure in the move not only to organize Sunday schools, but to have them meet weekly. The publication of literature--both his

12 Dayton wrote many articles urging churches, or at least Sunday Schools, to meet weekly. One series of five articles outlined the reasons for meeting weekly and sought to refute the arguments for meeting monthly. The complete series appeared in the Tennessee Baptist under the original title of "Difficulties" (XVI, Nos. 34-37, 48 [April 21-May 12; August 4, 1860], 2.). Several of the same articles also appeared in the following: Baptist Correspondent, I, Nos. 11-14 (March 21-April 11, 1860); Landmark Banner and Cherokee Baptist, I, Nos. 29-31 (April 26-May 10, 1860); Western Recorder, XXVII, Nos. 12-13 (March 17-24, 1860).
Question Books and the Children's Friend (which could be considered a forerunner to the "Kind Words" series which appeared later) was a positive step in aiding Southern Baptist Sunday Schools.

Religious Fiction

Dayton's influence on religious fiction has already been mentioned, but his significance has never been examined thoroughly. Although Southern Baptists early in their history engendered a work of fiction which gained recognition on both sides of the Atlantic, it is felt that not enough use has been made of this medium of presenting the Christian message.

Doctrinal Consciousness

Although it is a characteristic of the whole Landmark movement, it can be said that Dayton provoked a doctrinal consciousness among the people of the South. The very fact that Dayton's views were not always accepted by many, produced even a more careful examination not only of what was believed, but also of the more important element of belief, "Why?"

A century has passed since Amos Cooper Dayton's death. There are many others throughout the history of Southern Baptists who possibly influenced the convention more than did he, but the contributions he made were significant. This significance is heightened when one considers the rapidity of his rise to prominence and brevity of his active career.

A "sword-bearer," a "cunning scribe and a man of valor"—Amos Cooper Dayton was all of these. But he lived his life well, so that when he died it could be said that "faith, hope, and love were the distinguishing elements of his religious character."  

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13Supra, pp. 115-116.
14Georgia Baptist Convention, Minutes, 1866, p. 12.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF A. C. DAYTON'S WRITING
ARTICLES BY A. C. DAYTON
APPEARING IN DENOMINATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

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ARTICLES BY A. C. DAYTON
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YEAR: 1857

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APPEARING IN DENOMINATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

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# ARTICLES BY A. C. DAYTON

**APPEARING IN DENOMINATIONAL PUBLICATIONS**

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APPENDIX B

THE ANCESTRY AND DESCENT OF
AMOS COOPER DAYTON
APPENDIX B

THE ANCESTRY AND DESCENT OF
AMOS COOPER DAYTON

A Genealogical Chart of One Branch of The Dayton Family

(The following representation of the Dayton family traces the branch of the Dayton family through which Amos Cooper Dayton descended from Ralph Dayton, the first Dayton in America, and also provides as complete a listing of his descendants as could be obtained. The names of the children in the ancestry are not necessarily given in the order of their birth; those of the descent follow in chronological order. In the ancestry the name of the person through whom the line of descent comes is placed last and underlined. The numeral in brackets at the left of the name indicates the order of that generation in the line of descent in the Dayton family in America. The superscript numerals refer to the footnotes which immediately follow the chart.)

[1] Ralph Dayton\(^1\) --Alice (Goldhatch) Tritton\(^2\)
(1588--7-25/9-22, 1658)

[2] Samuel Dayton\(^3\) --Magdalene (Maden) \(^4\)
(2-7, 1624--7-5, 1690)

[2] Alice Dayton\(^5\) --Thomas Baker\(^6\)
(5-21, 1620--2-4, 1708)

[2] Robert Dayton\(^7\) --Elizabeth Woodruff\(^8\)
(bapt. 1-3, 1629--4-16, 1712)

(b. 1674--4-30, 1746)

[3] Elizabeth Dayton\(^11\) --Leek\(^12\)

[3] Samuel Dayton\(^13\) --Dorothy Miller\(^14\)
(b. 1665--1-30, 1745) (d. 3-22, 1750)

[4] Robert Dayton\(^15\)
(b. 1692)

[4] Daniel Dayton\(^16\)
(d. 1768)
[4] Nathan Dayton¹⁷
(1699-1764)


[4] Samuel Dayton¹⁹
(bapt. 1707)

[4] Elizabeth Dayton²⁰
--William Osborne²¹

(b. 1700--10-4, 1776)
--Mary________ (1st wife)²³
(d. 3-18 in 33rd year)

*--Patience________ (2nd wife)²⁴
(d. 1-14, 1744 in 34th year)


[5] Elias Dayton²⁶
--Hannah Rolfe²⁷
(5-1, 1737--10-22, 1807)

--Mary Yale²⁹
(10-16, 1760--10-9, 1824)
Signer of the United States Constitution
Speaker of the Fourth and Fifth Congresses

