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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

BAPTIST DENOMINATION

IN

270
1497

AMERICA,

AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

BY DAVID BENEDICT, A. M.

PASTOR OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN PAWTUCKET, R. I

And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. HE THAT BELIEVETH AND IS BAPTIZED, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.....Mark xvi. 15, 16.

And the eunuch said, See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized?..... If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest.....I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.....AND THEY WENT DOWN BOTH INTO THE WATER, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him.....AND WHEN THEY WERE COME UP OUT OF THE WATER, &c.....Acts viii. 36—39.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY, &c.

CHAP. I.

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN DELAWARE.

DELAWARE became an independent State in 1776; it contains three little counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; in the first there was a Baptist society as early as 1703; they settled near Iron Hill; from them, their sentiments took a spread northward, as far as Loudon Tract, in Pennsylvania; northeast, to Wilmington; east, to Bethel; west, to Elk river, in Maryland; southward, to Duck creek in this State; and to the Pedee river in South-Carolina.

This society was from Wales, and about the year 1733, eight or ten families more, from the same country, made a settlement at Duck creek, in Kent county, from whence their sentiments spread to Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and to Georgetown in Maryland.

About the year 1788, Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes, who had been labouring on the eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay, in Maryland and Virginia, came to the county of Sussex, and made many proselytes, and planted two or three churches.

Delaware, at present, contains seven or eight churches, and one small association, which bears the name of the State.

three of the churches, viz. Welsh
k or Bryn sion, and Wilmington, will

Tract church is thus distinguished from a
of land of the same name, surrounding the
worship in Pencader, county of New-Castle.
se is a neat brick building, 40 feet by 30; it
cted in 1746, and is situated 42 miles, in a south-
ern direction from Philadelphia.

To come to the history of this church, we must cross
he Atlantic and land in Wales, where it had its beginning in the following manner. "In the spring of the year 1701, several Baptists, in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen, resolved to go to America; and as one of the company, Thomas Griffith, was a minister, they were advised to be constituted a church; they took the advice; the instrument of their confederation was in being in 1770, but is now lost or mislaid; the names of the confederates follow: Thomas Griffith, Griffith Nicholas, Evan Edmond, John Edward, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, Richard David, James David, Elizabeth Griffith, Lewis Edmond, Mary John, Mary Thomas, Elizabeth Griffith, Tennet David, Margaret Mathias, Tennet Morris; these sixteen persons, which may be styled a *church emigrant*, met at Milfordhaven in the month of June, 1701, embarked on board the good ship William and Mary; and on the 8th of September following, landed at Philadelphia. The brethren there treated them courteously, and advised them to settle about Pennepek; thither they went, and there continued about a year and a half; during which time their church increased from 16 to 37. But finding it inconvenient to tarry about Pennepek, they, in 1703, took up land in New-Castle county, from Messrs. Evans, Davis, and Willis, (who had purchased said Welsh Tract from William Penn, containing upwards of 30,000 acres) and thither removed the same year, and built a little meeting-house on the spot where the present stands."

This removal left some of their members near Pennepek, and took some of the Pennepek members to Welsh Tract, yet neither would commune with their neighbours, on account of a difference about *laying-on-of-hands*;

for the church of Pennepek had grown indifferent about the rite; but that at Welsh Tract deemed it a pre-requisite to the communion of saints. To remedy this inconvenience, the churches appointed deputies, to the number of twenty-four from both, to compromise matters as well as they could; who met for the purpose, June 22, 1706. The following history, translated from the Welsh Tract church-book, will give the reader a view of this whole transaction, and the happy termination of these disputes.

"We could not be in fellowship, at the Lord's Table, with our brethren in Pennepek and Philadelphia, because they did not hold to the *laying-on-of-hands*, and some other particulars* relating to a church: true, some of them believed in the ordinance, but neither preached it up, nor practised it; and when we moved to Welsh Tract, and left twenty-two of our members at Pennepek, and took some of their members down with us, the difficulty increased: we had many meetings in order to compromise matters, but to no purpose till June 22, 1706: then the deputies, who had been appointed for the purpose, met at the house of brother Richard Miles, in Radnor, and agreed, that a member in either church might transiently commune with the other; that a member who desired to come under the *laying-on-of-hands*, might have his liberty without offence; that the votaries of the right might preach or debate upon the subject with all freedom, consistent with brotherly love. But three years after this meeting, we had reason to review this transaction, because of some brethren, who arrived from Wales, and one, among ourselves, who questions whether the first article was warrantable. But we are satisfied that all was right, by the good effects which followed; for from that time forth, our brethren held sweet communion together at the Lord's Table; and our minister† was invited to preach and assist at an ordination at Pennepek, after the death of our brother Watts. He proceeded from thence to the Jersey, where he enlightened many in the good ways of the

* Some of those particulars are said to have been church covenants, ruling elders, &c.

† Thomas Griffith.

Lord, insomuch that in three years after, all the ministers, and about fifty-five private members had submitted to the ordinance."

The Welsh Tract church was the principal, if not the sole means of introducing singing, imposition of hands, church covenants, &c. among the Baptists in the middle States. The *Century Confession* was in America, before the year 1716, but without the articles which relate to these subjects; that year they were inserted by Rev. Abel Morgan, who translated the confession to Welsh, about which time it was signed by one hundred twenty-two members of this church. These articles were inserted in the next English edition, and adopted with the other articles by the Philadelphia Association in 1742.

The pulpit of this church was filled by great and good men of Welsh extraction, for about 70 years.

The first minister was Thomas Griffith, who emigrated with the church. All we can learn of him, is, that he was born in Lauvernach parish, in the county of Pembroke, in 1645, and after faithfully serving this church twenty-four years, died at Pennepek, July 25, 1725.

Mr. Griffith was succeeded by Elisha Thomas, who was born in the county of Caermarthen, in 1674. He emigrated from Wales with the church whereof he was one of the first members, and died, November 7, 1730, and was buried in this church-yard, where a handsome tomb is erected to his memory: the top-stone is divided into several compartments, wherein open books are raised, with inscriptions and poetry both in Welsh and English.

Mr. Thomas's successor was Enoch Morgan. He was brother to Abel Morgan, author of the Welsh Concordance. Their father was Morgan Ryddarch, a famous Baptist minister in Wales; but it was a common thing, in that country, for the children to take the personal name of their father instead of the sirname, only joining to it the names of their progenitors, by a string of *aps*.* Mr. Morgan was born in 1676, at a place called Allt gach, in the parish of Llanwenrog, in the county of Car-

* I remember, says Morgan Edwards, to have seen a Bible of my grandfather's with the following title page; *Fiddo Edwards ap William, ap Edward, ap Darydd, ap Evan.* MS. Hist. of the Baptists in Delaware, p. 241.

digan. He arrived in America with
church, whereof he was one of the constit.
on him the care of the church at Mr. Tho.
and died in 1740, and was buried in this
where a tomb is erected to his memory.

The next pastor of this church was Owen
He was born in 1676, at a place called Gwrgodi
Cilmanllwyd, and county of Pembroke. He cam
America in 1707; took the pastoral care of the chur.
at Mr. Morgan's death, in which office he continued until 1748, when he resigned it, to go to Yellow Springs, where he died, November 12, 1760. Mr. Thomas left behind him the following remarkable note; "I have been called upon three times to anoint the sick with oil for recovery; the effect was surprising in every case, but in none more so, than in the case of our brother Rynallt Howel: he was so sore with the bruises which he received by a cask falling on him from a waggon, that he could not bear to be turned in bed: the next day he went to meeting."

The next in office here was David Davis. He was born in the parish of Whitechurch, and county of Pembroke, in the year 1708, and came to America when a child, in 1710; was ordained in this church in 1734, at which time he became its pastor; he continued in this office 35 years, viz. until 1769, when he died. He was an excellent man, and is held dear in remembrance by all who knew him. Two of his sons were preachers. Jonathan was a seventh-day Baptist, and John was some time pastor of the 2d Baptist church in Boston, Mass.

Thus it appears, that hitherto the pastors of this church were all Welshmen. Those who have succeeded were native Americans, and the first was John Sutton, whose biography may be found in the history of the Emancipating Baptists, in Kentucky. He took on him the oversight of this church in 1770, and resigned it in 1777, to go to Virginia.

The next to him was John Boggs, who was ordained to the pastoral office here in 1781. He was born in East-Nottingham, in 1741; was bred a Presbyterian, but embraced the Baptist sentiments in 1771. He died at Welsh Tract, of a paralytick stroke, in 1802, and was

.eon Ferrell, the present pastor. Mr. .ve of Maryland, and was born in Talbot 03. He was bred a Quaker, but was bap- .lip Hughes, in 1770. As Mr. Boggs, his or, was much inclined to itinerate in the sur- g country, for which employment he was well .ed, Mr. Ferrell had preached for the church once onth, and sometimes oftener, for the space of about ven years, before he was invested with the pastoral .are of it.

The Welsh Tract church is very handsomely endowed; for after all the casualties which have befallen its temporalities, it has about thirteen hundred and thirty dollars in funds, at interest, and a lot of six acres, on which the meeting-house stands, and a plantation, the bequest of Hugh Morris, on which its pastor resides.

This church is the oldest in the State, and has now existed upwards of 100 years. It has been the mother of the Welsh Neck church in South-Carolina, the London Tract, the Duck Creek or Brynsion, and, in some measure, of Wilmington, Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and was one of the five churches which formed the Philadelphia Association, in 1707.

DUCK-CREEK OR BRYNSION.

This church, which was formerly distinguished by the first name, but now altogether by the latter, is situated about 70 miles to the south-west of Philadelphia. The meeting-house was built of brick in 1771, on a lot of one acre, the gift of John and Philemon Dickinson.

The tract of land which was called Duck Creek Hundred, was settled in the year 1733, by a number of Welsh families, some of the Independent and some of the Baptist denominations. The Independents built a meeting-house on the lot where the Baptist house now stands, and called it Brynsion, viz. Mount-Sion. They had divine service performed in it by Presbyterian ministers, viz. Rev. Messrs. Thomas Evans, Rees Lewis, David Jenison, &c. But in process of time this Independent society dwindled away, partly by deaths, and partly by emigrations; and the Baptists made use of

their house while it stood. The Indepe.
ed to have the lot conveyed over to them.
reason it reverted to the Dickinsons, and co.
their hands, till conveyed to the Baptists at
above specified.

The Baptists who settled here were about 8 o.
The names of the heads of them follow, viz. James A.
att, Nathaniel Wild, David Evan, Evan Rees, David
Rees, James Howel, Evan David Hugh, Joshua Edwards,
&c. This last was an exhorter among them, until he
went to Pedee, in South-Carolina. These Baptists emi-
grated hither, chiefly from Pencader, in Newcastle coun-
ty, and were members of Welsh Tract church. In May
18, 1735, Rev. Hugh Davis, of the Great Valley, preach-
ed to them at Brynsion meeting-house; otherwise they
held their worship at the house of James Hyatt. In
September 18, 1737, Rev. David Davis, of Welsh Tract,
administered ordinances here; worship was then held
at the house of Evan David Hugh; in 1749, Rev. Grif-
fith Jones settled at Duck Creek, and continued among
these people to his death, in 1757. In the spring of
1766, Rev. William Davis, from New-Britain, settled
here; but he died the 25th of September following.
After him, Rev. Messrs. David Davis, John Sutton, John
Boggs, &c. ministered to them, till their number increas-
ed to thirty. Then they petitioned Welsh Tract for
leave to become a distinct church. These thirty persons
were constituted a church by Messrs. Boggs and Flee-
son, November 24, 1781; and in 1786 were received
into the Association of Philadelphia.

The ministers who officiated at Duck Creek, while it
was a branch of Welsh Tract, have already been men-
tioned. The first pastor, which it had after it became
a separate church, was Eliphaz Dazey, who continued
with them a short time, and then resigned, and was
succeeded by James Jones, their present pastor.

WILMINGTON.

THIS church is of later date than some other churches in Delaware, which are at present less distinguished.

a number of individuals in this town for
.y years before the denomination began
.ourish and prevail.

the year 1769, Baptist ministers began to
in Wilmington, in a transient way, but without
.pparent success; and the few members began to
pair of seeing a church arise in the town. And the
rst time that a prospect opened to the contrary, was in 1782, when Rev. Philip Hughes came to print a volume of hymns. He preached here, and gained some attention. In the month of April following, Mr. Thomas Ainger and family settled in the town; he was a member of the Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, but his wife a professed Baptist; he constantly maintained family worship without any uncommon effect for a time. One Lord's-day evening, he read the 20th chapter of Revelation, and found a strong impulse to comment upon it, particularly on the 12th verse. This diffused seriousness through the family, and laid a foundation for a religious society, in which good was done. Two of his apprentices and some others, attribute their conversion to this society. It quickened four more, who had been converted long before; these were baptized by Rev. John Boggs, May 25, 1784; their names were Thomas Ainger, Rachel Ainger, Noah Cross, and Mrs. —— Ferries. The same year, 1784, Rev. P. Hughes came to town to print his book on baptism, which detained him near two months; he preached all the while, sometimes at a Presbyterian meeting-house, and sometimes at the town school-house, which collected many hearers. By him were baptized four persons who had been awakened at the said society, viz. Robert Smith, John Redman, James M'Laughlin, and Henry Walker. Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs continued to visit the place alternately every week. More were baptized by them, insomuch that a sufficient number of materials for a church were soon prepared, and in October, 1785, Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs, with Abel Griffith and Eliphaz Dazey, met and gave them fellowship as a Gospel Church. The names of the constituents were, Thomas Ainger, James M'Laughlin, Thomas Williams, Henry Walker, Joseph Tomlinson, John Redman, Robert Smith, John

M'Kim, Curtis Gilbert, Sarah Stow, Elizabeth Hopkins, Mary Mattson; to these twelve, must be added four more; who had been baptized elsewhere, viz. John Stow, Elizabeth Way, Thomas Stow, Abigail Ainger. The church was received into the Association of Philadelphia the year following.

Thomas Ainger, who began the domestic meetings already mentioned, commenced preaching in this church the next year after it was constituted, and was ordained the pastor of it in 1788, by Dr. Samuel Jones, David Jones, and Eliphaz Dazey. This office he filled with reputation, until his death, which happened in 1797.

For a few years after Mr. Ainger's death, the church was supplied by the occasional labours of Mr. John Boggs, sen. Gideon Ferrel, John Ellis, and Joseph Flood. Mr. Flood did, indeed, exercise the pastoral care of it, for a short time, when he was excluded for immoral conduct, and afterwards went to Norfolk, in Virginia, and was the cause of much evil and confusion. But during the ministry of Mr. Flood, notwithstanding the blemishes of his character, there was a very considerable revival, and many were added to the church.

After remaining in a measure destitute for about five years, this church had the happiness to settle, for its pastor. Rev. Daniel Dodge, under whose ministry they have been prosperous and happy.

Mr. Dodge, whose father was a native of Ipswich, in Massachusetts, was born in Annapolis Royal, Nova-Scotia, in 1775; but the most of his days have been spent in the United States. He professed religion at the age of 18, and united with the church in Woodstock, Vermont, then under the pastoral care of Elder Elisha Ransom. In 1797, he went to Baltimore, and preached in various places in Maryland and Virginia, before he settled in Wilmington.

Mr. Dodge has baptized 115 perons, who have united with this church since he became its pastor. The sisters of this church collected in about twelve months upwards of three hundred dollars towards paying the expense of finishing the meeting-house.

CHAP. II.

MARYLAND.

THIS State was at first settled by Roman Catholics, who are still considerably numerous in it; but as the government gave free toleration to all religious sects, in process of time it was settled by protestants of various denominations, and among them were some Baptists, the most noted of whom was Henry Sator, who removed hither from England about the year 1709, and settled in the northern parts near Chesnut Ridge. Soon after his settlement, he invited Baptist ministers to preach in his house, by which means a number were, from time to time, proselyted to his sentiments, and after many years, a church was formed in his neighbourhood.

The Baptists gained ground but slowly in Maryland, for more than half a century, after the first emigrants arrived here; and, indeed, there is now the smallest number of the denomination in this State of any in the Union, except that of Delaware. In 1772,* except the Tunkers and Mennonists, it contained but two Baptist churches, and both of these were in the county of Baltimore, one of which were, in their doctrinal sentiments, General, and the other Particular Baptists; the former had for its minister, though an unprofitable one, Henry Loveall; the other was under the pastoral care of the late much-respected John Davis. There were, however, at this time, two little societies of Baptists near the Potomack, which were branches of churches in Virginia.

In 1794,† Maryland contained 17 churches, in which were about 950 members. There has been a gradual increase of the denomination since, so that now, as near as can be ascertained, there are in this State, two Associations, viz. the Baltimore and Salisbury, about 23 churches, and about 12 or 1400 communicants.

The Methodists have had great success in this State, and in it their community is now considerably large.

* M. Edwards's Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Maryland.
† Asplund's Register.

In 1785, they constituted Cokesbury College, at Abington, Harford county, which was so called in honour of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, which, after existing a few years, was unfortunately consumed by fire, and has never been rebuilt.

The commencement of the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, has already been suggested. It appears that George Eglesfield, from Pennsylvania, was the first minister that Mr. Sator obtained to preach in his house, after his settlement in Maryland. After him, Paul Palmer came into the neighbourhood, and baptized nine persons; he was succeeded by Henry Loveall, who baptized forty-eight more, and in 1742 formed them into a church, which, at the time of its constitution, contained 57 members. The instrument of their confederation, which is somewhat singular, and which was laid before the Governor and Court in 1742, when the society was taken under the protection of the toleration laws, is as follows:

"We, the humble professors of the Gospel of Christ, baptized upon a declaration of faith and repentance, believing the doctrine of general redemption, (or the free grace of God, extended to all mankind) do hereby seriously, heartily, and solemnly, in the presence of the Searcher of all hearts, and before the world, covenant, agree, bind, and settle ourselves into a church, to hold, abide by, and contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, owned by the best reformed churches in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, especially as published and maintained in the forms and confessions of the Baptists in England; differing in nothing from the articles of the church of England and Scotland, except in infant baptism, modes of church government, the doctrine of absolute reprobation, and some ceremonies. We do also bind ourselves hereby, to defend and live up to the protestant religion, and abhor and oppose the whore of Rome, pope, and popery, with all her anti-christian ways. We do also engage with our lives and fortunes, to defend the crown and dignity of our gracious sovereign, King George, to him and his issue for ever, and to obey all his laws, humbly submitting ourselves to all

in authority under him, and giving custom to whom custom, honour to whom honour, tribute to whom tribute is due. We do further declare, that we are not against taking oaths, nor using arms in defence of our king and country, when legally called thereto; and that we do approve and will obey the laws of this province. And further, we do bind ourselves to follow the patterns of our brethren in England, to maintain order, government, and discipline in our church, especially that excellent directory of Rev. Francis Stanley, entitled "The Gospel's Honour, and the Church's Ornament," dedicated to the churches in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Cambridge. We also engage, that all persons upon joining our society, shall yield consent to and subscribe this our solemn league and covenant. Subscribed by us whose names are underwritten, this 10th day of July, 1742."

Mr. Sator bore an excellent character, and may be considered not only the founder of this society, but of the Baptist interest in Maryland. His assistance in building the place of worship, and his gift of land to the minister, are mentioned as peculiar marks of his liberality.

This church immediately increased very fast, and began to spread over the country, and soon extended over to Opeckon and Ketockton in Virginia; insomuch that in four years the number of communicants amounted to 181.

Mr. Loveall became the pastor of the church at its beginning, and continued still to act in that capacity; but by many accounts, he was a man of great blemishes of character, and his misconduct soon checked the growth of the church at Chesnut Ridge, and caused it to disperse and dwindle away. He was a native of Cambridge, England; came to America when young; and was baptized in New-England in 1725; probably in Newport; for it appears by Mr. John Comer's Journal, that he was in that town in 1729, and had then begun to preach. And being desirous of travelling into the Jerseys, he, by his request, received a letter of introduction to the churches there, signed by James Clark, Daniel Wightman, and John Comer, who certified that they then "knew nothing, but that his conduct and conver-

sation was agreeable to the Gospel of Christ." But it was not long after that he was found to be a man of bad character, having been guilty of some shameful acts of uncleanness, a sin which most easily beset him; and that his real name was Desolate Baker.* He was ordained at Piscataqua, New-Jersey, 1730, but never officiated there in a pastoral capacity; for the foul blemishes of his character were soon discovered by the church, which had been too hasty in ordaining him. After causing much confusion at Piscataqua, he came to Maryland in 1742, and the same year became the minister of the church whose history we are now relating. In 1746, he went to Virginia, and raised the Mill-Creek church, from which he was shortly after excommunicated for his misconduct, and returned to Chesnut Ridge, where he resided in 1772, in the 78th year of his age, an unhappy proof, that ministerial gifts and a good life and conversation do not always go together.

The church of Particular Baptists was at first called *Winter Run*, which appellation has since been exchanged for Harford, the name of the county in which it is situated. In 1772, besides the main establishment at Winter Run, it consisted of three other branches, one near Chesnut Ridge, which met for worship in the house belonging to the General Baptists, the second was at Petapsco, and the third near Winchester. These branches have, probably, since become distinct churches, although they do not bear the names which are here given them. In this church, which was so extensive in its bounds, there were, at the date above mentioned, 138 communicants. It originated from the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, in the following manner: About the year 1747, some of the members of that church, being inclined to the sentiments of the Particular Baptists, invited their ministers to preach amongst them, who continued their visits until fourteen persons had embraced their sentiments, and these were constituted into a church in 1754, by the assistance of Benjamin Griffiths and Peter P. Vanhorn, and was the same year received into the Philadelphia Association. It is an old and respectable

* John Comer's Diary, a letter from Nathaniel Jenkins, to the church at Piscataqua, dated Dec. 1730.

church, and was, for upwards of 50 years, under the pastoral care of the late venerable John Davis. Mr. Davis was born in Pennepeck, in Pennsylvania, Sept. 10, 1731; was called to the ministry and ordained at Montery in the same State, 1756, and the same year came to Maryland, and took on him the pastoral care of this church, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1809, when he was in the 88th year of his age. He was own cousin to the late famous Benjamin Francis of England. All that I can learn of him is, that he was a man of peculiar piety and usefulness, and no one who knew him, mentions his name without affixing some commendation expressive of his peculiar excellence. When he first arrived in Maryland, he was very roughly treated; for the people of the neighbourhood, the magistrates and the court, publickly affronted him, and used indirect arts to drive him out of the country; but in a short time, the men who were his bitterest enemies became his affectionate friends, and treated him with honour and respect.

The Harford church has been the mother of a number of others; for the churches which bear the following names, 1st Baltimore, Taney Town, Gunpowder, and Sator's, were taken from it.

About 1770, some preachers from Virginia, particularly Richard Major and the Fristoes, William and Daniel, began to preach in the south-west borders of the State; their labours were attended with success; many were baptized, who united with the churches in Virginia, belonging to the Ketockton Association, and in this way the foundations were laid for the oldest churches in that region.

Respecting the remaining churches, in that part of Maryland, which, by way of contradistinction, is called the Western shore, I have obtained no information worth detailing, excepting of those in the city of Baltimore.

The 1st church in Baltimore was constituted in 1785, with 11 members, all of whom, excepting Mr. Richards, were dismissed from the Harford church. The constituents were Rev. Lewis Richards, David Shields and wife, George Prestman and wife, Richard Lemmon, Al-

exander M'Kim, (now a member of Congress,) Thomas Coal and wife, William Hobby, and Eleanor Thomas. These members had kept up a meeting in Baltimore, for a number of years before the church was organized, and were regularly supplied with preaching once a month, by Mr. Davis, the pastor of the church with which they stood connected, until their present pastor removed and settled in the city.

Mr. Richards was born in 1752, in the parish of Llanbardarn vowr, Cardiganshire, South-Wales. He made a publick profession of religion at the age of 19, and joined a society of Independents, and was shortly after introduced to the attention of the famous Lady Huntington, and studied a short time in the college which was under the patronage of that remarkable woman. He, however, suspended his studies there, with a view of pursuing them at the Orphan House in Georgia, and embarked for America with a number of his fellow students, the names of whom, and many particulars respecting them, are related in the biography of Rev. Joseph Cook. Mr. Richards was baptized by Dr. Richard Furman, at the High Hills of Santee, South-Carolina, in 1777, and was ordained the same year, in Charleston, by Rev. Messrs. Hart and Cook; and after travelling about a year in different parts of South-Carolina and Georgia, removed to Northampton county, Virginia, on the Eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay. From this place he removed to his present station in 1784, a few months before the church over which he presides was constituted.

Some time before the constitution of this church, a number of persons had purchased a lot in the city, containing half an acre, on which the congregation have since erected their present place of worship, which is a neat brick building without galleries, 60 feet by 40. They have also erected, on the same lot a very commodious brick dwelling-house, two stories high, for the use of their minister.

The origin of the 2d church in Baltimore, is somewhat singular, and is thus related by Rev. John Healey, their present pastor :

In 1794, Mr. Healey and wife, Matthew Hulse and wife, and William Lynes and wife, all members of the General Baptist church of Friar Lane, Leicester, England, having resolved to go to America, covenanted, before their departure, to remain together as a religious society, and to maintain the worship of God among themselves, in the distant country to which they were bound. They landed in New-York, in October, 1794, and tarried in that city through the following winter. The succeeding spring they removed to Baltimore, and immediately commenced their meetings in a warehouse, which had been occupied as a place of worship by the Episcopalians. In this, and in other places, they continued to assemble until 1797, when they had acquired sufficient ability to erect a decent brick building 40 feet by 27, with a vestry 10 feet wide, which is attached to one end of it. It stands in that part of the city called Fell's Point.

About the time the meeting-house was built, there remained of the constituents of the church, only Mr. Healey and his wife; for Lynes and his wife went off to the Methodists soon after they came to Baltimore, and Hulse and his wife had died with the yellow fever. But others had united with the little establishment, which, in the same year the meeting-house was built, began to travel in a church capacity.

As Mr. Healey and his associates were General Baptists, they were, on that account, for a time, exposed to many suspicions and much embarrassment; for the Baptists, in these parts, are, generally speaking, strongly Calvinistick. And between this church and the first in the city, there was no fellowship for a number of years. But the differences between them have gradually subsided, and a full and happy union has been formed.

This church, in 1809, had some peculiar trials with a number of its members who went off from them in a manner which they considered disorderly, and united in forming a church which was founded that year by Rev. William M'Pherson. Mr. M'Pherson was formerly one of Mr. Haldane's connexion, in Scotland; but he became a Baptist soon after he came to America. Some further account of the church, which he founded in this

city, will be given in the history of the community, with which it is connected.

BALTIMORE ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1792, and includes all the associated churches in Maryland, on the western side of the Chesapeak Bay, excepting the church of Nanjemoy, which belongs to the Ketocton Association. It also includes three churches in Pennsylvania, which have been noticed in the history of that State, and two in the city of Washington. It was at first known by the name of the Association on the western shore of Maryland. The churches of which it was, at its constitution, composed, were those of Harford, Fredericktown, Seneca, Taney Town, Huntington, and Hammond's Branch. The only ministers present, or at least, who belonged to it, were John Davis, Samuel Lane, and Absalom Bainbridge, the last of whom has since removed to Kentucky, and the number in all the churches was but 253.

The first church in Baltimore, at that time, belonged to the Philadelphia Association, from which it did not see fit to obtain a dismission until 1795, when it united with this little establishment, which, after that time, assumed the name, which it at present bears.

As the churches in the city of Washington belong to this Association, and being in the District of Columbia, do not properly belong to any State, we shall give their history a place here.

The 1st church in this city was constituted in 1802, and arose in the following manner. When the General Government was removed from Philadelphia to this newly established metropolis, a few Baptist members, some of whom were in its employment, belonging to different churches, removed hither, about the same time. These persons had frequent conversations on the advantages which might result to them, from church fellowship; and having made previous arrangements for the purpose, were, on the 7th of March, 1802, in the Hall of the Treasury Department, constituted into a church by the assistance of Messrs. Jeremiah More, Lewis Richards, William Parkinso[illegible] Adam Freeman. Their

number was only six, viz. Charles P. Polk, from Baltimore, John Burchan, from New-York, Charles Rogers, from Maryland, Cephas Fox, from Virginia, and Joseph Barrows and wife, from Philadelphia.

A few days after the church was constituted, the brethren began to solicit the aid of the citizens, towards erecting for them a place of worship: in their attempts they were greatly assisted by Rev. William Parkinson, who was then officiating as Chaplain to Congress; and so successful were their exertions, that they soon obtained sufficient means to purchase a lot in the west end of the city, 75 feet by 37, and to build a handsome house, 42 feet by 32, in which the first sermon was preached by Mr. Parkinson, on the 14th day of November, 1802.

Previous to this event, the church had received the addition of five members, and continued gradually to increase for a number of succeeding years. It was supplied with preaching pretty frequently by the neighbouring ministers, both in Virginia and Maryland, but had no pastor until 1807, when Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, a native of Newark, New-Jersey, and who was then preaching in that town, by the call of the church, removed amongst them, and assumed the pastoral office, which he still continues to fill with reputation and success. Mr. Brown also generally officiates as Chaplain to one branch of the National Legislature, during its sessions.*

The 2d church in Washington, was formed at the Navy Yard, in 1810, partly of members dismissed from the first.

SALISBURY ASSOCIATION.

This Association lies wholly on the eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay, and by this Bay is separated from the other churches in Maryland.

Baptist sentiments were first propagated in this region, by the pious and laborious Elijah Baker, as related

* Mr. Polk, who furnished the substance of the above articles, adds the following note: "Mr. Benedict will, it is believed, do much service, by recommending to travelling Baptist ministers, or those of them who wish to remove south, to visit Maryland; for, perhaps, no part of the Union has more need of Gospel preachers than it [illegible] parts of it."

in his biography. Soon after he began to preach in these parts, he was joined by Philip Hughes, whose ministry was also crowned with much success. These two ministers laboured on the eastern shore, both in Maryland and Virginia, rather as evangelical itinerants, than as stationed pastors, and often visited the churches they had planted, as fathers do their children. A number of ministers and exhorters were raised up in the churches which they had established, who were instrumental in forwarding the work which they had begun. Mr. Baker, it appears, first visited these parts in 1776; and in 1782* a sufficient number of churches having been organized, they met at Salisbury, and formed themselves into an Association, which, from that circumstance, received its name. For 26 years from its establishment, viz. until 1808, it progressed without any special occurrence, but gradually increased, and was in circumstances moderately prosperous. It was now thought proper that a division should be made; and as the churches of which it is composed were in the two States of Marvland and Virginia, the State line was fixed upon as the line of division, and the churches in Virginia were dismissed and formed a new Association, which was called Acomack.

The preachers in the Salisbury Association have, from the first, been distinguished rather for their piety than their parts.

Dr. Robert Lemon, at whose house the venerable Elijah Baker died, appears to have been a man of note in this body, and has, from the commencement of its sessions, almost uniformly officiated as Moderator.

John Asplund, the author of the Baptist Register, was drowned from a canoe, in 1807, in Fishing Creek, which gives name to one of the churches in this Association.

The churches now belonging to it, are in the counties of Caroline, Dorset, Somerset, and Worcester, and are all in the State of Maryland, except the one called Bethel, which is in Sussex county, in the State of Delaware.

The Baptists in Maryland have never endured any thing from the civil power, which may properly be call-

* M. Edwards's Materials, &c. for Delaware, p. 216.

ed persecution. There appears to have been a considerable outcry against them in 1741, and also in 1746, which was occasioned by the misconduct of Loveall and Palmer, two very disreputable preachers of their society; but the clamour and violence ceased, when it was found that the Baptists abhorred their conduct as much as any other society could do.

At a very early period, the Assembly of this State, (then a province) enacted, "that no persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the exercise of any other religion, against their consent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire against the civil government. That any person molesting another in respect of his religious tenets, should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary; that those, reproaching any with opprobious names of religious distinction, should forfeit ten shillings to the person injured; that any one speaking reproachfully against the Blessed Virgin, or the Apostles, should forfeit ten pounds. But blasphemy against God, should be punished with death." This act passed 1649, and was confirmed in 1676, among the perpetual laws of the province.

Virginia, at this period, animated by a very different spirit, passed several laws against the Puritans, whose ministers were not suffered to preach. This occasioned numbers to emigrate to Maryland.

"Extraordinary scenes were, at this time, exhibited on the colonial theatres. In Massachusetts, the Congregationalists intolerant towards the Episcopalians, and every other sect; the Episcopal church retaliating upon them in Virginia; and the Roman Catholicks of Maryland, tolerating and protecting all."*

* Morse's Geography.

CHAP. III.

Origin of the Baptists in Virginia, and a brief Account of the first Company of the Denomination, who settled in it.

VIRGINIA is famous for being the oldest State in the Union, for always containing the largest number of inhabitants, for producing many distinguished statesmen; and, for about thirty years, it has been distinguished for containing within its bounds a larger number of the Baptist denomination, than any of the other States.

"The first settlers of this country were emigrants from England, of the English church, just at a point of time, when it was flushed with complete victory over the religious of all other persuasions." Possessed as they became, of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they shewed equal intolerance in this country, with their Presbyterian brethren, who had emigrated to the northern government.

"The Episcopalians retained full possession of the country about a century. Other opinions began to creep in; and the great care of the government to support their own church, having begotten an equal degree of indolence in its clergy, two thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the revolution. The laws indeed were still oppressive on them; but the spirit of the one party had subsided into moderation, and of the other, had risen to a degree of determination which commanded respect."*

We cannot learn that any of the original settlers of Virginia were Baptists, nor do we find any of this denomination in the country, until more than a century after its settlement. The accounts of their origin in the State, vary in dates and some other little matters; but the following statement, I believe, is the most correct and circumstantial which can be obtained at this late period.

In consequence of letters from Virginia, Robert Nordin and Thomas White were ordained in London, in May, 1714, and soon sailed for Virginia. But White

* Morse's Geography, vol. I. 5d ed. p. 625.

died by the way, and Nordin arrived in Virginia, and gathered a church at a place called Burley, in the county of the Isle of Wight. There were, probably, a number of Baptists settled in this place before the arrival of Nordin, by whose request, and for the service of whom, he and White were ordained, and undertook the distant voyage; but who, or how many these were, or how long they had been there, are inquiries which we cannot answer.

Mr. Nordin continued preaching at Burley and other places, until he died in a good old age in 1725. Two years after his death, viz. in 1727, Casper Mintz and Richard Jones, both preachers, arrived from England, and settled with the church at Burley, and Jones became their pastor. Both of these ministers were living in 1756, as appears by a letter which this church sent at that time, to the Philadelphia Association.

In the year 1729, as appears by a letter sent by Rev. Paul Palmer, from Noth-Carolina, to Rev. John Comer, of Newport, Rhode-Island, there was, besides the church at Burley, another in the county of Surry. Respecting these churches, Mr. Palmer wrote as follows: "There is a comely little church in the Isle of Wight county, of about thirty or forty members, the Elder of which is one Richard Jones, a very sensible old gentleman, whom I have great love for. We see each other at every Yearly Meeting, and sometimes more often. There is another church in Surry county, where my brother Jones lives, I suppose of about thirty more."

How long these churches continued in existence, I cannot exactly learn. Respecting the one in the county of Surry, no information can be obtained, except what is found in Mr. Palmer's letter. The one in the Isle of Wight, we have good reason to believe continued on the ground where it was established between forty and fifty years, when, according to Morgan Edwards's account, it was broken up, partly by sickness, and partly by the removal of families from hence to North-Carolina, where they gained many proselytes, and in ten years became sixteen churches. They were all *General Baptists*; but in a few years after their settlement in North-Carolina, they began to embrace the Calvinistick

sentiments, as will be seen in the history of the Baptists in that State. In 1756, the church at Burley sent the following letter to the Philadelphia Association:

"The church of Jesus Christ in Isle of Wight county, holding adult baptism, &c. to the Reverend and General Assembly or Association at Philadelphia, send greeting. We the abovementioned church, confess ourselves to be under clouds of darkness, concerning the faith of Jesus Christ, not knowing whether we are on the right foundation, and the church much unsettled; wherefore, we desire alliance with you, and that you will be pleased to send us helps, to settle the church, and rectify what may be wrong; and subscribe ourselves, your loving brethren in Christ, Casper Mintz, Richard Jones, Randal Allen, Joseph Mattgum, Christopher Atkinson, Benjamin Atkinson, David Atkinson, Thomas Cafer, Samuel Jones, William Jordan, John Allen, John Powell, Joseph Atkinson.—Dec. 27, 1756."

This is the last account I can find of this church; what was done by the Association in their case I do not find. Messrs. Miller, Vanhorn, and Gano, travelled frequently into Virginia and North-Carolina, about this time, for the purpose of regulating the disordered churches, and it is probable, that in some of their journies, they visited this one which made such an honest confession of their deplorable state.

It does not appear that this company of Baptists suffered any persecution or civil embarrassments, from the time of their settlement in Virginia to that of their dispersion. They probably obtained legal licenses for their assemblies, in conformity to the act of toleration.

As this community appears to have been transferred from Virginia to North-Carolina, the reader is referred to the history of the Baptists in that State, where a more particular account of them will be given.

CHAP. IV.

History of the second Company of Baptists, in Virginia, who emigrated hither from Maryland; together with a general Account of the Regular Baptists, from their Commencement in Virginia to the present Time.

THE next appearance of the Baptists in this State, was in the northern parts of it, in the counties of Burkley, Rockingham, and Loudon, on the ground, which was afterwards occupied by the Regular Baptists. Between the years 1743 and 1756, three churches were gathered in these counties, by the names of Opeckon, which was afterwards called Millcreek, Smith's and Lynville's creek, and Ketockton. A brief account of the origin of these churches will now be given.

The church on Opeckon creek appears to have been the oldest of the three, and was gathered and renovated in the following manner. In the year 1743, a number of the members of the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, in Maryland, removed to Virginia, and settled in this place; the most noted of whom were Edward Hays and Thomas Yates. Soon after their removal, their minister, Henry Loveall, followed them, and baptized about fifteen persons, whom he formed into a church on the Arminian plan. Mr. Loveall, becoming licentious in his life, was turned out of the church,* and returned to Maryland; and the church was broken up, or rather transformed into a church of Particular Baptists, in 1751, by the advice and assistance of Messrs. James Miller, David Thomas, and John Gano, who was, at that time, very young. Mr. Miller had visited this church in some of his former journies, and had been instrumental of much good among them; and when they, in their troubles occasioned by Loveall's misconduct, petitioned the Philadelphia Association for some assistance, he and Mr. Thomas were appointed by the Association for the purpose. Mr. Gano, though not appointed, chose to accompany them. The account of this transaction is thus given by Mr. Gano: "We examined them,

* Life of Gano, pp. 40 and 50.

and found that they were not a regular church. We then examined those who offered themselves for the purpose, and those who gave us satisfaction, we received, and constituted a new church. Out of the whole who offered themselves, there were only three received. Some openly declared, they knew they could not give an account of experiencing a work of grace, and therefore need not offer. Others stood ready to offer, if a church was formed. The three beforementioned were constituted, and six more were baptized and joined with them. After the meeting ended, a number of old members went aside and sent for me. They expressed their deplorable state, and asked me if I would meet with them that evening, and try to instruct them. They were afraid the ministers blamed them. They had been misled, but it was not their fault, and they hoped I would pity them. I told them I would with all my heart, and endeavoured to remove their suspicion of the ministers. They met, and I spoke to them from these words, "*They, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God.*" I hope I was assisted to speak to them in an impressive manner; and they to hear, at least some of them, so as to live. They afterwards professed, and became zealous members, and remained so, I believe, until their deaths."*

It was in the bounds of this church, that Stearns and Marshal met on their way to North-Carolina. At this time, Samuel Heaton was their pastor, and acted in that capacity until 1754, when he removed to Konolowa, Pennsylvania, and was succeeded by Mr. John Garrard, who is supposed to have been a native of Pennsylvania, and who became the most distinguished pastor the church had hitherto enjoyed. The Opeckon church united with the Philadelphia Association, soon after its renovation in 1751. They became very warm and animated in their religious exercises, and more particularly so, after Mr. Marshal and the zealous Separates came amongst them; and they soon went to such lengths in their New-Light career, that some of the less engaged

* Gano's Life, p. 49, 50.

members lodged a complaint against them in the Association to which they belonged. Mr. Miller was again sent for the purpose of adjusting their difficulties. When he came, he was highly delighted with the exercises, joined them cordially, and said, if he had such warm-hearted christians in his church, he would not take gold for them. He charged those who had complained, rather to nourish than complain of such gifts. The work of God revived among them, and considerable additions were made to the church. The country, in which they had settled, was but thinly inhabited, and was subject to the inroads of the Indians. Some of these savage eruptions took place not long after Mr. Garrard had settled among them; in consequence of which, he and many of the church removed below the Blue Ridge, and resided for some time in Loudon county, on Ketockton creek. This evil was overruled for good; for by the labours of Mr. Garrard in his new residence, to which, by the barbarous intruders, he was obliged to repair, many were brought to a knowledge of salvation, and a church was formed, which was called Ketockton, in 1756, and Mr. Garrard became their pastor.