[5] Sarah Dayton³⁰
--________ Ayers³¹

(1742--5-31, 1814)
--Mary Owen³³
(1746--February, 1832)

(1771--1855)
--Margaret Roy (1st wife)³⁵

*--Rhoda Fairchild (2nd wife)³⁶

[7] Joel Dayton³⁷
(1800-1856)
--Sarah Cole³⁸

[8] Ezra Dayton³⁹
--Catherine Lamoreux⁴⁰
(d. 1909)
(d. 1917)

[9] Samuel Joel Dayton⁴¹
(d. 1912)
--Selena Adelaide
Vandorn⁴²
(d. 1938)

[10] Harold V. Dayton

*Line of descent comes through her.
Levi Dayton 44 --Ruth Hall 45  
(1775--1851)  (1787--1844)

Bailey Dayton 46 --Sarah Lewis 47  
(4-4, 1782--8-1, 1862)  (b. 10-7, 1784)

Amos Dayton 48 --Kate Cross (1st wife) 49  
(9-18, 1779--8-14, 1855)  
--Elizabeth Cooper (2nd wife) 50  
(1783--1-15, 1871)  
(m. 2-19, 1812)

Joel Dayton 52 --Nancy Lewis 53  
(9-7, 1777--5-3, 1833)  (4-23, 1787--8-9, 1866)

William Lewis Dayton 54 --Harriet Marie Stockton 55  
(2-17, 1807--12-1, 1864)  
First Republican Vice Presidential Candidate with Fremont, 1856  
Minister to France under Lincoln

Mary (Polly) Dayton 56  
Dr. Upson 57

Noah Dayton 58  
(d. 1851)

Jonathan Dayton 59 --Phoebe Day 60  
(1-30, 1786--6-27, 1849)  (4-22, 1789--2-2, 1866 61/1870 62/1871 63

Harvey Dayton 64 --Mania Hatfield 65  
(11-10, 1811--4-17, 1887)

Charles Henry Dayton 66 --Mary Ellen Thornton 67  
(1831--1899)  (8-18, 1834--6-22, 1878)  
(m. 6-19, 1860)

AMOS COOPER DAYTON 68 --Lucinda Harrison 69  
(9-4, 1813--6-11, 1865)  (1824--1896[?]) 71

Laura Harrison Dayton 72  
(1845--1919)

Elizabeth Eakin 76  
--William Sharp 77

Albert Eakin Sharp 78 --Sarah 79

Polly Sharp 80

Albert Eakin 81 --Etta Wolfe 82  
(1884--1953)  (b. 1889--)

Elizabeth Eakin 83  
--Frank Young 84

[8] Lucinda Harrison Dayton 94 (1850--7-13, 1914)
[9] Laura Phillips 96 (d. 1916) (no issue)
[9] Lucille Phillips 98 (m. 1897)


[8] Lucinda Harrison Dayton 94 (1850--7-13, 1914)
[9] Laura Phillips 96 (d. 1916) (no issue)
[9] Lucille Phillips 98 (m. 1897)

[10] Katherine Burnett 100 --Louis Seel (1st husband) 101
[10] Dorothy Dayton Burnett 104 --D. C. Poole 105
[10] Margaret Burnett 112
[10] Laura Burnett 113 --E. E. Waite 114
[10] J. M. Burnett

[10] Henrietta Burnett -- H. L. Strange


[9] William Dayton Phillips (d. ca. 1930) -- Margaret Ewing


[10] Henrietta Phillips


[8] Elizabeth Dayton (b. 1852) -- Stock

[8] Robert Dayton -- Knapp

[9] Ideylette Dayton -- Oscar D. Colvin

[10] Florence Colvin (b. 1905)

[8] John Dayton -- Warnie Hooper


[10] (Daughter) Litscher -- Paul Avila


[9] John Hooper Dayton (b. 1900)


[9] Amos Cooper Dayton (b. 1888)

[9] Julian Fairfax Dayton (b. 1894)
[8] Narcissa Dayton (b. 1862) --William Weir Kannon (b. 1853)

[9] Eva Kannon (1887--ca. 1908)

   --Emily Yancy Pos (1st wife) (12-16, 1894--6-17, 1938)

[10] Dorothy Gladys Kannon (b. 5-30, 1919)
   --E. V. Ashworth (1st husband)
   --Lewis (2nd husband)


[10] Laurance H. Kannon (b. 4-5, 1921--)

[10] Rev. Dayton Wilbur Kannon (b. 3-20, 1923--)
   --Norma Lee Moore (m. 9-19, 1950)
   (b. 8-22, 1924--)


[10] Emily Ellen Kannon (b. 6-25, 1927--)
   --T. J. Mitchell (b. 1-31, 1927--)
   (m. 4-18, 1953)