The Smith's and Lynville's creek church, afterwards called Smith's creek, is said to have been constituted also in 1756. There were some Baptist families in this place as early as 1745, eleven years before the church was organized, but from what place they emigrated, we are not informed; only it is stated that one John Harrison, wishing to be baptized, went as far as Oyster bay, on Long-Island, in the State of New-York, to obtain an administrator. As there were Baptist churches and ministers much nearer, the presumption is, that he, if no others, had removed from that place.*

* I have followed Mr. Semple with regard to the time of the constitution of the Ketockton and Smith's creek churches. But according to Mr. Gano's account, one of them must have been formed at least five or six years before; which of them I cannot tell, for his account is very indefinite. But it appears to be certain, that before the year 1751, there was a young church which had been constituted somewhere in this region by David Thomas, which had no pastor, and which in that year "applied to the Philadelphia Association for some one to administer the ordinances amongst them." Mr. Gano also mentions, in his account of his journey to the southward, immediately after his ordination in 1754, that the church at Blue Ridge applied to the Philadelphia Association, &c. Gano's life, pp. 40—55.

We must date the origin of the Regular Baptists in Virginia about the year 1750, but it was not until ten years after, that they began to flourish and prevail to any considerable extent. In 1760, David Thomas, who had often visited the State before, in his evangelical excursions, now removed from Pennsylvania, and became a resident in it, where he acted a most distinguished part for thirty years; when he removed to Kentucky, where he was living, but almost blind, in 1809. As this eminent servant of God, if yet living, must be eighty years old, and can therefore be but little affected by the praises or censures of men, we shall take the liberty of saying more about him in the following narrative, than we generally intend to say of the living.

Mr. Thomas was born August 16, 1732, at Loudon Tract, Pennsylvania, and had his education at Hopewell, New-Jersey, under the famous Isaac Eaton, and so considerable were his literary acquirements, that the Rhode-Island College (now Brown University) conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts.

Mr. Thomas made his first stand in Virginia, in Berkley county, with, or in the neighbourhood of the Opeckon or Millcreek church; but in 1762, he removed to the county of Fauquier, and became the pastor of the Broadrun church, which was gathered soon after he removed to the place.

The origin of the Broadrun church, and the manner in which Mr. Thomas was introduced among them, are related as follow. A short time previous to his removing to Virginia, two men in this region, without any publick preaching, became much concerned about their souls and eternal things, were convinced of the reality of vital religion, and that they were destitute of it. While labouring under these convictions, they heard of the Baptists, (New-Lights, as some called them) in Berkley county, and set out in search of them; and after travelling about sixty miles over a rough and mountainous way, they arrived amongst them, and by their preaching and conversation were much enlightened and comforted, and were so happy as to find what had hitherto to them been mysterious, how a weary and heavy laden sinner might have rest. The name of one

of these men was Peter Cornwell, who afterwards lived to a good old age, and was so eminent for his piety, as to receive from his neighbours and acquaintance the title of "*Saint Peter.*"* It is related by Mr. Edwards, "that this Peter Cornwell induced Edmund Hays (the same man who removed from Maryland to Virginia, in 1743) to remove and settle near him, and that interviews between the families of these two men were frequent, and their conversation religious and devout; insomuch that it soon began to be talked of abroad as a very strange thing. Many came to see them, to whom they related what God had done for their souls, exhorted, prayed, and read the Bible, and other good books, to the spreading of seriousness through the whole neighbourhood." Cornwell and his companion, (whose name is not mentioned) in a short time made a second visit to Berkley, and were baptized; and Divine Providence had so ordered matters, that in this visit they met with Mr. Thomas, whom they invited to go down and preach amongst them. He accepted the invitation, and settled with them, as before related, and soon became the instrument of diffusing gospel light in Fauquier and the adjacent counties, where ignorance and superstition had long prevailed.

Mr. Thomas is said to have been a minister of great distinction in the prime of his days; for besides the natural endowments of a strong and vigorous mind, and the advantages of a classical and refined education, he had a melodious and piercing voice, pathetic address, expressive action, and, above all, a heart filled with love to God and his fellow-men, whom he saw overwhelmed in sin and misery. But for a few of the first years of his ministry in Virginia, he met with much rustick persecution from the rude inhabitants, who, as a satirical historian observes, "*had not wit enough to sin in a genteel manner.*"†

Outrageous mobs and individuals frequently assaulted and disturbed him. Once he was pulled down as he was preaching, and dragged out of doors in a barbarous manner. At another time a malevolent fellow attempt-

* Fristoe's Hist. of the Ketockton Asso. p. 100.

† Morgan Edwards.

ed to shoot him, but a by-stander wrenched the gun from him, and thereby prevented the execution of his wicked purpose. "The slanders and revilings," says Mr. Edwards, "which he met with, are innumerable; and if we may judge of a man's prevalency against the devil, by the rage of the devil's children, Thomas prevailed like a prince." But the gospel flourished and prevailed; and Broadrun church, of which he was pastor, in the course of six or eight years from its establishment, branched out, and became the mother of five or six others. The Chappawomsick church was constituted from that at Broadrun, in 1766. The Baptists in this church met with the most violent opposition. One Robert Ashly and his gang, (consisting of about 40) combined against them, with the most determined and envenomed hostility. Once they came to harass them at their worship, and entered the house with violence; but some stout fellows, not able to bear the insult, took Ashly by the neck and heels, and threw him out of doors. This infernal conspiracy continued to vent their rage against the Baptists, by throwing a live snake into the midst of them at one time, and a hornet's nest at another, while they were at worship; and at another time they brought fire-arms to disperse them. But Ashly dying, soon after, in a miserable manner, struck a damp on their mischievous designs, and procured quietness for a while to the poor sufferers, whom the civil powers left to the mercy, or rather to the rage and insolence of such an infuriated banditti.

But to return to Mr. Thomas. He travelled much, and the fame of his preaching drew the attention of people throughout an extensive circle; and they travelled, in many instances, fifty and sixty miles to hear him. It is remarkable, that about this time, there were multiplied instances, in different parts of Virginia, of persons, who had never heard any thing like evangelical preaching, who were brought, through divine grace, to see and feel their want of vital godliness. Many of these persons, when they heard Mr. Thomas and other Baptist preachers, would travel great distances to hear them, and to procure their services in their own neighbourhoods. By this means, the gospel was first carried

into the county of Culpepper. Mr. Allen Wyley, a man of respectable standing in that county, had been thus turned to God; and not knowing of any spiritual preacher, he had, sometimes, gathered his neighbours, and read the Scriptures, and exhorted them to repentance; but hearing, after a while, of Mr. Thomas, he and some of his neighbours travelled to Fauquier to hear him. As soon as he heard him, he knew the joyful sound, submitted to baptism, and invited him to preach at his house. He came; but the opposition from the wicked was so great that he could not preach. He went into the county of Orange, and preached several times, and to much purpose. Having, however, urgent calls to preach in various other places, and being much oprosed and persecuted, he did not attend here as often as was wished. On this account it was, that Mr. Wyley went to Pittsylvania, to procure the labours of Samuel Harris; an account of which will be given in the history of the Separates. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Garrard, sometimes together and sometimes apart, travelled and propagated the pure principles of Christianity in all the upper counties of the Northern Neck; but Mr. Thomas was far the most active.

The priests and friends of the establishment, viewed with a jealous eye these successful exertions of the Baptists, and adopted various methods to embarrass and defeat them. The clergy often attacked the preachers from the pulpit; called them false prophets, wolves in sheeps' clothing, and many other hard names equally unappropriate and slanderous. But unfortunately for them, the Baptists retorted these charges, by professing to believe their own articles; at least, the leading ones, and charged them with denying them; a charge which they could easily substantiate: for the doctrines most complained of, as advanced by the Baptists, were obviously laid down in the common prayer-book.

When they could not succeed by arguments, they adopted more violent measures. Sometimes the preachers, and even some who only read sermons and prayed publickly, were carried before magistrates, and though not committed to prison, were sharply reprimanded, and cautioned not to be righteous overmuch.

In two instances only, does it appear, that any person in these parts, was actually imprisoned on account of religion, although they suffered much abuse and persecution from outrageous mobs and malicious individuals. The one, it seems, was a licensed exhorter, and was arrested for exhorting at a licensed meeting-house. The magistrate sent him to jail, where he was kept until court; but the court, upon knowing the circumstances, discharged him. The other was James Ireland, who was imprisoned in Culpepper jail, and in other respects treated very ill. At the time of his imprisonment, Mr. Ireland was a Separate Baptist, but he afterwards joined the Regulars. The reasons why the Regular Baptists were not so much persecuted as the Separates was, that they had, at an early date, applied to the General Court, and obtained licenses for particular places of preaching, under the toleration law of England; but few of their enemies knew the extent of these licenses; most supposing, that they were by them, authorized to preach any where in the county.

The Regulars were considered less enthusiastick than the Separates. They were frequently visited by a number of eminent and influential ministers from the Philadelphia Association, and they also had, at their head, the learned and eloquent David Thomas, who, after stemming the torrent of prejudices and opposition for a few years, acquired an extensive fame and great weight of character, even in the eyes of his enemies; and was the means of procuring a degree of quietude and respectability for his reproached and persecuted brethren. But in the most persecuting times, the Baptist cause still flourished, and the work of grace progressed. New churches were constituted, and young preachers were raised up. Of these, none were more distinguished than Richard Major, although he was past the meridian of life before he embarked in the ministry. He seems to have made such good use of his time, that he did more in the vineyard than many who had toiled all the day. Daniel and William Fristoe, Jeremiah Moore, and others, were early fruits of Elder Thomas's ministry. These young heralds, uniting their endeavours with

those of the more experienced, became zealous labourers in the vineyard of the Lord.

Before the year 1770, the Regular Baptists were spread over the whole country, in the Northern Neck above Fredericksburg. Between 1770 and 1780, their cords still continued to be lengthened. Mr. Lunsford, a young but extraordinary preacher, carried the tidings of peace downwards, and planted the Redeemer's standard in those counties of the Northern Neck which are below Fredericksburg. Messrs. Corbley, Sutton, and Barnet, had moved over the Alleghany, and had raised up several churches in the northwest counties, as early as 1775. Mr. John Alderson had gone, in 1777, to Greenbrier, and in a few years raised up a people for God in that region. Besides these, there were some others, who moved more southward, and raised up a few churches.

During the time of the great declension of religion among the Virginia Baptists, which prevailed soon after the close of the war, the Regulars were under the cloud as well as their brethren the Separates; and they also participated in the great revival in 1785, and some years following.

An account of the present state of religion amongst the churches and people who were formerly called Regular Baptists, will be given in the general observations with which we shall conclude the history of this State. But before we close this chapter, it is proper to give a brief history of the Ketockton Association, together with those Associations which have originated from it.

The Ketockton Association was formed in 1766, and was the fifth Association of Calvinistick Baptists in America. The Philadelphia, the Charleston, Sandy-creek, and Kehukee Associations were formed before it; and besides these was the Rhode-Island Yearly Meeting of Arminian Baptists. This Association contained but four churches at the time of its organization, viz. the Mill-creek, the Smith's-creek, the Ketockton, and Broadrun; the three first of which were dismissed from the Philadelphia Association, with which body they united soon after they were constituted. These churches held Yearly Meetings

for a number of years before they were organized into an Association.*

Very few things appear to have transpired in the progress of this body, worthy of being detailed. It adopted the Philadelphia confession of faith at its commencement, and progressed with order, regularity, and propriety. It also experienced an annual increase of churches and members, during what may be termed the rise of the Baptists, in the region in which it was situated, although it did not increase so rapidly as many new Associations have done.

In 1789 a temporary division of this body was made, and a new Association, called Cappawamsick, was taken from it; but for some cause, which is not related, both bodies re-united in 1792. The union with the Separate Baptists, which the Regulars long sought and desired, and which was happily effected in 1787, by delegates from this Association, will be mentioned in the history of that community.

It is said by Rev. William Fristoe, the historian of this Association, that about 40 churches have joined it from first to last, and that at one time the churches were scattered over an extent of country, about 300 miles in length, and 100 in breadth.† But as a number of churches have been dismissed to unite with other Associations, its bounds are now much contracted.

In 1775, four churches were dismissed from this Association, for the purpose of forming the Redstone Association, in the back parts of Pennsylvania, whose history has already been given; and in 1793, a number of churches more were dismissed to unite with some others, who originated from the Separates, in forming an Association, which was called Greenbrier, which lies in the back and mountainous parts of Virginia.

Mr. John Alderson, whose father removed from New-Jersey, and became the first pastor of the Smith's-creek church, began, in 1775, to visit the region in which the Greenbrier Association is now situated, when the country was in a wilderness condition, both in a natural and spiritual

* Asplund and Edwards date the beginning of this Association in 1765; but by Semple's account, the churches were in this year dismissed from the Philadelphia, and organized the year after.

† Fristoe's Hist. of the Ketockton Assoc. p. 13.

sense. Having met with some success and encouragement, he, in 1777, removed his family into those parts, and in a few years had the happiness of being instrumental in planting a number of churches. What appears to be the most remarkable event in his history in this region is, that although he travelled much throughout an extensive circle, yet for seven years after his settlement here, he never saw nor heard any Baptist preacher but himself. The inhabitants of this uncultivated wilderness were interrupted by the ravages of the Indians, soon after Mr. Alderson settled among them, and were obliged to keep shut up in forts, for the space of four years. During which time, this laborious minister, generally attended by a small guard, travelled through the dangerous wilds from one fort to another, continually exposed to the lurking savages, to preach the gospel to the self-confined prisoners.

Mr. Josiah Osbourne is one of the ministers of this Association, who is remarkable for having published a piece in defence of the peculiar sentiments of the Baptists, in the colloquial strain, under the title of David and Goliath. This piece, written by an obscure and almost altogether illiterate man, is considered by many, as one of the best treatises on baptism that has ever been published, and for perspicuity and force of argument, certainly excels many of the elaborate productions of learned divines.

The Union Association lies wholly in Virginia, and in the northwest part of the State, and is in what were formerly the bounds of the Ketockton Association; but all the churches which formed it were dismissed from the Redstone Association. The names and numbers of these churches, their number of members, their pastors, and the counties in which they are situated, will be given in the table of Associations.

CHAP. V.

General History of all the Separate Baptists in Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, from the Time of their Settlement at Sandy-Creek, North-Carolina, 1755, to the Division of their extensive Connexion, in 1770.

THE appellation of Separates first began to be given to a set of Pedobaptist reformers, whose evangelical zeal was produced by the instrumentality of the famous George Whitefield, and other eminent itinerant preachers of that day, and who began their extraordinary career about the year 1740. Soon after these reformers, who were at first called New-Lights, and afterwards Separates, were organized into distinct Societies, they were joined by Shubael Stearns, a native of Boston, (Mass.) who, becoming a preacher, laboured among them until 1751, when he embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, as many others of the Pedobaptist Separates did about this time, and soon after was baptized by Rev. Wait Palmer. Mr. Stearns was ordained the same year in Tolland, (Conn.) the town in which he was baptized, by the said Wait Palmer and Joshua Morse, the former being pastor of the church in Stonington, and the latter of New-London, in Connecticut.

Mr. Stearns and most of the Separates had strong faith in the immediate teachings of the Spirit. They believed, that to those who sought him earnestly, God often gave evident tokens of his will. That such indications of the divine pleasure, partaking of the nature of inspiration, were above, though not contrary to reason, and that following these, still leaning in every step upon the same wisdom and power by which they were first actuated, they would inevitably be led to the accomplishment of the two great objects of a Christian's life, the glory of God and the salvation of men. Mr. Stearns, listening to some of these instructions of Heaven, as he esteemed them, conceived himself called upon by the Almighty to move far to the westward, to execute a great and extensive work. Incited by his impressions, in the year 1754, he and a few of his members, took their leave of New-

England. He halted first at Opeckon, in Berkley county, Virginia, where he found a Baptist church under the care of the Rev. John Garrard, who received him kindly. Here also he met his brother-in-law, the Rev. Daniel Marshall, who was also a Separate, and of whom much will be said in the history of the southern Baptists, just returned from his mission among the Indians, and who, after his arrival at this place, had become a Baptist. They joined companies, and settled for a while on Cacapou, in Hampshire county, about 30 miles from Winchester. Here, Stearns not meeting with his expected success, felt restless. Some of his friends had moved to North-Carolina; he received letters from these, informing him, that preaching was greatly desired by the people of that country; that in some instances they had rode 40 miles to hear one sermon. He and his party once more got under way, and, travelling about 200 miles, came to Sandy-creek, in Guilford county, North-Carolina. Here he took up his permanent residence. The number of families in Stearns's company were 8, and the number of communicants 16, viz. Shubael Stearns and wife, Peter Stearns and wife, Ebenezer Stearns and wife, Shubael Stearns, jun. and wife, Daniel Marshall and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Enos Stimson and wife, Jonathan Polk and wife.

As soon as they arrived, they built them a little meeting-house, and these 16 persons formed themselves into a church, and chose Shubael Stearns for their pastor, who had, for his assistants at that time, Daniel Marshall and Joseph Breed, neither of whom were ordained.

The inhabitants about this little colony of Baptists, although brought up in the Christian religion, were grossly ignorant of its essential principles. Having the form of godliness, they knew nothing of its power. Stearns and his party, of course, brought strange things to their ears. To be born again, appeared to them as absurd as it did to the Jewish doctor, when he asked, if he must enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born. Having always supposed that religion consisted in nothing more than the practice of its outward duties, they could not comprehend how it should be necessary to feel conviction and conversion; and to be able to ascertain the time and place of one's conversion, was, in their estimation, won-

derful indeed. These points were all strenuously contended for by the new preachers. But their manner of preaching was, if possible, much more novel than their doctrines. The Separates in New-England had acquired a very warm and pathetic address, accompanied by strong gestures and a singular tone of voice. Being often deeply affected themselves when preaching, correspondent affections were felt by their pious hearers, which were frequently expressed by tears, trembling, screams, and acclamations of grief and joy. All these they brought with them into their new habitation, at which the people were greatly astonished, having never seen things on this wise before. Many mocked, but the power of God attending them, many also trembled. In process of time, some of the inhabitants became converts, and bowed obedience to the Redeemer's sceptre. These uniting their labours with the others, a powerful and extensive work commenced, and Sandy-creek church soon swelled from 16 to 606 members.

Daniel Marshall, though not possessed of great talents, was indefatigable in his labours. He sallied out into the adjacent neighbourhoods, and planted the Redeemer's standard in many of the strong holds of Satan. At Abbot's-creek, about thirty miles from Sandy-creek, the gospel prospered so largely, that they petitioned the mother church for a constitution, and for the ordination of Mr. Marshall as their pastor. The church was constituted; Mr. Marshall accepted the call, and went to live among them. His ordination, however, was a matter of some difficulty. It required, upon their principles, a plurality of elders to constitute a presbytery. Mr. Stearns was the only ordained minister among them. In this dilemma, they were informed, that there were some Regular Baptist preachers living on Pedee river, (S. C.) To one* of these, Mr. Stearns applied, and requested him to assist him in the ordination of Mr. Marshall. This request he sternly refused, declaring that he held no fellowship with Stearns's party; that he believed them to be a disorderly set; suffering women to pray in public, and permitting every ignorant man to preach that chose; and that they encouraged noise and confusion in their meet-

* This minister was, probably, Rev. Nicholas Bedgegood, at that time pastor of the church at Welsh Tract.

ings. Application was then made to Mr. Leadbetter, who was then pastor of the church on Lynch's-creek, Craven county, South-Carolina, and who was a brother-in-law of Mr. Marshall. He and Mr. Stearns ordained Mr. Marshall to the care of this new church. The work of grace continued to spread, and several preachers were raised in North-Carolina. Among others was James Read, who was afterwards very successful in Virginia. When he first began to preach he was very illiterate, not knowing how to read or write. His wife became his instructor, and he soon acquired learning sufficient to enable him to read the Scriptures.

The gospel was carried by Mr. Marshall into the parts of Virginia, adjacent to the residence of this religious colony, soon after their settlement. He baptized several persons in some of his first visits. Among them was Dutton Lane, who, shortly after his baptism, began to preach. A revival succeeded, and Mr. Marshall at one time baptized 42 persons. In August, 1760, a church was constituted, and Mr. Lane became their pastor. This was the first Separate Baptist church in Virginia, and in some sense the mother of all the rest. The church prospered much under the ministry of Mr. Lane, aided by the occasional visits of Mr. Marshall and Mr. Stearns. They endured much persecution, but God prospered them, and delivered them out of the hands of all their enemies.

Soon after Mr. Lane's conversion, the power of God was effectual in the conversion of Samuel Harris, a man of great distinction in those parts. But upon being honoured of God, he laid aside all worldly honours, and became a labourer in the Lord's vineyard. In 1759, he was ordained a ruling elder. From the commencement of his ministry, for about seven years, his labours were devoted chiefly to his own and the adjacent counties. Being often with Mr. Marshall in his ministerial journies, he caught the zeal, diligence, and indeed the manners of this zealous evangelist. His labours were crowned with the blessing of Heaven wherever he went. Stearns, though not as laborious as Marshall, was not idle. He seems to have possessed the talent of arranging the materials when collected, and well understood discipline and church government.

Marshall's impressions led him to travel farther south. Accordingly, after prosecuting his successful ministry a few years in North-Carolina, and the neighbouring parts of Virginia, he took an affectionate leave of the church over which he presided, and of his friends in that region, and settled on Beaver-Creek, in South-Carolina, not far from 200 miles to the north-west of Charleston. Marshall, after tarrying a few years at different places in South-Carolina, and having been the instrument of raising up a number of churches, and laying the foundation for many others, in 1771 removed to Georgia, and settled on the Hioka-creek, about 18 miles to the west of Augusta, where a church was soon gathered by his means, as some of his brethren had removed into that place before him. Mr. Marshall was accompanied by a few of the North-Carolina Separates, on his removal from them, and was soon followed by others, among whom were some ministers, particularly Joseph Breed and Philip Mulky, the last of whom was, for many years, a very famous and successful preacher in South-Carolina; and by the labours of those preachers and some others, who were soon raised up in the parts, seven churches were gathered by the year 1770, some of which were very large, and consisted of a number of branches, which were shortly after formed into distinct churches.

While Marshall was sojourning southward, and planting churches in the various places where he pitched his frequent habitations, Harris bent his course to the northward, amongst his rude and insolent countrymen the Virginians; and while his brethren were thus engaged to the north and south of him, Stearns maintained his station at Sandy-creek, where his labours were greatly blessed; he however often travelled a considerable distance in the country around, to assist in organizing and regulating the churches which he and his associates were instrumental in raising up. Thus the Separate Baptists were headed by three most distinguished men; distinguished not for human acquirements, but for purity of life, and godly simplicity, which they, amidst the shipwrecks of many, maintained to the end; and for a pious ardour and invincible boldness and perseverance in their

Master's service. Other preachers were soon raised up under their ministry, whose zealous and abundant labours were crowned with great success; so that the Separates, in a few years became truly a great people, and their churches were scattered over a country whose whole extent from north to south, was about 500 miles; and Sandy-creek church, the mother of them all, was not far from the centre of the two extremes.

"Very remarkable things (said Morgan Edwards, in 1775) may be said of this church, worthy a place in Gillis's book, and inferior to no instance he gives of the modern success of the gospel in different parts of the world. It began with 16 souls, and in a short time increased to 606, spreading its branches to Deep-river and Abbot's-creek, which branches are gone to other provinces, and most of the members of this church have followed them; insomuch, that in 17 years it is reduced from 606 to 14 souls. The cause of this dispersion was the abuse of power which too much prevailed in the province, and caused the inhabitants at last to rise up in arms, and fight for their privileges; but being routed, May 16, 1771, they despaired of seeing better times, and therefore quitted the province. It is said 1500 families departed since the battle of Almance, and, to my knowledge, a great many more are only waiting to dispose of their plantations, in order to follow them. This is to me an argument, that their grievances were real, and their oppression great, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary.

"The church at Little-river was no less remarkable than the one already mentioned; for this was constituted in 1760, five years after the Sandy-creek, and in three years it increased from 5 to 500, and built five meeting-houses; but this church was also reduced by the provincial troubles and consequent dispersion of the inhabitants, mentioned above.

"But to return. Sandy-creek church is the mother of all the Separate Baptists. From this Zion went forth the word, and great was the company of them who published it. This church, in seventeen years, has spread her branches westward as far as the great river Missisippi; southward as far as Georgia; eastward to the sea and Chesapeak

Bay; and northward to the waters of Potomack; it, in seventeen years, is become mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, to 42 churches, from which sprang 125 ministers, many of which are ordained, and support the sacred character as well as any set of clergy in America; and if some have turned out bad, where is there a set of clergy that can throw the first stone, and say, "We all are good?" As for the outcries, epilepsies, and ecstasies attending their ministry, they are not peculiar to them; the New-England Presbyterians had these long before; and in Virginia, it is well known that the same effects attend the ministry of some clergymen of the church of England, particularly Rev. Messrs. Derreaux Garret, and Archibald M'Roberts. The enchantment of sounds, attended with corresponding actions, have produced greater effects than these; though I believe a preternatural and invisible hand works in the assemblies of the Separate Baptists, bearing down the human mind, as was the case in primitive churches. 1 Cor. xiv. 25."

But Virginia, in about ten years after their settlement, became, to the Separates, their principal scene of action, of suffering, and success. Their movements here, we shall now proceed to state; being prepared, from Semple's History, to give a more extensive and circumstantial account of them, in this, than in the other States.

Harris seemed destined of God to labour more extensively in Virginia than in any other State. And having done much good in his own neighbourhood, in the year 1765, the time arrived for him to extend his labours. In January of this year, Allen Wyley, an inhabitant of Culpepper, and who had been baptized by David Thomas, hearing of the Separate Baptist preachers, travelled as far as Pittsylvania, in order to get one or more of them to come and preach in his own county. He travelled on, scarcely knowing whither he went; but an unseen hand directed his course. He providentially fell in with one of Mr. Harris's meetings. When he came into the meeting-house, Mr. H. fixed his eyes upon him, being impressed previously that he had some extraordinary message. He asked him whence he came, &c. Mr. W. told him his errand. Upon which, after some

deliberation, believing him to be sent of God, Mr. H. agreed to go. Taking three days to prepare, he set out with Wyley, having no meetings on the way, yet exhorting and praying at every house where he went.

Arriving in Culpepper, his first meeting was at Wyley's own house. He preached the first day without interruption, and made appointments for the next. But when he began his meeting, such violent opposition was made by a company, who appeared with whips, sticks, clubs, and other rustick weapons, as to hinder his labours; in consequence of which, he went, that night, over to Orange county, and preached with much effect. He continued many days preaching from place to place, attended by great crowds, and followed throughout his meetings by several persons who had been either lately converted, or seriously awakened, under the ministry of the Regular Baptists, and also by many who had been alarmed by his own labours. When Mr. Harris left them, he exhorted them to be stedfast, and advised some in whom he discovered talents, to commence the exercise of their gifts, and to hold meetings among themselves. In this ministerial journey, Mr. Harris sowed much good seed, which yielded afterwards great increase. The young converts took his advice, and began to hold meetings every Sabbath, and almost every night in the week, taking a tobacco-house for their meeting-house. After proceeding in this way for some time, they applied to Mr. David Thomas, who lived somewhere north of the Rappahannock, to come and preach for them, and teach them the ways of God more perfectly; he came, but in his preaching expressed some disapprobation of the preaching of such weak and illiterate persons. This was like throwing cold water upon their flaming zeal; they took umbrage, and resolved to send once more for Mr. Harris. Some time in the year 1766, and a short time after Mr. Thomas's preaching, three of the party, viz. Elijah Craig and two others, travelled to Mr. Harris's house, in order to procure his services in Orange and the adjacent parts, to preach and baptize the new converts. They found, to their surprise, that he had not been ordained to the administration of the ordinances. To remedy this inconve-

nience, he carried them about 60 miles into North-Carolina to get James Read, who was ordained.

There is something singular in the exercise of Mr. Read about this time. He was impressed with an opinion that he had frequent teachings from God; and indeed, from the account given by himself, we must either doubt his veracity, or admit that his impressions were supernatural. He declares that respecting his preaching in Virginia, for many weeks, he had no rest in his spirit. Asleep or awake, he felt his soul earnestly impressed with strong desires to go to Virginia, to preach the gospel. In his dreams he thought that God would often shew him large congregations of Virginians assembled to hear preaching. He was sometimes heard by his family to cry out in his sleep, "O Virginia! Virginia! Virginia!" Mr. Graves, a member of his church, a good man, discovering his anxiety, and believing his impressions to be from God, offered to accompany him. Just as they were preparing to set out, Mr. Harris and the three messengers mentioned above, came for him to go with them. The circumstances so much resemble Peter's call from Joppa to Cæsarea, that we can hardly for a moment hesitate in placing implicit confidence in its being a contrivance of Divine Wisdom.

Mr. Read agreed to go, without much hesitation. One of the messengers from Spottsylvania went on to appoint meetings on the way. The two preachers, after filling up some appointments in their own parts, pursued their contemplated journey, accompanied by Mr. Graves and the other two. In about two weeks they arrived in Orange, within the bounds of Blue-Run Church, as it now stands. When they came in sight, and saw a very large congregation, they were greatly affected. After a few minutes of prayer and reflection, they recovered their courage, and entered upon their great work. They preached with much effect on that day. The next day they preached at Elijah Craig's, where a vast crowd attended. David Thomas and John Garrard, both preachers of the Regular Order, were at this meeting. The ministers on both sides seemed desirous to unite, but the people were against it; the larger part

siding with the Separates. As they could not unite, the next day being Sabbath, both parties held meetings but a small distance from each other. Baptism was administered by both. These things widened the breach. Messrs. Read and Harris, however, continued their ministrations. Mr. Read baptized 19 the first day, and more on the days following. They went through Spottsylvania into the upper parts of Caroline, Hanover, and Goochland, sowing the seeds of grace and peace in many places. So much were they inspirited by these meetings, that they made appointments to come again the next year. In their second visit, they were accompanied by the Rev. Dutton Lane, who assisted them in constituting and organizing the first Separate Baptist church between the Rappahannock and James-river. This took place on the 20th of November, 1767. The church was called Upper Spottsylvania, and consisted of 25 members, including all the Separate Baptists north of James-river. This was a mother to many other churches.

Read and Harris continued to visit these parts for about three years, with wonderful effect. In one of their visits, they baptized 75 at one time, and in the course of one of their journies, which generally lasted several weeks, they baptized upwards of 200. It was not uncommon, at their great meetings, for many hundreds of men to encamp on the ground, in order to be present the next day. The night meetings, through the great work of God, continued very late; the ministers would scarcely have an opportunity to sleep. Sometimes the floor would be covered with persons struck down under the conviction of sin. It frequently happened, that when they would retire to rest at a late hour, they would be under the necessity of arising again, through the earnest cries of the penitent. There were instances of persons travelling more than one hundred miles to one of these meetings; to go forty or fifty was not uncommon.

On account of the great increase of members, through the labours of Messrs. Read and Harris, aided by a number of young preachers, it was found necessary to constitute several other churches.

Read and Harris, particularly the latter, were men of great zeal and indefatigable diligence and perseverance in their Master's cause. Their spirit was caught by many of the young prophets in Orange and Spottsylvania. Lewis and Elijah Craig, John Waller, James Childs, John Burrus, and others, animated by an ardent desire for the advancement of their Master's kingdom, sallied forth in every direction, spreading the tidings of peace and salvation wherever they went. Most of them illiterate, yet illumined by the wisdom from above, they would defend and maintain the cause of truth, against the arguments of the most profound. Without visible sword or buckler, they moved on steady to their purpose, undismayed by the terrifick hosts of Satan, which were backed by the strong arm of civil authority. Magistrates and mobs, priests and sheriffs, courts and prisons, all vainly combined to divert them from their object.

Their labours were not limited to their own counties. In Goochland, Messrs. Harris and Read had baptized several; among whom was Reuben Ford, who had professed vital faith about seven years before, under the ministry of the renowned Whitefield and Davis. Mr. Ford was baptized in the year 1769, by James Read.

These plants were watered by the labours of the Spottsylvania preachers, particularly J. Waller, who, early in his visits to Goochland, baptized William Webber and Joseph Anthony, who, with Reuben Ford, had been exhorting, &c. previous to their being baptized. By the united labours of these several servants of God, the work of godliness progressed in Goochland and round about. These young preachers were no sooner captivated by the King of Zion, than they immediately began to fight under his banner. Their success was equal to their diligence; many believed, and were baptized in Goochland; insomuch that they thought themselves ripe for an independent government, and were accordingly constituted as a church, towards the last of the year 1771, which received the name of the county in which it was situated, and contained about 75 members. This was the mother church of those parts, for from it have been since constituted several others, particularly Dover and Licking-hole. William Webber became pastor of

Dover church, which office he held until his death in 1808. Reuben Ford administered the word and ordinances to Goochland and Licking-hole.

One William Mullin, afterwards an useful preacher, had moved from Middlesex and settled in the county of Amelia. When the gospel reached his neighbourhood, Mr. Mullin cordially embraced it. Going afterwards, in 1769, on a visit to his relations in Middlesex and Essex, by arguments drawn from the scripture, he convinced his brother John, and his brother-in-law James Greenwood, with several others, of the necessity of being born again. Of these, some found peace in believing, before they ever heard the gospel publickly preached. November, 1770, John Waller and John Burrus came down and preached in Middlesex. They continued preaching at and near the same place for three days; great crowds came out. Waller baptized five; but persecution began to rage. Some said they were deceivers; others that they were good men. On the second day, a magistrate attempted to pull Waller off the stage, but the clergyman of the parish prevented it. The next day a man threw a stone at Waller while he was preaching; but the stone missed him, and struck a friend of the man who threw it. James Greenwood and others now began to hold publick meetings by day and by night; much good was done by them. Many believed, and only waited an opportunity to be baptized, there being no ordained preacher nearer than Spottsylvania.

In the mean time, the labourers had not been idle in that part of the vineyard south of James-river. The two Murphies, viz. William and Joseph, aided by the indefatigable Samuel Harris, had carried the gospel into some of the counties above Pittsylvania, where Robert Stockton and some other preachers were raised up. Mr. Harris, James Read, Jeremiah Walker, and others, had proclaimed the tidings of peace in Halifax, Charlotte, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Amelia, and almost all the counties to the west of Richmond, on the south side of James-river. In these gatherings, there were many useful and several eminent ministers of the gospel brought in, particularly John Williams, John King, James Shel-

burne, Henry Lester, with some others. The gospel was first carried to these places much in the same way as it was into Culpepper and Spottsylvania, viz. in consequence of a special message to the preachers from some of the inhabitants. They constituted the first church in 1769, with about forty members, which was called *Nottoway*. Jeremiah Walker soon moved and took the pastoral care of it: he had been preaching some time before this, in North-Carolina, his native State; but now moving to Virginia, he for several years acted a conspicuous part in the concerns of the Virginia Baptists.

In the year 1758, three years after Stearns and his company settled at Sandy-creek, a few churches having been constituted, and these having a number of branches which were fast maturing for churches, Stearns conceived that an Association composed of delegates from them all, would have a tendency to forward the great object of their exertions. For this purpose he visited each church and congregation, and explaining to them his contemplated plan, induced them all to send delegates to his meeting-house in January, 1758, when an Association was formed, which was called *Sandy-creek*, and which continues to the present time; but it has experienced many vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity; and at one time, on account of exercising too much power over the churches, it became much embarrassed in its movements, and very near to extinction.

For twelve years, all the Separate Baptists in Virginia and the two Carolinas, continued in connexion with this Association, which was generally held at no great distance from the place where it originated. All who could, travelled from its remote extremities, to attend its yearly sessions, which were conducted with great harmony, and afforded sufficient edification to induce them to undertake with cheerfulness these long and laborious journies. By the means of these meetings, the gospel was carried into many new places, where the fame of the Baptists had previously spread; for great crowds attending from distant parts, mostly through curiosity, many became enamoured with these extraordinary people, and petitioned the Association to send preachers into their neighbourhoods. These petitions

were readily granted, and the preachers as readily complied with the appointments. These people were so much engaged in their evangelical pursuits, that they had no time to spend in theological debates, nor were they very scrupulous about the mode of conducting their meetings. When assembled, their chief employment was preaching, exhortation, singing, and conversing about their various exertions in the Redeemer's service, the success which had attended them, and the new and prosperous scenes which were opening before them. These things so inflamed the hearts of the ministers, that they would leave the Association with a zeal and courage, which no common obstacles could impede.

"At our first Association, (says the MS. of James Read, who was present) we continued together three or four days. Great crowds of people attended, mostly through curiosity. The great power of God was among us. The preaching every day, seemed to be attended with God's blessing. We carried on our Association with sweet decorum and fellowship to the end. Then we took leave of one another, with many solemn charges from our reverend old father Shubael Stearns, to stand fast unto the end."

At their next Association they were visited by Rev. John Gano, who at that time resided in North-Carolina, at a place called the Jersey settlements. Mr. Gano was received by Stearns with great affection; but as there was at that time an unhappy shyness and jealousy between the Regulars and Separates, by the others he was treated with coldness and suspicion; and they even refused to invite him into their Association. But Mr. Gano had too much knowledge of mankind, humility and good nature, to be offended at this treatment. He continued a while as a spectator of their proceedings, and then retired with a view of returning home. Stearns was much hurt and mortified with the shyness and incivility of his brethren, and, in the absence of Mr. Gano, expostulated with them on the matter, and made a proposition to invite him to preach with them. All were forward to invite him to preach, although they could not invite him to a seat in their Assembly. With their invitation he cheerfully complied, and his preach-

ing, though not with the *New-Light* tones and gestures, was in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. He continued with them to the close of their session, and preached frequently, much to their astonishment, as well as edification. Their hearts were soon opened towards him, and their cold indifference and languid charity were, before he left them, enlarged into a warm attachment and cordial affection. And so superior did his preaching talents appear to them, that the young and illiterate preachers said they felt as if they could never attempt to preach again.

This Association continued to progress with great harmony and prosperity, without any special occurrence, until 1769, when the Ketockton Association of Regular Baptists, desirous of effecting an union with them, (which had before been unsuccessfully attempted) by compromising those little matters of difference, which had unhappily prevented their communion with each other, sent, as messengers for the purpose, the Rev. Messrs. Garret, Major, and Saunders, with a letter of which the following is an extract :—

"*Beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ,*

"The bearers of this letter can acquaint you with the design of writing it. Their errand is peace, and their business is a reconciliation between us, if there is any difference subsisting. If we are all Christians, all Baptists, all New-Lights, why are we divided? Must the little appellative names, Regular and Separate, break the golden band of charity, and set the sons and daughters of Zion at variance? "*Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,*" but how bad and how bitter it is for them to live asunder in discord! To indulge ourselves in prejudice, is soon a disorder; and to quarrel about nothing, is irregularity with a witness. O, our dear brethren, endeavour to prevent this calamity for the future."

This excellent letter was presented to the Association, and after a lengthy debate, the proposal for an union was rejected by a small majority.

Their answer to the Regulars was, "Excuse us in love; for we are acquainted with our own order, but

not so well with yours; and if there is a difference, we might ignorantly jump into that which will make us rue it, &c."

At the meeting of this body, in 1770, their harmony was interrupted and their assembly assumed a new and unpleasant appearance, and the division of the Association, which convenience would have dictated, was now effected from painful necessity. It had been usual with them to do nothing in Associations, but by unanimity. If in any measure proposed, there was a single dissentient, they laboured first by arguments to come to unanimous agreement; when arguments failed, they resorted to frequent prayer, in which all joined. When both these failed, they sometimes appointed the next day for fasting and prayer, and to strive to bring all to be of one mind. At this session they split in their first business; nothing could be done on the first day. They appointed the next for fasting and prayer. They met and laboured the whole day, and could do nothing, not even appoint a Moderator. The third day was appointed for the same purpose, and to be observed in the same way. They met early, and continued together until three o'clock in the afternoon, without having accomplished any thing. A propcsal was then made, that the Association should be divided into three districts, that is, one in each State. To this there was an unanimous consent at once.