[11] Laurance Andrew Mitchell (b. 12-12, 1956--)

[10] Bernard Richard Kannon (b. 9-3, 1928--)
   --Mary J. Catania
(b. 9-21, 1955-- )

(b. 8-24, 1964)

[9] Laurance Harrison Kannon 180  
(See n. 157)  
--Leone Jennings (2nd wife) 181  
(10-14, 1902--3-16, 1962)

[10] Wallace Jennings Kannon 182  
(1-14, 1937--11-7, 1962)

[10] Neva Marie Kannon 183  
(b. 2-4, 1939-- )  
--Louis Earl Denson 184  
(4-11, 1936-- )  
(m. 12-10, 1955)

[11] Louis Gregory Denson 185  
(b. 5-22, 1957-- )

[11] Leslie Gaye Denson 186  
(b. 7-4, 1959-- )

(5-20, 1960--3-1, 1963)

[11] Louis Jeffrey Denson 188  
(b. 6-24, 1961-- )

(b. 9-18, 1962-- )

[10] Alice Leone Kannon 190  
(b. 12-2, 1931-- )  
--Marvin Edward Lee 191  
(b. 9-3, 1929-- )  
(m. 6-13, 1952)

(b. 5-26, 1953)

(b. 7-5, 1955-- )
FOOTNOTES
GENEALOGICAL CHART OF ONE BRANCH OF THE DAYTON FAMILY

Abbreviations Used in References


HVD  Correspondence with the author from Harold V. Dayton, Bernardsville, New Jersey. July 22, [1964]-April 22, 1965. (On file in library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)

LHK  Correspondence with the author from Laurance Harrison Kannon, New Orleans, Louisiana. September 1, 1964-April 25, 1965. (On file in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)


XR   Laura Dayton Eakin, "Amos Cooper Dayton," Christian Repository, LXIV, No. 9 (September 1, 1900), 569-572.

2 Edson Dayton, p. 12.

3 Ibid.; NCAB, XVII, 77; DFPA, 282-283.  

4 DFPA, 282-283.


6 Edson Dayton, p. 22.  

7 Ibid., p. 12; NCAB, XXXVI, 71; HVD.

8 Ibid.  

9 Edson Dayton, p. 87.  

10 HVD.  

11 Edson Dayton, p. 78.

12 HVD.  

13 Ibid.; Edson Dayton, p. 78.  

14 Edson Dayton, p. 78; HVD.

15 Ibid.  

16 Ibid.  

17 Ibid.  

18 Ibid.  

19 Ibid.  

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.  

22 Ibid., p. 78; DAB, p. 165; HVD.  

23 HVD.  

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.  

26 DAB, p. 165; HVD; DAR, XIII, 137.  

27 DAR, XIII, 137.

28 DAB, 166; NCAB, I, 306; HVD.  

29 DAR, VII, 77.  

30 HVD.

31 Ibid.  

32 NJHQ, I, 126; HVD.  

33 HVD.  

34 Ibid.  

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.  

37 Ibid.  

38 Ibid.  

39 Ibid.  

40 Ibid.  

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.  

43 Ibid.  

44 Ibid.  

45 Ibid.  

46 NJHQ, I, 126; HVD.

47 HVD.  

48 Ibid.  

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.; Correspondence with the author from Arch Carswell, citing "Session Book Three, Basking Ridge, New Jersey, Presbyterian Church." June 27, 1964. (On file in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)

51 Carswell, "Session Book Three ... "  

52 NJHQ, I, 126; HVD.

53 DAB, V, 166-167.  

54 Ibid.; HVD.  

55 DAR, X, 77.  

56 HVD.

57 Ibid.  

58 Ibid.


60 XR, LXIV, 569.
Correspondence with the author from Mrs. Bertha Mather, Church Secretary, The Presbyterian Church in Morristown, New Jersey, quoting "The History Register of the Presbyterian Church in Morristown." June 17, 1964. (On file in the library of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)

Carswell, "Session Book Three . . . ."

HVD. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid.; Mather correspondence. JR, LXIV, 571.


XR, LXIV, 572, states she died at Pembroke, Ky. at seventy-two.

Ibid., p. 572.

Correspondence with the author from Dr. and Mrs. W. A. Eakin, Chattanooga, Tennessee. May 5, 1964-April 2, 1965. (On file in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)


W. A. Eakin Correspondence. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Correspondence with the author from Elroy Ford, Watertown, Tennessee, quoting extract from Harry Phillips, Phillips Family History, 1935. (On file in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)

Ibid.

Correspondence with the author from Mrs. D. C. Poole, Clayton, North Carolina. June 18, 1964-April 12, 1965. (On file in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

*138 HVD; Correspondence with the author from Mrs. Etta W[olfe] Eakin, Chattanooga, Tennessee [April 15, 1965], quoting the Chattanooga (Tennessee) *Times*, March, 1962[?].* (On file in the Library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.)