"The cause of this division, (says Mr. Edwards) was partly convenience, but it was chiefly owing to a mistake which this Association fell into, relative to their power and jurisdiction. They had carried matters so high as to leave hardly any power in particular churches, unfellowshipping ordinations, ministers, and churches that acted independent of them; and pleading, "that though "complete power be in every church, yet every church "can transfer it to an Association;" which is as much as to say, that a man may take out his eyes, ears, &c. and give them to another, to see, hear, &c. for him; for if power be fixed by Christ in a particular church, they cannot transfer it; nay, should they formally give it away, yet is it not gone away."

The good old Mr. Stearns, who was not wholly divested of those maxims which he had imbibed from the traditions of his fathers, is said to have been the principal promoter of this improper stretch of associational power, which, however, was soon abandoned by those, who, for a time, tampered with it, to their embarrassment and injury.

How many communicants were comprehended in this Association, at the time of its division, I have not been able to ascertain; but they must have been considerably numerous. The division was made in the following manner. The churches in South-Carolina formed an Association by the name of Congaree; those in North-Carolina were still known by the name of Sandy-creek; while those in Virginia formed an Association which was at first called Rapid-ann, but was more commonly distinguished by the name of the General Association of Separate Baptists.

We are now prepared to treat wholly of the Separates in Virginia, as the history of those in the other States will be related under their respective heads.

The Association which originated in the manner above described, embraced all the Separate Baptists in Virginia, except a very few churches, which were dismissed from it in 1776, to form the Strawberry Association, for the space of twelve years, viz. until the year 1783, when it was by mutual consent divided. From this Association, as from a fruitful mother, have originated most of the present Associations in Virginia. And although there was one temporary division by mutual consent, and another occasioned by the discussion of an important subject, which will soon be mentioned; yet, generally speaking, it continued a united, prosperous, and even powerful body, through all the calamitous scenes of the revolutionary war; and to them, the more afflictive scenes of persecution, which for a number of years were carried to a high degree in Virginia, to which the Separates, more than the Regulars, were exposed.

A brief account of the proceedings of the General Association during the twelve years of its existing as such, will now be given.

It has already been observed, that the division of the Sandy-creek Association took place in the year 1770, and the next year, the one under consideration was organized; at which time it contained 14 churches, and 1535 members. These 14 churches were scattered in almost as many counties, and many of them were pretty high up in the State, both as it respected the sea-coast, and its southern boundary; the most of them, however, were situated on the south of James-river.

At the organization of this Association, they adopted a set of rules for the regulation of their body, which consisted of nine articles, and the first and most important of them, which restricted the Association within proper bounds, was as follows:

"It is unanimously agreed that this Association has no power or authority to impose any thing upon the churches, but that we act as an advisory council."

In 1773, the Association had increased to 34 churches, which contained 3195 members.

We are now about to relate an affair which took place in this body, which will probably produce mixed emotions in the mind of the reader. The following query, viz. "Are all the offices of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, mentioned in Ephesians, 4th chapter, and 11th verse, now in use?" had been introduced at a previous session of the Association, when, after spending two days in debating upon it, they agreed to defer their decision on the subject, until their next session. During the recess of the Association, as well as when it was assembled, this novel subject was discussed by many, with no little warmth and interest. It appears to have been first agitated by Jeremiah Walker, who laboured hard, both in publick and private, to defend and propagate his sentiments. He even wrote a piece upon the subject, entitled, *Free Thoughts*, &c. in which he ingeniously maintained that Apostles, together with all the other offices enumerated in Ephesians, &c. were still to be maintained in the church. Reuben Ford took an active part against Walker, and wrote a pamphlet in opposition to his scheme. Both of these men were followed by large and respectable parties, and both of their pamphlets were read before the Association in 1774,

when the query was again introduced, and the debates upon it resumed. But the majority favouring Walker's speculations, an almost unanimous vote was obtained to carry them into practical operation. Having thus resolved, they, in the first place, proceeded to choose one from among them, to officiate in the dignified character of an Apostle. Walker had been suspected of vain and ambitious views in pleading so hard for the establishment of this office; but whatever were his desires and expectations, the venerable Samuel Harris, who was now about 50 years of age, was, by the unanimous voice of the Association, elected an Apostle. He acccepted the appointment, and was immediately ordained to the Apostolic function. His ordination, as appears by their Minutes, was conducted in the following manner: "The day being set apart as a fast day, we immediately proceeded to ordain him, and the hands of every ordained minister were laid upon him.* Publick prayer was made by John Waller, Elijah Craig, and John Williams. John Waller gave a publick charge, and the whole Association gave nim the right hand of fellowship." The work assigned to this Apostle, was to pervade the churches, for the purpose of performing, or at least of superintending the work of ordination, and to set in order the things that were wanting; and he was ordered to report the success of his mission, at the next Association. And for the discipline of this high officer, the following law was enacted, viz. "If our Messenger, or Apostle, shall trangress in any manner, he shall be liable to dealing in any church where the transgression was committed; and the said church is instructed to call helps from two or three neighbouring churches; and if by them found a transgressor, a general conference of the churches shall be called, to restore, or excommunicate him." At this time there was a temporary division of this extensive Association, and James-river was the dividing line. The scene which we have been describing, was acted on that part which lay south of this river; but the northern section, in imitation of their southern brethren, not long after,

* It would seem by the above account, that those who had opposed the establishment of Apostles, had retired from the Association, before the offensive measure was adopted.

in the same year, appointed for their Apostles, John Waller and Elijah Craig. Thus Virginia, whose ecclesiastical affairs were formerly governed by Bishops, now beheld within her bounds, three Baptist Apostles! But these Apostles made their first reports in rather discouraging terms, and no others were ever appointed. They finally concluded, that the office of Apostles, like that of Prophets, was peculiar to the Apostolick age, and ceased with the cessation of that inspiration and those miraculous gifts, by which these characters were peculiarly distinguished.

The reflecting reader will doubtless feel emotions of disgust and disapprobation, at these irregular sallies of zeal; he will also, probably, be provoked at the same time to smile at the weakness of those who promoted them; and the risibility of the affair may, in some measure, abate the severity of his censures.

In 1775, the two divisions of the Association, which had, for a short time, acted in separate capacities, now re-united, when it was found, that the whole number of churches amounted to 60; 31 on the north, and 29 on the south side of James-river. At this session the Association was most painfully agitated by the discussion of the following very serious and important question, viz. "Is salvation by Christ made possible for every individual of the human race?" This query was debated with much interest, and also with much ability; for notwithstanding the proceedings of the last meeting, by which their wisdom was so much impeached, there were, at this time, a number of preachers amongst the Virginia Baptists, who were men of considerable reading and theological knowledge, and they, in this interesting debate, exerted all their polemical powers. Those, who supported the affirmative of this question, were called Arminians, while those who maintained the opposite opinion were denominated Calvinists. But taking the spirit of the question, these appellations were not descriptive of the characters to whom they were applied; for many decided Calvinists hold, that the atonement of Christ is general in its nature, though particular in its application; and had these people been acquainted with the distinction made by Dr. Fuller and other modern divines, it might have relieved their embarrassments, and prevented

their discord. But to avoid circumlocution, I shall, in relating the progress of this debate, make use of the term Arminian and Calvinist, as they were then applied, and as they are used in Semple's History.

This important query occupied the first attention of the Association. One whole day was spent in debating it, and most of the preachers spake more or less upon it. The weight of talents and influence seems to have been on the Arminian side. Samuel Harris, Jeremiah Walker, John Waller, and many other distinguished preachers, stood forward, and zealously as well as ably supported the argument in favour of universal provision. Talents and ingenuity were not wanting on the other side. William Murphy, John Williams, and Elijah Craig stood foremost in favour of a Calvinistick solution.

The preponderating weight was at last cast into the Calvinistick scale, and they, after a long and animated debate, finally obtained a small majority.

This decision was on Monday afternoon, immediately before an adjournment. That evening the Arminian party holding a consultation, determined to bring on the subject again the next day, and to have a determination, whether their opinions upon this point should be a matter of bar to fellowship and communion. On Tuesday, when they met, the business became very distressing. The Arminian party having the Moderator with them, withdrew out of doors. The other side also withdrew, and chose John Williams as Moderator. Every thing was then done by message, sometimes in writing, and sometimes verbally. After some time was spent in this way, the following proposal was made by the Arminian party:

"*Dear Brethren,*

"A steady union with you makes us willing to be more explicit, in answer to your terms of reconciliation proposed. We do not deny the former part of your proposal, respecting particular election of grace, still retaining our liberty with regard to construction. And as to the latter part, respecting merit in the creature, we are free to profess there is none.

"Signed by order,

SAMUEL HARRIS, Moderator."

To which the other replied as follows:

"*Dear Brethren,*

"Inasmuch as a continuation of your Christian fellowship seems nearly as dear to us as our lives, and seeing our difficulties concerning your principles, with respect to merit in the creature, particular election, and final perseverance of the saints, are in a hopeful measure removing, we do willingly retain you in fellowship, not raising the least bar. But do heartily wish and pray, that God, in his providence, in his own time, will bring it about, *when Israel shall all be of one mind, speaking the same things.*

"Signed by order,

"JOHN WILLIAMS, Moderator."

These terms being acceded to on both sides, they again met in the meeting-house, and resumed their business. Their union was as happy, as their discord had been distressing.

This great Association, which the next year had increased to 74 churches, continued to meet together for the space of eight years from this period. But the revolutionary war coming on, the embarrassments and anxieties which it occasioned, in a great measure checked their progress and prosperity; their meetings generally were but thinly attended, and their principal transactions appear to have consisted in making exertions to free themselves from the civil grievances and oppressions, under which they, as a denomination, laboured.

CHAP. VI.

A short Account of the General Committee.

This body succeeded the General Association, and was composed of delegates from all the Associations which could, with convenience, or were disposed to send messengers to it. But many of the Virginia Baptists were suspicious that this body would, in time, grow into something like a Synod or Dictating Council, and for that reason stood aloof from it for a time; and, in-

deed, those who sanctioned it, and assisted in promoting its measures, were so much afraid of *horns*, that they gave it scarcely any *head* or power. But with all its restrictions, most of which were probably necessary in order to secure the independency of the numerous churches, over whose affairs it presided, it was a very useful body, and was instrumental in tearing off, one after another, the civil and ecclesiastical shackles, by which the Baptists, and other dissenters from the Episcopal Establishment in Virginia, had been sorely galled, until an entire and equal freedom was by law established.

The General Committee was organized in 1784, and continued its operations fifteen years, viz. until 1799, when it was dissolved.

The object, which this body had in view, may be seen in the following articles, which contain the substance of their plan of government.

1. The General Committee shall be composed of delegates, sent from all the District Associations that desire to correspond with each other.

2. No Association shall be represented in the General Committee by more than four delegates.

3. The Committee thus composed, shall consider all the political grievances of the whole Baptist society in Virginia, and all references from the District Associations, respecting matters which concern the Baptist society at large.

4. No petition, memorial, or remonstrance shall be presented to the General Assembly from any Association in connexion with the General Committee. All things of that kind shall originate with the General Committee.

The Virginia Baptists at this time, had got much in the spirit of sending petitions, &c. to the General Assembly; and having always met with a favourable reception, the Committee fearing that in their zeal for freedom, they would send to the General Assembly some unnecessary instrument of the kind, and thereby injure the cause which was now in such a promising way, thought proper to lay this restriction upon them for the purpose of preventing such an evil.

This Committee was much engaged, for a few years from its organization, in petitioning the General Assem-

bly for a repeal of what was called the vestry law, and the old law which disqualified all dissenters from celebrating the rites of matrimony; but most of all, against the bill for a general assessment, &c. All these laws, which were so obnoxious to the Baptists, and which the struggling and expiring spirit of the old establishment was striving to maintain; and, indeed, every oppressive vestige of this establishment, the Committee finally had the happiness of seeing abolished.

Reuben Ford, John Williams, John Leland, and John Waller, appear to have been the most active in conducting the general affairs of the Virginia Baptists, in these times.

Jeremiah Walker, who had formerly been their secretary, their counsellor, and even their publick champion, had fallen from his elevated station, and removed to Georgia. Mr. John Leland removed from New-England, and settled in Orange county, Virginia, in the year 1776; he continued about fourteen years in the State, and during the struggles for religious freedom, Mr. Leland took an active and successful part. But his exertions in this field were but a small part of his services in Virginia; for during his residence there, he travelled extensively, preached abundantly, and baptized between six and seven hundred persons.

The political grievances against which this Committee exerted their influence will be more particularly mentioned in the next chapter. The most remarkable acts which were performed by this body, besides their attention to these civil affairs, were their effecting an union with the Regular Baptists—their proposing and making some progress towards the completion of *A History of the Baptists in Virginia*—and their forming a plan, which, however, we are sorry to say has never been carried into effect, for establishing a *Seminary of Learning* for the advantage of the Baptists in the State.

The schism which took place among the Regular and Separate Baptists in 1766, soon after their rise in Virginia, had continued, without being completely healed, for about 20 years, although a very friendly intercourse had been occasionly kept up amongst them. But in 1787, the happy period arrived, in which all the dis-

putes between these two bodies were compromised, buried, and forgotten. The adjustment of these disputes was conducted by the General Committee on the part of the Separates, and on that of the Regulars by delegates for the purpose from the Ketockton Association; and took place at the fourth session of the General Committee, which was held at Dover meeting-house, in Goochland county. At this meeting, delegates from six Associations of the Separates, and a number from the Ketockton, were assembled, when, pursuant to a previous appointment, the subject of the union between the Regulars and Separates was taken up, and after a brief and temperate discussion of their differences, a happy and effectual union was formed, and their party names dismissed and buried.

The objections on the part of Separates related chiefly to matters of trivial importance, such as dress, &c. and had been for some time removed, as to being a bar of communion. On the other hand, the Regulars complained, that the Separates were not sufficiently explicit in their principles, having never published or sanctioned any confession of faith; and that they kept within their communion many who were professed Arminians.* To these things it was answered by the Separates, that a large majority of them believed as much in their confession of faith, as they did themselves, although they did not entirely approve of the practice of religious societies binding themselves too strictly by confessions of faith, seeing there was danger of their finally usurping too high a place: that if there were some among them, who leaned too much to the Arminian system, they were generally men of exemplary piety, and great usefulness in the Redeemer's kingdom; and they conceived it better to bear with some diversity of opinion in doctrines, than to break with men, whose Christian deportment rendered them amiable in the estimation of all true lovers of genuine godliness. Indeed, that some of them had now become fathers in the gospel, who, previous to the bias which their minds had received, had

* The reader must keep in mind, that in this day, those were called Arminians, who held to the universal provision of the gospel, or that the atonement of Christ was general in its nature.

borne the brunt and heat of persecution, whose labours and sufferings God had blessed, and still blessed, to the great advancement of his cause—to exclude such as these from their communion, would be like tearing the limbs from the body.

These and such like arguments, were agitated both in publick and private, so that all minds were much mollified, before the final and successful attempt for union was made. The terms of the union were entered on the minutes in the following words, viz.

"The committee appointed to consider the terms of union with our Regular Brethren, *Reported*, That they conceive the manner in which the Regular Baptist confession of faith has been received by a former Association, is the ground-work for such union." The manner of this reception was, that they should retain their liberty with regard to the construction of some of its objectionable articles.

After considerable debate, as to the propriety of having any confession of faith at all, the report of the committee was received with the following explanation:

"To prevent the confession of faith from usurping a tyrannical power over the conscience of any, we do not mean, that every person is bound to the strict observance of every thing therein contained; yet that it holds forth the essential truths of the gospel, and that the doctrine of salvation by Christ, and free and unmerited grace alone, ought to be believed by every Christian, and maintained by every minister of the gospel. Upon these terms we are united, and desire hereafter, that the names Regular and Separate be buried in oblivion; and that from henceforth, we shall be known by the name of the *United Baptist Churches, in Virginia.*"

This union took place at a time when a revival of religion had commenced which soon burst forth on the right hand and on the left, throughout the State, "and nothing," says Mr. Semple, their historian, "could be more salutary than this conjunction of dissevered brethren, and the accommodating temper of the parties by which it was effected; and they have, from that period to the present time, most fully demonstrated, that it was an union of hearts as well as parties."

In the next year after this pleasing event, there originated in this committee the first proposal for publishing *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia.* A number of persons were chosen to engage in collecting materials; and the next year, a sufficient number having been collected for the purpose, Messrs. John Leland and John Williams were appointed to commence the work. The compilation of this proposed history devolved on different hands, by whom considerable progress was made, although much remained yet to be done, when it was finally and solely undertaken by the Rev. Robert B. Semple, by whom it was finished in a very acceptable manner, and presented to the publick in the year 1809.

The same year in which the first proposal for *A History*, &c. was made, the committee received a letter from Rev. James Manning, D. D. President of Providence College, (now Brown University) in Rhode-Island, recommending and encouraging the Baptists of Virginia to establish a Seminary of Learning, for the benefit of their growing interest. This suggestion of their learned and pious correspondent met the approbation of this board, who soon began to *talk* upon the subject, and who, after a few years, went so far as to form a plan, and appoint twenty-one Trustees, for the intended Seminary. But this institution, which was so much needed, and which, with suitable exertions, might have been so easily established, has hitherto only been *talked of.* It is hoped, however, that the day is not far distant, when something more efficient will be undertaken. The Virginia Baptists have been charged with "holding as an established maxim, that human learning is of no use." This charge they resent as slanderous and false, and, generally speaking, it doubtless is so. But for so large a community as there has been of the Baptist denomination in Virginia, for upwards of forty years, to remain so long without any literary establishment which they can call their own, gives occasion both for friends and enemies to say, that if they do not despise human learning, they have strangely neglected the means, which they so abundantly possess, of promoting it.

The General Committee having now accomplished the object for which it was organized, in 1799, was, from pru-

dential motives, dissolved. During the period of its existence, an unreasonable jealousy, says their historian, of its exercising too much power, was often manifested both by Associations and individuals. This, added to some other causes, produced a gradual declension in the attendance of members, as well as unpleasant languor in the transaction of business. For these reasons, this body was dissolved at the date above mentioned, and was succeeded by one similar in its form, though somewhat different in its object, which was denominated

The General Meeting of Correspondence.

This Meeting, like the General Committee, is formed of delegates from all the Associations which choose to promote it. It was organized in 1800, and has continued its anniversary sessions to the present time.

The name of this body is sufficiently descriptive of its nature and design. Having, however, never had much business assigned it, its operations have hitherto been much circumscribed. But the advantages resulting from a general intercourse of the Associations in Virginia were so obvious, that the promoters of this Convention were willing to have a meeting on any terms which would accomplish that end.

The last account we have received from this Meeting was in 1809, when it was laudably engaged in devising plans "for the religious education of children, and the establishment of some seminary or publick school, to assist young preachers to acquire literary knowledge."

CHAP. VII.

From the Commencement of legal Persecution, until the Abolition of the Established Church.

When the Baptists first appeared in North Carolina and Virginia, they were viewed by men in power as beneath their notice; none, said they, but the weak and wicked join them; let them alone, they will soon fall out among themselves, and come to nothing. In some places this

maxim was adhered to, and persecution in legal shape was never seen. But in many others, alarmed by the rapid increase of the Baptists, the men in power strained every penal law in the Virginia code, to obtain ways and means to put down these disturbers of the peace, as they were now called.

It seems by no means certain, that any law in force in Virginia authorized the imprisonment of any person for preaching. The law for the preservation of peace, however, was so interpreted as to answer this purpose; and, accordingly, whenever the preachers were apprehended, it was done by a peace-warrant.

The first instance of actual imprisonment, we believe, that ever took place in Virginia, was in the county of Spottsylvania. On the 4th of June, 1768, John Waller, Lewis Craig, James Childs, and others, were seized by the Sheriff, and haled before three magistrates, who stood in the meeting-house yard, and who bound them in the penalty of one thousand pounds, to appear at Court two days after. At Court they were arraigned as disturbers of the peace; on their trial, they were vehemently accused by a certain lawyer, who said to the Court, "May it please your worships, these men are great disturbers of the peace; they cannot meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat." Mr. Waller made his own and his brethren's defence so ingeniously, that they were somewhat puzzled to know how to dispose of them. They offered to release them, if they would promise to preach no more in the county, for a year and a day. This they refused, and therefore were sent into close jail. As they were moving on from the court-house to the prison, through the streets of Fredericksburg, they sung the hymn, "*Broad is the road that leads to death*," &c. This had an awful appearance. After four weeks confinement, Lewis Craig was released from prison, and immediately went down to Williamsburg, to get a release for his companions. He waited on the deputy-governor, the Hon. John Blair, stated the case before him, and received the following letter, directed to the King's Attorney, in Spottsylvania:

"Sir,—I lately received a letter signed by a good number of worthy gentlemen, who are not here, complaining of the Baptists; the particulars of their misbehaviour are

not told, any farther than their running into private houses, and making dissensions. Mr. Craig and Mr. Benjamin Waller are now with me, and deny the charge. They tell me they are willing to take the oaths, as others have. I told them I had consulted the Attorney-General, who is of opinion, that the General Court only have power to grant licenses, and therefore I referred them to the Court; but, on their application to the Attorney-General, they brought me his letter, advising me to write to you: That their petition was a matter of right, and that you may not molest these conscientious people, so long as they behave themselves in a manner becoming pious Christians, and in obedience to the laws, till the Court, when they intend to apply for licenses, and when the gentlemen who complain may make their objections and be heard. The act of toleration, (it being found by experience that persecuting dissenters increases their numbers) has given them a right to apply, in a proper manner, for licensed houses for the worship of God, according to their consciences; and I persuade myself the gentlemen will quietly overlook their meetings till the Court. I am told they administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper near the manner we do, and differ in nothing from our church, but in that of baptism, and their renewing the ancient discipline; by which they have reformed some sinners and brought them to be truly penitent; nay, if a man of theirs is idle, and neglects to labour and provide for his family as he ought, he incurs their censures, which have had good effects. If this be their behaviour, it were to be wished we had some of it among us: but, at least, I hope all men may remain quiet till Court.

"I am, with great respects to the gentlemen, Sir, your humble servant, JOHN BLAIR.

"*Williamsburg, July* 16, 1768."

When the letter came to the Attorney, he would have nothing to say in the affair. Waller and the others continued in jail forty-three days, and were then discharged without any conditions. While in prison, they constantly preached through the grates. The mob without used every exertion to prevent the people from

hearing, but to little purpose. Many heard, indeed, to whom the word came in demonstration of the Spirit and with power.

After their discharge, which was a kind of triumph, Waller, Craig, and their compeers in the ministry, resumed their labours with redoubled vigour, gathering fortitude from their late sufferings, thanking God they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ and his gospel. Day and night, and, indeed, almost every day and night, they held meetings in their own and the adjacent neighbourhoods. The spread of the gospel and of Baptist principles was equal to all their exertions; insomuch, that in very few sections of Virginia did the Baptist cause appear more formidable to its enemies, and more consoling to its friends, than in Spottsylvania; and we may add, so it is to this day.

We have already observed the spread of the gospel in the county of Goochland, and that certain promising young preachers were thrust into the work. Animated as they were with strong desires for the welfare of souls, they could not restrain themselves within the limits of one county. In December, 1770, Messrs. William Webber and Joseph Anthony, two zealous young preachers, passed James-river, into Chesterfield, having been previously invited by some of the inhabitants. They, however, met with rigid treatment. The magistrates, finding that many were turning to righteousness, (to madness, as they would have it) and that these young labourers were likely to do them much harm, issued warrants, and had them apprehended and cast into prison. The Court requiring them to bind themselves to do what they could not in conscience comply with, they continued in jail until the March following. While in prison they did much execution by preaching through the grates; many people attended their ministry, and many professed faith by virtue of the labours of these, the Lord's persecuted servants. This was the beginning of God's work in the county of Chesterfield; no county ever extended its opposition and persecution to the Baptists farther than this; and yet in few counties have Baptist principles prevailed more extensively.

When Webber and Anthony were let go, they returned to Goochland, to their own company, and resumed their great work: Mr. Webber, however, enjoyed his liberty only a few months. He consented to travel with John Waller, on a course of meetings, to Middlesex, to the upper end of which place they arrived on the 10th of August, 1771. They soon found, however, there was no chance to proceed in their work. While Webber was preaching from these words, "*Shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew you my faith by my works,*" a magistrate pushed up, and drew back his club, with a design to knock him down; some person behind him caught the club, and prevented the mischief. Having a warrant to apprehend all who preached, and being backed by two Sheriffs, he seized William Webber, John Waller, James Greenwood, and Robert Ware. On the same day, Thomas Waford, who had travelled from the upper country with the preachers, though no preacher himself, was severely beaten by one of the persecutors with a whip, the scar of which he will probably carry to his grave; he with the four above-named preachers, were tried by James Montague. They first searched their saddle-bags, to find treasonable papers; finding none, they proceeded to trial, taking them, one by one, into private rooms, proposing to them to give bond and security not to preach in the county again. Each of them expressly refused; Waford was discharged, not being a preacher; the other four were ordered to prison, and being conducted by two Sheriffs, they were safely lodged in close jail that night, about 9 o'clock. Having borrowed a candle of the jailer, and sung the praises of that Redeemer whose cross they bore, and from whose hands they expected a crown in the end—and having returned thanks that it was a prison and not hell that they were in—praying for themselves, their friends, their enemies, and persecutors,—they laid down to sleep. The next day being Sabbath, many of their friends came to see them, and were admitted into the prison: James Greenwood preached to them. They were well supplied by their friends with the necessaries and comforts for living, which, added to the sense of divine goodness that they enjoyed, they had not, on the

whole, an unpleasant season. They gave notice that they would preach every Wednesday and Sunday. Many came to hear them, insomuch that their enemies began to be enraged, and would frequently beat a drum while they were preaching.

On Monday the 24th, being Court day, they were carried to the court-house to be tried. A guard attended them, as if they had been criminals. They were not allowed to speak for themselves, but peremptorily required to give bond and security for good behaviour, and not to preach in the county again for one year. These terms they expressly refused, and were remanded to prison, and orders given that they should be fed on bread and water; accordingly the next day they had nothing else, and not enough of bread. Thus it continued for four days, until the brethren and friends found it out; after that, they were furnished so plentifully that they bestowed much upon the poor inhabitants of the town. On September 10th, they were allowed the prison bounds, by which they were much relieved; yet they were frequently under the necessity of resorting to the jail, to avoid the rage of persecutors. The Lord daily opened the hearts of the people: the rich sent many presents, things calculated to nourish them in their sufferings, and alleviate their sorrows. Mr. Webber fell sick; this excited the sympathy of their friends in a higher degree, and they paid him great attention. The persecutors found that the imprisonment of the preachers tended rather to the furtherance of the gospel; for they preached regularly in their prison, crowds attended to hear, and their preaching seemed to have a double weight when coming from the jail; many viewed it with superstitious reverence, so that their enemies became desirous to be rid of them. Accordingly, on the 26th day of September, after having been thirty days in close confinement, and sixteen days in the bounds, they were liberated, upon giving a bond for good behaviour.

The rage of persecutors had in no wise abated; they seemed, sometimes, to strive to treat the Baptists and their worship with as much rudeness and indecency as was possible. They often insulted the preachers in time

of service, and would ride into the water, and make sport, when they administered baptism. They frequently fabricated and spread the most groundless reports, which were injurious to the characters of the Baptists; and when a Baptist fell into any improper conduct, it was always exaggerated to the utmost extent. On one occasion, when Robert Ware was preaching, there came two sons of Belial, one named Davis and the other Kemp, and stood before him with a bottle, and drank, offering the bottle to him, cursing him. As soon as he closed his service, they drew out a pack of cards, and began to play on the stage where he had been standing, wishing him to reprove them, that they might beat him. But it is worthy of note, that these two men both died soon after, ravingly distracted, each accusing the other of leading him into so detestable a crime. Notwithstanding these severe oppositions, the word of the Lord grew and multiplied greatly. Young preachers were ordained, and churches constituted; the first of which was Lower King and Queen church, constituted October 17, 1772, with seventeen members, and on the 11th February following, Robert Ware was ordained as pastor. Glebe Landing church was also constituted at the same time, and James Greenwood was ordained a lay-elder. Exol and Piscataway churches were constituted in no great while after this. These new churches, filled with young and inexperienced members, were visited frequently by John Waller, accompanied sometimes by one, and sometimes by another of the preachers of his own vicinity. His ministrations, on the one hand, were exceeding salutary and comfortable to his friends; but on the other, highly displeasing to the enemies of the Baptists. They viewed Waller as the ring-leader of all the confusion and disturbance that had befallen them. Great congregations of people attended the Baptist meetings, while very few went to the parish churches. The zealots for the old order were greatly embarrassed: *If*, say they, *we permit them to go on, our church must come to nothing; and yet, if we punish them, as far as we can stretch the law, it seems not to deter them; for they preach through prison windows, in spite of our endeavours to prevent it.* Sometimes the rector of the parish would

give notice, that on a certain day, *he would prove the Baptists to be deceivers, and their doctrines false.* The attempt was often made, but they uniformly injured their own cause; their arguments were generally drawn from the extravagancies of the German Anabaptists; to this the Baptists in a word replied, *that they disclaimed all connexion with the Anabaptists, and felt themselves no more responsible for their irregularities, than the Episcopalians could feel for the fooleries of the Papists; that the* BIBLE *was the criterion; by that they were willing to stand or fall.* Not unfrequently, their leading men would attend the Baptist meetings, and would enter into arguments with the preachers: they insisted that their church was the oldest, and consequently the best; that their ministers were learned men, and consequently most competent to interpret scripture; that the better sort and well-informed, adhered to them, whilst none, or scarcely any except the lower order, followed the Baptists; that they were all in peace and friendship before the coming of the Baptists, but now their houses and neighbourhoods were filled with religious disputes; that the Baptists were false prophets, who were to come in sheeps' clothing.

To these arguments, Waller and the other preachers, boldly and readily replied, that if they were wolves in sheeps' clothing, and their opponents were true sheep, it was quite unaccountable that they were persecuted, and cast into prison; it is well known that wolves would destroy sheep, but never, until then, that sheep would prey upon wolves; that their coming might, indeed, interrupt their peace; but certainly, if it did, it must be a false peace, bordering on destruction; and to rouse them from this lethargy, was like waking a man whose house was burning over him; that the effects of their coming was similar to those foretold by Christ, as arising from the propagation of his word, namely, "*that there should be five in one house, three against two, and two against three;*" that if the higher ranks in society did not countenance them, it was no more than what befel their Master, and his inspired Apostles; that rich men, in every generation, with some few exceptions, were enemies to a pure gospel; but that God had declared, that he had chosen the poor of this world to be rich in

faith; that, it was true, most of their preachers were unlearned, yet that they had evidences they were called to the ministry by the will of God; that this was the most essential qualification of a minister, the want of which, all the learning of all the schools could not supply.

The Baptist preachers would often retort their own inconsistencies upon them; that while they professed to be Christians, they indulged themselves in the violation of most of the Christian precepts; that their communion was often polluted, by the admission of known drunkards, gamesters, swearers, and revellers; that even their clergy, learned as they were, had never learned the most essential doctrine of revelation, the indispensable necessity of the new birth, or *being born again;* that their publick discourses were nothing more than moral addresses, such as a pagan philosopher, unassisted by the Bible, could have composed.

Foiled in their arguments, and galled by the reproaches cast upon them, which, doubtless, were often done with too much acrimony, they again resorted to the civil power. In August, 1772, James Greenwood and William Lovcall were preaching, not far from the place where Bruington meeting-house now stands, in the county of King and Queen, when they were seized by virtue of a warrant, and immediately conveyed to prison. After the first day and night, they were allowed the bounds. Having continued in prison sixteen days, until Court, they were discharged, upon giving bond merely for good behaviour. At this season they received the most unbounded kindness from Mr. Harwood the jailer, and his lady. They preached regularly while in prison, and to much purpose.

On March 13th, 1774, the day on which Piscataway church was constituted, a warrant was issued to apprehend all the Baptist preachers that were at meeting. Accordingly, John Waller, John Shackleford, Robert Ware, and Ivison Lewis, were taken and carried before a magistrate. Ivison Lewis was dismissed, not having preached in the county; the other four were sent to prison. It appears from Waller's journals, that while in prison, God permitted them to pass through divers and

fiery trials; their minds, for a season, being greatly harassed by the enemy of souls. They, however, from first to last of their imprisonment, preached twice a week, gave much godly advice to such as came to visit them, read a great deal, and prayed almost without ceasing. In their stated devotion, morning, noon, and night, they were often joined by others. They continued in close confinement from the 13th to the 21st of March, which was Court day; being brought to trial, they were required to give bond and security for their good behaviour for twelve months, or go back to prison. Ware and Shackleford gave bond, and went home; Waller, being always doubtful of the propriety of giving any bond whatever, determined to go back to jail.

The trials of this man of God were now greater than ever. Deserted by his brethren, scoffed at, persecuted by his enemies, locked up with a set of drunken, profane wretches, he had no alternative but to commit himself to the hands of his God, and wait his deliverance. After remaining in prison fourteen days, he gained his own consent to give bond, and go home.

We have thus stated a few instances of the sufferings of God's ministers in those times; time and space would fail to enumerate them all. They used to preach to the people through the grates; to prevent which, some ill-disposed men would be at the expense of erecting a high wall round the prison; others would employ half-drunken strolls to beat a drum round the prison, to prevent the people from hearing. Sometimes matches and pepper-pods were burnt at the prison door, and many such afflictions the dear disciples went through. About thirty preachers were honoured with a dungeon, and a few others beside. Some of them were imprisoned as often as four times, besides all the mobs and perils they went through. The dragon roared with hideous peals, but was not *red*—the beast appeared formidable, but was not *scarlet-coloured.* Virginia soil has never been stained with vital blood for conscience sake.—*Leland's Virginia Chronicle.*

From the beginning, the Baptists were unremitting in their exertions to obtain liberty of conscience; they contended that they could not be imprisoned by any

existing law; that they were entitled to the same privileges that were enjoyed by the dissenters in England: their judges, however, decided otherwise; and as there was no regular appeal, the propriety of that decision has not been legally ascertained. The prevailing opinion in the present day is, that their imprisonment was unlawful. When they could not succeed in this way, they resorted to the General Court, for the purpose of obtaining licensed places for preaching, &c. agreeably to the toleration law in England.

On this subject Mr. Edwards has the following observations: "Some, who have allowed the sufferings of the Baptists in Virginia to be of the nature of persecution, have also said, "that they may blame themselves for them, because they refused to put themselves under the protection of the Toleration Act." To this it may be replied, that the spread of the Baptists in Virginia is almost a new thing, and that among people, who, for the most part, knew little of law, and of the rights and privileges of protestant dissenters. However, it is not true that Baptists have either refused or neglected to claim their rights. Some have obtained licenses, others have been refused under various pretences; some alleging that the Toleration Act was not in force in Virginia, because it is of later date than their charter, and was never formally adopted by the Legislature; others, that they never would adopt it, but keep it out of the province as they did the Stamp Act; and some, that it was the business of the Assembly, and not of justices of inferior Courts, to grant licenses. By these means, the suits of the Baptists were deferred, and the clergy, magistrates, and mobs, in many places, continued to treat them despitefully. At last, the Baptists addressed the Assembly for their privileges as protestant dissenters. The Assembly, instead of adopting the Toleration Act as it was framed in England, drew up a bill something like it. When this made its appearance in the publick papers, the Baptists saw themselves under a necessity of remonstrating against it, and of renewing their claim to peace and impunity, in consequence of the Toleration Act, which, in their opinion, is co-extensive with the establishment of the Church of England."

It was in making these attempts, that they were so fortunate as to interest in their behalf the celebrated Patrick Henry; being always the friend of liberty, he only needed to be informed of their oppression; without hesitation, he stepped forward to their relief. From that time, until the day of their complete emancipation from the shackles of tyranny, the Baptists found, in Patrick Henry, an unwavering friend; after some difficulty they obtained their object, and certain places were licensed accordingly. But to a people, prompted as the Baptists were, with unwearied zeal for the propagation of the gospel, a few licensed places in each county was but a small acquisition; they thirsted for the liberty to preach the gospel to every creature.

In the mean time, every thing tended to favour their wishes; their persecution, so far from impeding, really promoted their cause; their preachers had now become numerous, and some of them were men of considerable talents. Many of the leading men favoured them, some from one motive, and some from another; their congregations were large, and when any of their men of talents preached, they were crowded. The patient manner in which they suffered persecution, raised their reputation for piety and goodness, in the estimation of a large majority of the people. Their numbers annually increased in a surprising degree. Every month, new places were found by the preachers, whereon to plant the Redeemer's standard. In these places, although but few might become Baptists, yet the majority would be favourable. Many, who had expressed great hostility to them, upon forming a more close acquaintance with them, professed to be undeceived.

We have already seen that the first Separate Baptist Church, north of James-river, was formed in 1767, and the second in 1769; so that, at the commencement of the year 1770, there were but two Separate churches in all Virginia, north of James-river; and we may add, there were not more than about four on the south side. In 1774, by referring to the History of the General Association, we find, that there were thirty on the south, and twenty-four on the north side, that sent letters, &c. to the Association; besides a probability of several that did

not associate. By which it appears, that about fifty churches were gathered in about four years, which must be considered a most rapid and astonishing increase. But the Baptist interest increased in a much greater proportion. So favourable did their prospects appear, that towards the close of the year 1774, they began to entertain serious hopes, not only of obtaining liberty of conscience, but of actually overturning the church establishment, from whence all their oppressions had arisen. Petitions for this purpose were accordingly drawn, and circulated with great industry. Vast numbers readily and eagerly subscribed to them.

The great success and rapid increase of the Baptists in Virginia, must be ascribed primarily to the power of God working with them; yet it cannot be denied, but that there were subordinate and co-operating causes; one of which, and the main one, was the loose and immoral deportment of the established clergy, by which the people were left almost destitute of even the shadow of true religion. It is true, they had some outward forms of worship, but the essential principles of Christianity were not only not understood among them, but by many never heard of. Some of the cardinal precepts of morality were disregarded, and actions plainly forbidden by the New-Testament were often proclaimed by the clergy, harmless and innocent, or at worst, foibles of but little account. Having no discipline, every man followed the bent of his own inclination. It was not uncommon for rectors of parishes to be men of the loosest morals. The Baptist preachers were, in almost every respect, the reverse of the established clergy; without learning, without patronage, generally very poor, plain in their dress, unrefined in their manners, awkward in their address; all of which, by their enterprising zeal and unwearied perseverance, they either turned to advantage, or prevented their ill effects. On the other hand, most of the ministers of the establishment were men of classical educations, patronised by men in power, connected with great families, supported by competent salaries, and put into office by the strong arm of civil power. Thus pampered and secure, the men of this order were rolling on the bed of luxury,

when the others began their extraordinary career. Their learning, riches, power, &c. seemed only to hasten their overthrow, by producing an unguarded heedlessness, which is so often the prelude to calamity and downfall.

We are not to understand, that this important ecclesiastical revolution was effected wholly by the Baptists; it is true, they were the most active, but they were joined by other dissenters; neither was the whole dissenting interest united, at that time, equal to the accomplishment of such a revolution; but we must turn our eyes to the political state of the country, to find adequate causes for such a change.

The British yoke had now galled to the quick, and the Virginians, having the most tender necks, were the first to manifest uneasiness. Republican principles had gained much ground, and were fast advancing to superiority; the leading men on that side, viewed the established clergy and the established religion as inseparable appendages of Monarchy, one of the pillars by which it was supported. The dissenters, at least the Baptists, were republicans from interest, as well as principle; it was known that their interest was great among the common people; and the common people, in every country, are, more or less, republicans. To resist British oppressions effectually, it was necessary to soothe the minds of the people, by every species of policy. The dissenters were too powerful to be slighted, and too watchful to be cheated by an ineffectual sacrifice. There had been a time, when they would have been satisfied to have paid their tithes, if they could have had liberty of conscience; but now the crisis was such, that nothing less than a total overthrow of all ecclesiastical distinctions, would satisfy their sanguine hopes. Having started the decaying edifice, every dissenter put to his shoulder, to push it into irretrievable ruin. The revolutionary party found that the sacrifice must be made, and they made it.