*139 Eighth Census . . . . 140 E. W. Eakin Correspondence; HVD.*

*141 E. W. Eakin Correspondence.* 142 Ibid. 143 Ibid. 144 Ibid.

*145 Ibid.* 146 Ibid. 147 Ibid.


*150 HVD. 151 Eighth Census . . . . 152 Ibid.*

*153 HVD.*

*154 Religious Herald, October 23, 1862; XR, LXIV, 572; LHK.*


*158 Ibid.*

*159 Ibid.* 160 Ibid. 161 Ibid. 162 Ibid. 163 Ibid.

*164 Ibid.* 165 Ibid. 166 Ibid. 167 Ibid. 168 Ibid.

*169 Ibid.* 170 Ibid. 171 Ibid. 172 Ibid. 173 Ibid.

*174 Ibid.* 175 Ibid. 176 Ibid. 177 Ibid. 178 Ibid.

*179 Ibid.* 180 Ibid. 181 Ibid. 182 Ibid. 183 Ibid.

*184 Ibid.* 185 Ibid. 186 Ibid. 187 Ibid. 188 Ibid.

APPENDIX C

A. C. DAYTON'S CREED
APPENDIX C

Dayton's Creed

I BELIEVE, 1st. that every man, and every woman, and every child, who has come to the age of responsibility, is accountable to God alone for his religious faith and practice.

II. I believe that the Bible contains all that is needful for our instruction in religion, and that any faith or any practice, or any system of "theology," "new" or old, that is not taught so plainly that men can see it and show it in that BOOK, is of no binding force. Hence every man, woman or child each for himself must study THE WORD, and believe and do what it requires.

III. I believe that the Word most clearly teaches that all men are sinners, lost, helpless, ruined sinners; and that no one can be saved but by the free unmerited grace of God in Christ. That each one for himself must repent, believe and obey the Gospel. That each one who has believed, must for himself submit to baptism. That this baptism is immersion in water, and nothing else will answer in its place. That none who have not been immersed are members of Christ's visible church, or have any right to any privileges which belong exclusively to church members. That the church of Christ has an actual and visible organization, and a form of government fixed for it by him who first established it; and that those bodies only are true churches which have right baptism, right membership, and right church organization.

This is my Creed.

---

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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______. Emma Livingston, the Infidel's Daughter; Conversations upon Atheism, Infidelity, and Universalism. Nashville: Southwestern Publishing House, 1860.


______. Is It Ghost or Devil? Nashville: Graves, Marks, and Co., 1857. (Reference in Southern Baptist Review, II, No. 1 [January, 1857], 160.)


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"At Our Post!" Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 22 (February 5, 1859), 2.


"Bible Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention," Christian Index, XXXIII, No. 4 (January 26, 1854), 2.

"Bible Rooms, Nashville," Christian Index, XXXIV, No. 29 (July 19, 1855), 2.


"Bible Societies--No. 1," Home and Foreign Journal, V, No. 8 (February, 1856), 2.
____ • "Bible Song," Home and Foreign Journal, VII, No. 10 (April, 1858), 2.

____ • "[Brother Fain's Article]," Tennessee Baptist, XIV, No. 40 (June 12, 1858), 2.

____ • "[A Call to the Ministry]," Baptist Banner, V, No. 11 (February 6, 1864), 2.

____ • "'Can Brother Dayton's Bible Dictionary Not Be Got Out This Summer?'" Tennessee Baptist, XVIII, No. 1 (September 7, 1861), 2.

____ • "Can We Afford to Wait?" Tennessee Baptist, XVIII, No. 10 (November 9, 1861), 2.

____ • "A Case of Liberality that Deserves Notice," Tennessee Baptist, X, No. 46 (July 22, 1854), 2.


____ • "A Catechism for Children [Advertisement]," Baptist Banner, V, Nos. 38-43 (October 1-November 5, 1864), 4.


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____ • "Cornelia Birdmore; or, Who Have Kept the Ordinances as They Were Delivered to the First Churches?" Baptist Banner, V, Nos. 38-49 (October 1-December 24, 1864).


____ • "Dayton's Baptist Monthly," Tennessee Baptist, XVII, No. 19 (January 12, 1861), 2.

____ • "Dayton's Bible Dictionary," Tennessee Baptist, XVI, No. 46 (July 21, 1860), 2.

____ • "Dayton's Monthly," Tennessee Baptist, XVII, No. 5 (September 29, 1860), 2.

____ • "Dayton's Monthly," Tennessee Baptist, XVII, No. 16 (December 15, 1860), 2.
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[Items:]


2. "The Death Light," Tennessee Baptist, XV, No. 22 (February 5, 1858), 3.


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