It is said, however, and probably not without truth, that many of the Episcopalians, who voted for abolishing the establishment, did it upon an expectation that it would be succeeded by a general assessment; and, considering that most of the men of wealth were on that

side, they supposed that their funds would be lessened very little. This, it appeared in the sequel, was a vain expectation. The people having once shaken off the fetters, would not again permit themselves to be bound. Moreover, the war now rising to its height, they were in too much need of funds, to permit any of their resources to be devoted to any other purpose, during that period; and we shall see, that when it was attempted, a few years after the expiration of the war, the people set their faces against it.

Having thus mentioned the establishment, it will be proper to treat more fully respecting the origin and nature of those laws, by which it arose and fell.

The first settlers of Virginia being chiefly emigrants from England, brought with them all that religious intolerance which had so long prevailed in the mother country. Thus we see, that the first care of the early Legislatures, was to provide for the Church of England, as established by the act of Parliament. By the first act of 1623, it is provided, that in every plantation or settlement, there shall be a house or room set apart for the worship of God. But it soon appears that this worship was only to be according to the canons of the Church of England, to which a strict uniformity was enjoined. A person absenting himself from divine service on a Sunday, without a reasonable excuse, forfeited a pound of tobacco; and he that absented himself a month, forfeited fifty pounds. Any minister, who was absent from his church above two months in a year, forfeited half his salary; and he who absented himself four months, forfeited the whole. Whoever disparaged a minister, whereby the minds of the parishioners might be alienated, was compelled to pay five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ask the minister's pardon publickly in the congregation. No man was permitted to dispose of any of his tobacco, till the minister was satisfied, under the penalty of forfeiting double his part of the minister's salary.

The first allowance made to the ministers was ten pounds of tobacco and a bushel of corn for each titheable; and every labouring person, of what quality or condition soever, was bound to contribute. In the year 1631, the Assembly granted to the ministers, besides the form-

er allowance of ten pounds of tobacco and a bushel of corn, the twentieth calf, the twentieth kid, and the twentieth pig. This was the first introduction of tythes, properly so called, in Virginia. But it did not continue long, for the law was repealed in 1633.

To preserve the "purity of doctrine, and unity of the church," it was enacted in 1643, that all ministers should be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and that no others be permitted to teach or preach publickly or privately. It was further provided, that the Governor and Council should take care, that all *non-conformists* departed the colony with all conveniency.

The statute of England of the 3d of James I. against popish recusants, was also adopted in Virginia, in the year 1643. This statute declared, that no popish recusant should exercise the office of secret counsellor, register, commissioner, (a term then used for justices of the peace) surveyor, or sheriff, or any other publick office. Nor should any person be admitted into any of those offices, before he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The same act of Assembly, by which the statute of 3d James I. was adopted, further declared, that if any person should assume the exercise of any of those offices, and refuse to take the said oaths, he should be dismissed, and moreover forfeit one thousand pounds of tobacco. No popish priest thereafter arriving in the colony, was permitted to remain more than five days, if wind and weather permitted his departure.

During the existence of the commonwealth of England, the church government of Virginia experienced an important change. Instead of enjoining obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, no injunction in favour of any particular sect appears. Every thing relating to the affairs of the church, was left at the entire disposal of the vestry, who being elected by the people, it may, in effect, be said that the people regulated their own church government.

The Quakers were now flying from persecution in England. They cast their eyes on these new countries, as asylums of civil and religious freedom; but they soon found them free only for the reigning sect. When they

first made their appearance in Virginia, the utmost degree of persecution was exercised towards them. Several acts of the Virginia Assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1663, had made it penal in their parents to refuse to have their children baptized; had prohibited the unlawful assembling of the Quakers; had made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the State; had ordered those already here, and such as should come hereafter, to be imprisoned till they should abjure the country; provided a milder punishment for their first and second return, but death for the third; had inhibited all persons from suffering their meetings in or near their houses, entertaining them individually, or disposing of books which supported their tenets. If no capital execution took place here, as did in New-England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church, or spirit of the Legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself; but to historical circumstances, which have not been handed down to us.

This severe law against the Quakers passed during the commonwealth, when the people were unrestrained in matters of religion; but it happened in this case, as it generally has, where the civil power undertakes to interfere at all, that the ruling party in the *State* will tolerate no religion in the *church*, but their own.

A levy of fifteen pounds of tobacco per poll, was laid in the year 1655, upon all titheables; the surplus of which, after paying the minister's salary, was to be laid out in purchasing a glebe and stock for the minister. This law was re-enacted in the revisal of 1657. After the restoration of Charles II. which happened on the 29th of May, 1660, a temporary provision was again made for the established church.

In the year 1661, the supremacy of the Church of England was again fully established. The first nine acts of the session, held in March, 1661—2, are devoted to that subject. A church was to be built in each parish, and vestries appointed. Glebes were directed to be procured for the ministers, and convenient houses built thereon; in addition to which, their salaries were fixed at 80l. per annum, at least, besides their perquisites. No minister was permitted to preach, unless he had received

ordination from some bishop in England. If any person, without such ordination, attempted to preach publickly or privately, the Governor and Council might suspend and silence him; and, if he persisted, they were empowered to send him out of the country. In those parishes, where there was not a minister to officiate every Sunday, a *reader* was to be appointed, whose duty it was to read divine service every intervening Sunday. The Liturgy, according to the canons of the church of England, was to be read every Sunday by the minister or reader; and the administration of the sacraments was to be duly observed. No other catechism than that inserted in the book of common prayer could be taught by the minister; nor could a reader attempt to expound that or the Scriptures. Ministers were compelled to preach every Sunday; one Sunday in a month at the chapel, if any, and the others at the parish church, and twice a year he was compelled to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Every person was compelled to go to church every Sunday, under the penalty of fifty pounds of tobacco. But Quakers and non-conformists were liable to the penalties of the statute of 23d Elizabeth, which was 20l. sterling for every month's absence, and, moreover, for twelve month's absence, to give security for their good behaviour. Quakers were further liable to a fine of two hundred pounds of tobacco, for each one found at one of their meetings; and in case of the insolvency of any one of them, those who were able were to pay for the insolvents.*

Various other laws passed between the above period and the commencement of the American revolution, by which the Episcopal establishment was protected. The salary of the ministers was first settled at sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco in the year 1696, to be levied by the vestry on the titheables of their parish, and so continued to the revolution. Any minister admitted into a parish, was entitled to all the spiritual and temporal rights thereof, and might maintain an action against any person who attempted to disturb him in his posses-

* See Hening's statutes at large, vol. I. and II. for the above laws, as quoted by Mr. Semple.

sion. The same acts provided for the purchase of glebes for the ministers.

Though the Toleration Law is not believed to have been *strictly* obligatory in Virginia, yet, as was frequently the case at that period, it was acted under in many instances. That it was *doubtful* whether acts of parliament respecting religion were in force in Virginia, appears by the act of October, 1776, chapter 2d, section 1st. Even this act of toleration is a most flagrant violation of religious freedom.

At the October session, 1776, the first law was passed suspending the payment of the salaries formerly allowed to the ministers of the Church of England. The preamble of this act is worthy of consideration, and was, probably, drawn by Mr. Jefferson, who was then a member. A number of memorials from different religious societies, dissenters from the Church of England, were presented to this Assembly, praying to be exempted from parochial dues to the Church of England, and for the abolition of the established church. In opposition to these, there was a memorial from the clergymen of the Church of England, praying that the establishment might be continued.

These memorials formed the basis of the act of that session above mentioned. This act, "for exempting the different societies of dissenters from contributing to the support and maintenance of the church, as by law established, and its ministers," was preceded by a set of resolutions, recognizing the same principles which were afterwards engrafted into the act itself. It does not appear by what majority this act passed, as the ayes and noes were not taken on it. At the May session, 1777, the payment of the salaries, allowed to the clergy of the Church of England, was further suspended; and at the October session, 1779, so much of every act as related to the salaries formerly given to the clergy of the Church of England, was repealed.

The question, as to the propriety of a general assessment, had long been much agitated, and a great variety of opinions existed respecting it. By the 5th section of the act of October, 1776, which first suspended the payment of the salaries allowed to the clergy of the Church

of England, this question as to a general assessment is expressly left undecided.

In 1784, the subject of a general assessment was again revived. A bill, which had for its object the compelling of every person to contribute to some religious teacher, was introduced into the House of Delegates, under the title of "A bill, establishing provision for the teachers of the Christian religion;" but on its third reading, it was postponed till the fourth Thursday of November then next; ayes 45, noes 38. The following resolution was immediately afterwards adopted: "*Resolved*, that the engrossed bill, establishing a provision for the teachers of the Christian religion, together with the names of the ayes and noes on the question of postponing the third reading of the said bill to the fourth Thursday in November next, be published in hand-bills, and twelve copies thereof delivered to each member of the General Assembly, to be distributed in their respective counties; and that the people thereof be requested to signify their opinion respecting the adoption of such a bill to the next session of Assembly."

The above resolution drew forth a number of able and animated memorials from religious societies of different denominations, against the general assessment.

The General Committee of the Virginia Baptists took a decided stand against this bill, and at their annual session in 1785, thus expressed their sentiments: *Resolved*, that it be recommended to those counties, which have not yet prepared petitions to be presented to the General Assembly, against the engrossed bill for a general assessment for the support of the teachers of the Christian religion, to proceed thereon as soon as possible: That it is believed to be repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, for the Legislature thus to proceed in matters of religion: That no human laws ought to be established for this purpose, but that every person ought to be left entirely free, in respect to matters of religion: That the holy Author of our religion needs no such compulsive measures for the promotion of his cause: That the gospel wants not the feeble arm of man for its support: That it has made, and will again, through divine power, make its way against all opposition: And that,

should the Legislature assume the right of taxing the people for the support of the gospel, it will be destructive to religious liberty: *Therefore*, this Committee agrees unanimously, that it will be expedient to appoint a delegate to wait on the General Assembly, with a remonstrance and petition against such assessment."

Accordingly, the Rev. Reuben Ford was appointed, who accomplished the object of his appointment to the satisfaction of his brethren. But a paper drawn up by Col. James Madison (now President of the United States) entitled a Memorial and Remonstrance, was the most distinguished instrument. The style is elegant and perspicuous, and for strength of reasoning and purity of principle, it has seldom been equalled, certainly never surpassed, by any thing on the subject in the English language. (See Appendix.)

The sentiments of the people appearing to be decidedly against a general assessment, the question was given up forever.

And here it is proper to remark, that the suppression of the bill for a general assessment may, in a considerable degree, be ascribed to the opposition made to it by the Baptists; for it is stated by those who were conversant with the proceedings of those times, that the reference made to the people, after the bill was engrossed, was done with a design to give the different religious societies an opportunity of expressing their wishes. The Baptists, we believe, were the only sect who plainly remonstrated. Of some others, it is said, that the laity and ministry were at variance upon the subject, so as to paralyze their exertions, either for or against the bill. These remarks, by the bye, apply only to religious societies, acting as such. Individuals of all sects and parties joined in the opposition. "And Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Deists, and the *covetous*, readily and eagerly signed the petitions against it."*

At the same session, however, (Oct. 1784) in which the bill providing for a general assessment failed, an act passed for "incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church." This bill passed the House of Delegates by a

* Leland's Virginia Chronicle, page 33.

small majority only, being, ayes 47, noes 38; but in 1786 it was repealed. By the repealing law, the property belonging to all religious societies was secured to those societies respectively, who were authorized to appoint, from time to time, according to the rules of their sect, trustees for the managing and applying such property to the religious uses of the society. And all laws, which prevented any religious society from regulating its own discipline, were repealed.

Under the old ecclesiastical establishment, no person could celebrate the rites of matrimony but a minister of the Church of England, and according to the ceremony prescribed in the book of common prayer. Cases, however, frequently occurred, especially during the war, where the marriage ceremony was performed by others. This gave rise to an act of October, 1780, which declared all former marriages, celebrated by dissenting ministers, good and valid in law; and authorized the county courts to license dissenting ministers of the gospel, not exceeding four to each sect, to celebrate the rites of matrimony within their counties only. The General Committee also interested themselves in these proceedings, and delegated Messrs. Reuben Ford and John Leland to wait on the Assembly with a memorial on the subject.

It was not until the year 1784, that the dissenters were put on the same footing as all other persons, with respect to celebrating the rites of matrimony. By this act, the marriage ceremony might be performed by any minister licensed to preach, according to the rules of the sect of which he professed to be a member. The same act has been incorporated in the late revisal of the Virginia laws.

It appears that many of the Baptist preachers among other dissenters, presuming on a future sanction of government, had ventured to marry those who applied to them. For a set of preachers to proceed to solemnize the rites of matrimony, without any law to authorize them, may, at first view, appear to be a heedless and censurable measure. But we are informed that they were advised to it by their friend Patrick Henry, as being the most certain method of obtaining the law which

they had in view. Their attempts succeeded. But it is still a question with some, *whether this was not doing evil that good might come.*

The Legislature of 1798 repealed all laws vesting property in the hands of any religious sect, by which the Episcopalians were deprived of the glebes, &c. by which all religious sects were put into a state of perfect equality, as it respected the favours of government.*

CHAP. VIII.

HISTORY OF ASSOCIATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

As we have entered largely into the general history of the Baptists in this State, we must be the more brief and comprehensive in that of the Associations which it contains.

In the year 1772, the time in which Morgan Edwards's MS. history of Virginia Baptists closes, there were but two Associations in the State, one of the Regulars and one of the Separates. The former was called Ketockton, and contained 14 churches; and the latter Rapid-ann, or the General Association of Separates, and contained 19. In both Associations there were 33 churches, 32 ordained ministers, and 3,603 members.

In the year 1809, according to Semple's History, there were fifteen Associations, wholly in the State of Virginia, and four others, of which a part of the churches were in Virginia, and a part in a number of the adjacent States; and in all these Associations there were 294 churches, about 180 ordained ministers, who were stationed pastors of churches, besides a large number who were not settled in the capacity of pastors, and 31,052 members or communicants; which makes the increase of Baptist communicants in this State, for 37 years, 27,449, besides many thousands who have removed to Kentucky and other parts of the western country.

Of the fifteen Associations which are wholly in Virginia, six lie north of James-river, viz. Ketockton, Cul-

* Most of the above history of the laws of Virginia, respecting religion, was furnished by William W. Henning, Esq.

pepper, Albemarle, Goshen, Dover, and Accomack; six, south of James-river, viz. Portsmouth, Middle District, Meherrin, Appomattox, Roanoke, and Strawberry; and three west of the Alleghany mountains, viz. New-river, Greenbrier, and Union. Those four, a part of which only lie in Virginia, are Mayo, on the borders of Virginia, North-Carolina, and Tennessee; Holston, on the borders of Virginia and Tennessee; and Redstone, on the borders of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The Redstone, Greenbrier, and Union Associations proceeded in part, and the last of them indirectly, from the Ketockton Association; the history of which may be found in the account of the Regular Baptists. The Accomack Association was formed of the churches which were dismissed for the purpose, from the Salisbury Association in Maryland; the Portsmouth was formed by the division of the Kehukee Association of North-Carolina; and the remaining 13 all originated from the Separates, and comprehend the main body of the Baptists in Virginia.

It has already been related in the history of the General Association, that this extensive body, from motives of convenience, in 1783, divided into four district* Associations; two of which were on the north and two on the south side of James-river. The names of those on the north side of the river, were Dover and Orange; those on the south side, were called Middle District and Roanoke.

This division was at first, however, rather nominal than real; for although the two grand divisions acted in distinct capacities from the year 1783, yet it was not until the year 1788 that their subdivision was completely effected. These two great sections appear to have met together once a year, and the four districts besides had one session in a year by themselves, until 1788, when the lines were distinctly drawn, and the four Associations formally organized.

The Dover Association deserves first to be mentioned, as it is the largest body of Baptist communicants in America, and probably in any part of the world; al-

* It is proper to inform the reader that the term district here, and wherever it occurs in the history of the Virginia Associations, has no reference to any civil departments in the State.

though it contains but 37 churches, and but 24 ordained ministers, who are pastors of churches. This Association, in 1809, contained 9628 members, many, and perhaps some thousands of whom, were Africans. The largest church in this body is called Nominy, in the county of Westmoreland, under the pastoral care of Rev. Henry Toler, and contained at the time above mentioned 875 members.

The Orange Association, in 1791, was divided into three, which were called Goshen, Albemarle, and Culpepper, so that the original name of the Association was lost.

The Middle District Association experienced a similar division, except that it retained its original name in 1803, when two new Associations were formed from it, which were named Meherrin, and Appomattox.

The Roanoke Association was divided in 1791, and a new Association by the name of Dan river was formed from it. But this new establishment was of short duration; for after two sessions, it declined its travel, and was re-united to its mother body. But in 1794, a more permanent division of this body was effected; and as many of the churches were in North-Carolina, they were all dismissed to form a new Association, which was called Flat-river, whose history will be related, when we come to the State in which it is situated.

The Strawberry Association is in the neighbourhood of the mountains, near the southern line of the State. It was formed in 1776, seven years before the dissolution of the General Association, and appears to have been some of the early fruits of the Separate preachers, who went almost every where throughout the State, preaching the gospel. The first labourers within the bounds of this Association were the two Murphies, William and Joseph, Samuel Harris, and Dutton Lane. Several preachers were also raised up soon after the rise of the Baptists in these parts, the most distinguished and the most useful of whom was Robert Stockton, who, after labouring a few years with much success in these parts, removed to Kentucky, and is now one of the the principal ministers in the Green-river Association, in that State.

In 1793, the Strawberry Association was divided, and

the Blue Ridge became the dividing line; the churches, to the west of which, united under the name of the New-river Association. This appears to be the smallest Association in Virginia.

The Association was divided again in 1798, and the Mayo Association was taken from it, which is composed of churches partly in Virginia, and partly in North-Carolina.

The history of the Mountain and Holsten Associations will be given under the heads of North-Carolina and Tennessee, and that of the Portsmouth and Accomack, in treating of the respective Associations from which they proceeded. And the number and names of all the churches in all the Associations in Virginia, which have been described or mentioned, and also the names of their pastors, the years in which they were constituted, and the counties in which they are situated, may be seen in the table of Associations.

CHAP. IX.

General Observations on the Progress and Circumstances of the Virginia Baptists, from the Abolition of the Established Church to the present Time.

The war, though very propitious to the liberty of the Baptists, had an opposite effect upon the life of religion among them. As if persecution were more favourable to vital piety than unrestrained liberty, they seem to have abated in their zeal, upon being unshackled from their manacles. This may be ascribed to several causes. Both preachers and people were so much engrossed with anxious thoughts and schemes for effecting the revolution, as well as with alternate hopes and fears for the event, it was not probable that religion should not lose some portion of its influence upon the minds of professors thus engaged. The downfal of Jeremiah Walker, and some other preachers of less note, together with the contentions arising from Waller's defection, contributed not a little towards damping the zeal of the Baptists.

Having lost some of their champions in Israel, they could not with the same boldness face their enemies. Perhaps we may add, that many did not rightly estimate the true source of liberty, nor ascribe its attainment to the proper arm. In consequence of which, God sent them liberty, and with it leanness of soul. This chill to their religious affections might have subsided with the war, or perhaps sooner, if there had not been subsequent occurrences, which tended to keep them down. The opening a free trade by peace, served as a powerful bait to entrap professors, who were in any great degree inclined to the pursuit of wealth. And nothing is more common, than for the increase of riches to produce a decrease of piety. Kentucky and the western country took off many of the preachers, who had once been exceedingly successful in the ministry. From whatever cause, certain it is, that they suffered a very wintry season. With some few exceptions, the declension was general throughout the State. The love of many waxed cold. Some of the watchmen fell, others stumbled, and many slumbered at their posts. Iniquity greatly abounded. Associations were but thinly attended, and the business badly conducted. The long and great declension induced many to fear that the times of refreshing would never come, but that God had wholly forsaken them.

But the set time to favour Zion at length arrived; and as the declension had been general, so also was the revival which succeeded. This work, which was very powerful and extensive, begun on the banks of James-river, in 1785, and thence spread like fire among stubble in different directions, over almost the whole State; and as it continued for several years, there were very few churches which were not visited with its salutary influence.

During the progress of this revival, scenes were exhibited, somewhat extraordinary. It was not unusual to have a large proportion of the congregation prostrate on the floor, and in some instances they lost the use of their limbs. No distinct articulation could be heard, unless from those immediately by. Screams, groans, shouts and hosannas, notes of grief and joy, all at the same time, were not unfrequently heard throughout their

vast assemblies. At Associations and great meetings, where there were several ministers, many of them would exercise their gifts at the same time, in different parts of the congregation; some in exhortation, some in praying for the distressed, and some in argument with opposers. At first, many of the preachers disapproved of these exercises, as being enthusiastick and extravagant. Others fanned them as fire from heaven. It is not unworthy of notice, that in those congregations, where preachers encouraged them to much extent, the work was more extensive, and greater numbers were added. It must also be admitted, that in many of those congregations, no little confusion and disorder arose, after the revival had subsided. Some have accounted for this by an old maxim; *Where much good is done, much evil will also be done; where God sows many good seeds, the enemy will sow many tares.* But certain it is, that many ministers, who laboured earnestly to get Christians into their churches, were afterwards much perplexed to get hypocrites out.

It has been already said, that this revival commenced in the year 1785. It continued spreading, until about 1791 or 1792. Thousands were converted and baptized, besides many who joined the Methodists and Presbyterians. The Episcopalians, although much dejected by the loss of the establishment, had, nevertheless, continued their publick worship, and were attended by respectable congregations. But after this revival, their society fell fast into dissolution. This revival among the Baptists did not produce so many young preachers, as might have been expected. Mr. Leland, in his Virginia Chronicle, from which many of the foregoing remarks have been taken, makes the following observation:

"In the late great additions that have been made to the churches, there are but few, who have engaged in the ministry. Whether it is because the old preachers stand in their way; or, whether it is because the people do not pray the Lord of the harvest to thrust out labourers; or, whether it is not rather a judgment of God upon the people, for neglecting those who are already in the work, not communicating to them in all good things, I cannot say."

From this revival, great changes took place among the Baptists, some for the better, and others for the worse. Their preachers were become much more correct in their manner of preaching. A great many odd tones, disgusting whoops, and awkward gestures were disused. In their matter also, they had more of sound sense and strong reasoning. Their zeal was less mixed with enthusiasm, and their piety became more rational. They were much more numerous, and of course, in the eyes of the world more respectable. Besides, they were joined by persons of much greater weight in civil society. Their congregations became more numerous than those of any other Christian sect; and in short, they might be considered, from this period, as taking the lead in matters of religion, in many places of the State. This could not but influence their manners and spirit more or less. Accordingly, a great deal of that simplicity and plainness, that rigid scrupulosity about little matters, which so happily tends to keep us at a distance from greater follies, was laid aside. Their mode of preaching also was somewhat changed. At their first entrance into the State, though not very scrupulous as to their method and language, yet they were quite correct in their views upon all subjects of primary importance. No preachers ever dealt out to their hearers the nature of experimental religion more clearly and warmly. But after they had acquired a degree of respectability in the view of the world, they departed too much from this most profitable mode of preaching, and began to harp on opinions and disputable points. To dive deep into mysterious subjects, and to make conjectures respecting unrevealed points, looked more wise, and excited more applause, than to travel on in the old track. And this tampering with matters beyond their reach, to the neglect of plain and edifying subjects, is too common at present, with many of our preachers in this region, as well as elsewhere.

About this time, some of the Virginia preachers were unhappily inclined to the Arminian scheme, and great disputation followed, and many, in opposing their errors, were driven to the borders, if not within the lines, of Antinomianism. And in the midst of these doctrinal contentions, as might be expected, practical piety was,

in many places, too little urged; and this evil was followed by a relaxation in the discipline of the churches. But the savour of the revival still pervaded the churches, and prevented the general prevalence of the evils which have been mentioned.

Since the close of this extraordinary revival to the present time, which is about 20 years, there has been an increase of about ten thousand Baptist communicants in Virginia; and during that period, it is supposed, that from five to seven thousand of the community have emigrated to Kentucky, and other parts of the western country.

Although many of the churches in this State are very large, wealthy, and flourishing, yet but few of them afford their pastors a competent support, and but few of their pastors confine their labours statedly to one congregation. It is not uncommon for a preacher here to have the pastoral care of two, three, and sometimes four churches, at the same time; to which he preaches and administers the Lord's Supper once in four weeks; and we are sorry to have it to say, that this minister, besides travelling an extensive circuit, to administer to so many flocks, is obliged frequently, and indeed more generally, to procure a considerable part of his living by his own exertions and care; so negligent are the Virginia Baptists in the business of supporting their preachers.

But if a preacher here does not exercise the pastoral care of but one church, instead of preaching every Lord's day in one place, he is at liberty to travel abroad, to visit other churches; and if he preaches and administers the communion statedly to his flock once a month, that is all he or the people of his charge consider him bound to do. Some, however, do preach every Lord's day to the same congregation; but the cases, I believe, are not frequent. The reader must not suppose that the preachers are idle the intervening sabbaths, for they are a laborious set of men, travel much, and preach abundantly; and such is the situation of their churches, that this arrangement is not so objectionable here, as it would be in many places elsewhere. It is said, that this economical method of supplying many churches with a few ministers, and of having such long or *monthly weeks*, if we may

so call them, originated with the rise of the Baptists in the country, when there were many churches suddenly raised up, and but a few ministers to supply them. This same custom prevails in most of the churches throughout the back parts of the Carolinas and Georgia, and also in Kentucky and the western country. It will, therefore, be more particularly noticed, and the advantages and disadvantages of it stated, in the chapter of general observations.

The Baptists in this State seem to have had but little ambition in the erection of their houses for worship, as they are generally of a very inferior kind; and it is certainly better for a church of Christ, to worship in a small and homely house, which they can call their own, than to have a costly edifice, built mostly on credit, and nobody knows when or how it is to be paid for; or even in one, the expenses of which have been mostly defrayed by people of the world, and which is generally, for that reason, under their management and control. The Baptists here, it is true, are many of them poor; but some are rich; and one would think by their appearance at home, that there are enough in every church of sufficient ability to erect for themselves more decent and commodious houses of worship, than those small, unsightly, and inconvenient things in which they now assemble. While their brethren to the north and south of them, have the largest and most flourishing churches in many of the largest cities and towns, the Virginia Baptists seem, for the most part, to have cautiously avoided all populous places; and although there are a few churches in some of the principal towns, yet they do not generally appear to have much prosperity or reputation; and one reason for this may be, that the preachers in these churches are, instead of being men of popular and commanding talents, with very few exceptions, of a directly opposite character.

The city of Richmond is remarkable for containing a respectable church, of between 5 and 600 members, most of whom are blacks; for having a neat and commodious brick meeting-house; and also for being *statedly* supplied by the labours of their worthy pastor, Rev. J. Courtney, to whom they grant a moderate support. Besides Mr.

Courtney, there are, in the city of Richmond, a number of Baptist ministers, who preach occasionally in the city and in the country around, among whom is the Rev. Jacob Griggs, a native of England, who was educated in the Baptist Academy at Bristol, and was one of the Missionaries sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society in England, to the colony of Sierra Leone in Africa.

There has been a Baptist church in the town of Norfolk about eight years, and Baptist members much longer. But they have been cursed with an almost regular succession of impostors for a number of years; some of whom have had the pastoral care of the church, and others have only had a transient residence amongst them; and amongst the race of impostors, by whom they have been harassed and degraded, we find that notorious vagabond and deceiver, Andrew Harpending, who has committed in most of the United States, in a most shameless manner, many shameful acts of deception, intemperance, and uncleanness.

The Virginia Baptists have, from their rise, been blessed with a very respectable number of distinguished preachers; men of strong natural powers, and deep acquaintance with divine things; but very few of them, however, have been distinguished for literary acquirements. They have been a set of bold, incessant, and successful itinerants, rather than students and scholars. The circumstances of their churches and brethren, throughout their extensive State, have always been such, that they have doubtless been much more abundantly useful in this mode of life, than they could have been in the retirement and labour of the closet. Rev. Jeremiah More, who is esteemed one of their greatest divines, in 1795, when he was 49 years old, had travelled for the purpose of preaching, and that mostly in his own State, distances sufficient to reach twice round the earth!

Though there are but a few of their preachers who can make much pretensions to learning, yet a desire for it seems to be prevailing; and it is hoped that they will soon adopt some more efficient measures for its promotion than they have hitherto done.

The Episcopalians, who once governed with such unlimited and irresistible sway, in the ecclesiastical affairs

of Virginia, have become reduced to a comparatively few congregations. The Presbyterians are considerably numerous in many parts of the State. The Methodists have, within a few years past, gained much ground here, and, in some places, have increased at the expense of the Baptists, and, perhaps, in none more than in those places where they have taken the greatest pains to prevent them. This is peculiarly the case in a number of the churches in the Ketockton Association, many of whose ministers value themselves in defending the deep and mysterious points of Calvinism, and in satirizing and exploding the errors of Wesley and his disciples. But notwithstanding all their exertions, the Methodists still prevail, and the unseasonableness and dogmatical manner in which they oppose their sentiments, and defend their own, seems to hasten the flight of those who are inclined towards them. These are notorious and much to be lamented facts, and it is hoped that those preachers who are implicated in these remarks, will profit by them for the future.

CHAP. X.

NORTH-CAROLINA.

ACCORDING to Morgan Edwards's account,* there were some individual Baptists in this State as early as 1695; but it appears that the first church which ever existed within its bounds, was gathered by one Paul Palmer, about the year 1727, at a place called Perquimans, on Chowan-river, towards the northeast corner

* Mr. Edwards introduces his history of the Baptists in this State (then Province) in the following familiar and humourous manner: "Next to Virginia southward is North-Carolina, a poor and unhappy Province, where superiors make complaints of the people, and the people of their superiors; which complaints, if just, show the body politic to be like that of Israel in the time of Isaiah, "from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head without any soundness, but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores." These complaints rose to hostilities at Almance-creek, May 16, 1771, where about 6000 appeared in arms and fought each other, 4000 Regulators killing three Tryonians, and 2000 Tryonians killing twelve Regulators, besides lodging in the trees an incredible number of balls, which the hunters have since picked out, and therewith have killed more deer and turkies, than they killed of their atagonists. In this wretched Province have been some Baptists since the settlement in 1695, but no society of them till about the year," &c.

of the State. Mr. Palmer is said to have been a native of Maryland, was baptized at Welsh tract, in Delaware, by Owen Thomas, the pastor of the church in that place; was ordained in Connecticut; was some time in New-Jersey, and then in Maryland; he at last removed to North-Carolina, where he gathered the church above mentioned, with which he continued, not, however, without some difficulties, until his death. He appears to have been the instrument of doing some good, but was not so happy as to leave a good character behind him. Mr. John Comer, of Newport, Rhode-Island, maintained a correspondence with him for a number of years, and frequently makes mention of him in his MS. journal, in respectful terms.*

Not long after Palmer settled in North-Carolina, one Joseph Parker,† who was probably one of his disciples, began to preach in the same region; and though Palmer died before, yet Parker lived and continued his ministry on the old plan, till after the formation and also the renovation of the Kehukee Association, which will soon be described.

About the year 1742, one William Sojourner, who is said to have been a most excellent man and useful minister, removed with many of his brethren from Burley, in Virginia, and settled on Kehukee creek, in the county of Halifax, about one hundred and twenty miles northwest of Newbern, and the same year planted the church in that place, which continues to the present day. This church has seen prosperous days, and has been a mother to many others, the number and names of which, I am not able to give.

Most of the first Baptists in North-Carolina are said to have emigrated from the church of Burley, in Virginia; but by the labours of Palmer, Parker, and Sojourner,

* I found one of Mr. Palmer's letters to Mr. Comer, dated 1729, among Mr. Backus's papers, which, with Mr. Comer's journal, have helped me to a number of dates and articles, which I could not find elsewhere.

† I find in Mr. Comer's journal, mention made of one of Mr. Palmer's letters, which was dated 1729; which stated, that the church which was gathered there two years before, at that time consisted of thirty-two members. This letter was signed by twelve brethren, by the names of Parkers, Copelands, Brinkleys, Parke, Darker, Welch, Evans, and Jordan. Here were three Parkers, two by the name of John, and one of Joseph, who was probably the man above referred to.

and some other preachers, who were raised up in the parts, so many were brought to embrace their sentiments, that they, by about the year 1752, had increased to 16 churches. These churches had an annual interview, or yearly meeting, in which they inspected and regulated the general concerns of their community. These people were all *General Baptists*, and those of them who emigrated from England, came out from that community there. And although some of their ministers were evangelical and pure, and the members regular and devout; yet, on the whole, it appears to have been the most negligent and the least spiritual community of Baptists, which has arisen on the American continent. For so careless and indefinite were they in their requisitions, that many of their communicants were baptized and admitted into their churches; and even some of their ministers were introduced into their sacred functions, without an experimental acquaintance with the gospel, or without being required to possess it. It does not appear that they extended the bounds of their communion to any but those of their own order; but so loose and indefinite were their terms in other respects, that all, who professed a general belief in the truths of the gospel, submitted to baptism, and religiously demeaned themselves, were admitted to it.

In this situation, this cluster of churches continued, until more orthodox principles were introduced, and a spirit of reformation began to prevail, which finally leavened nearly the whole body, and transformed it into an Association of Calvinistick, or as they were then called, Regular Baptists.

The faults and errors of this people were probably exaggerated by some of their zealous reformers; but viewing matters in their most favourable light, and admitting as many of their preachers and brethren as we can, to have been worthy of their functions and professions; yet they, as a body, were deeply involved in error, and needed much the renovation which we are about to describe.

The introduction of Calvinistick sentiments amongst them, which had the happy effect of purifying the churches, took place about the year 1751, and was caused partly by the preaching of Robert Williams of the Welch-neck, in South-Carolina; partly by the conversation of a

layman,* commonly called the Sley-maker, whose name was William Wallis; but chiefly by the labours of John Gano, who visited them in the summer of 1754, and of Benjamin Miller and Peter P. Vanhorn, who went amongst them some time in the year after. Mr. Gano was sent out by the Philadelphia Association, with general and indefinite instructions, to travel in the southern States, &c. He, on his return, represented the melancholly condition of this people to the Association, who appointed Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn for the special purpose of instructing and reforming them. Mr. Gano appears to have shaken the old foundation, and begun the preparation of the materials which Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn organized into regular churches. His visit is thus described by Mr. Edwards: "On his arrival, he sent to the ministers, requesting an interview with them, which they declined, and appointed a meeting among themselves, to consult what to do. Mr. Gano, hearing of it, went to their meeting, and addressed them in words to this effect, "I have desired a visit from you, which, as a brother and a stranger, I had a right to expect; but as ye have refused, I give up my claim, and am come to pay you a visit." With that, he ascended into the pulpit, and read for his text the following words, "*Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?*" This text he managed in such a manner as to make some afraid of him, and others ashamed of their shyness. Many were convinced of errors, touching faith and conversion, and submitted to examination. One minister hearing this, (who stood well with himself) went to be examined, and intimated to his people, he should return triumphant. Mr. Gano heard him out, and then turned to his companion and said, "I profess, brother, this will not do: this man has yet the needful to seek." Upon which, the person examined hastened home, and upon being asked, how he came off? replied, "The Lord have mercy upon you, for this northern minister put a *mene tekel* upon me!"

By the labours of Mr. Gano, and also of Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn, a great work was effected among this peo-

* I find the term *layman* used by Messrs. Edwards and Semple, and have therefore inserted it; but must confess, I have no fellowship with it, when used in its old discriminating sense.

ple, which consisted not merely in the important business of reforming their creed and purifying their churches, but also in reviving the power of godliness amongst the erroneous and lukewarm professors, and in the conviction and conversion of many others. And what was left unfinished by them, was undertaken and carried on, with a very laudable zeal, by the ministers among themselves, some of whom were converted by their means, and most of whom caught, in a good degree, their spirit, and imitated their examples. Insomuch, that before the year 1765, all the ministers, (and they were now considerably numerous) except the two Parkers, Joseph and William, and a Mr. Winfield, and all the churches, excepting those under their care, which were not more than two or three, had embraced the principles of the reformation. The reformed churches having thus prepared the way, in the year 1765, by a previous appointment, convened at Kehukee, and organized themselves into an associated body, to which they gave the name of the Kehukee Association; which, as soon as it was formed, was admitted to the fellowship and correspondence of the Charleston Association, with which some of the constituent churches had united after their renovation. Jonathan Thomas, John Thomas, John Moore, John Burgess, William Burgess, Charles Daniel, William Walker, John Meglamre, James Abbington, Thomas Pope, and Henry Abbot, were the principal, if not all the ministers belonging to this Association at the time of its constitution.

About this time, the Separate Baptists had become very numerous, and were rapidly increasing in the upper regions of North-Carolina, and the adjoining parts of Virginia, where they had established a flourishing Association, which was called Sand-creek. The ministers of both these bodies, in their evangelical excursions, were brought to frequent interviews with each other; and, although they differed in some little matters, yet they united their zealous labours in the common cause of their Master, and an increasing fellowship for each other produced an increasing desire to be more closely united. The Kehukee Association made the first advances towards the union, and, in 1772, sent two of

their elders, viz. Meglamre and Thomas, as deputies to the Separate Association, for the purpose of making overtures to effect it. The deputies were kindly received; they delivered their message, the object of which was briefly discussed. The Separate Association, in return, deputed two of their ministers, viz. Elijah Craig and David Thompson, to wait on the Kehukee Association, respecting the union which they had proposed. The embarrassments attending the union seem to have lain mostly with the Separates, who stated the following objections against their brethren of the Regular order: 1st. That they were not sufficiently strict in receiving church members. 2d. That they were too superfluous in dress. And, 3d. That their principles and practices were at variance; for although they believed that faith in Christ Jesus was essential to baptism, yet they retained many members in their churches, who, although they had then experienced converting grace, yet acknowledged themselves to have been baptized in a state of unbelief, by the careless Arminian preachers.

This last objection was declared to be the main bar to a complete union; and it was the more effectual, as it had been a matter of considerable embarrassment to a great number of the Kehukee ministers, who had many thoughts of attempting a reformation. This occurrence furnished them with a more favourable plea to make a beginning, which was accordingly done in the year 1774. At which time the Bertie church, under the pastoral care of Rev. Lemuel Burkitt, held a conference on the subject, in which they publickly proclaimed, that they would commune with none, who confessed they were baptized before conversion; alleging, that adult persons had no better claim to baptism, while they were in a state of impenitence and unbelief, than infants had. Mr. Burkitt's church was followed by several others. But when the next Association met, which was in 1775, the Reformers met with severe opposition. The correctness of their proceedings was much questioned, and much dissension arose. One party was blamed for doing too much; and the other for not doing enough. As they could not agree, both parties claimed the right of being called the Association. The Reformers, because what they had

done, was exactly congenial to the original plan upon which the Association was organized. The other party, being most numerous, insisted that a majority ought to retain the power, and consequently the name of the Association. They moreover argued, that, whatever might be their principles, it was well known at the time of the constitution of the Association, that this evil existed in greater force than it did at that time; seeing none had been baptized in known unbelief, since the constitution; that, therefore, it was virtually agreed, that such as were then in orderly standing might retain their membership, lest more mischief should ensue by being too rigorous, than by submitting to small inconveniences for the sake of peace; that the Association having been in existence for eight or nine years, all of which time they had suffered the inconvenience, it was now rather strange, that they at this late period should attempt a revolution so likely to disturb the peace and harmony of the churches. To all these arguments it was answered, that to them it was a matter of conscience, which they could not relinquish without wounding their own souls. As neither side would give way, things came to extremities. Each party organized a distinct Association. The Reformers kept possession of the meeting-house, whilst the opposite party retired, first to the woods, and on the second day procured a private house in the neighbourhood. All attempts at reconciliation proved ineffectual during this session. Each party transacted their own business, of which, however, very little was done. These party broils were exceedingly afflicting to the pious on both sides. It would appear from the arguments on the old side, that many of them did not deny the principles of this reformation, so much as the necessity, seeing it would unavoidably produce much confusion, and if let alone, the evil would of itself, in time, vanish. Those who had undertaken to effect the reformation, persevered, and finally accomplished their wishes.*

In August, 1777, they held their first undisputed Association, at elder Bell's meeting.house, in Sussex coun-

* The Regular Association dwindled, and finally came to nothing; partly by falling in with the Separates, and partly by other causes.

ty, Virginia. They found, on assembling, that their strength had very much increased. Ten churches had sent letters and delegates, of which it appeared that six were Regulars, or the old side, and four were Separates; who, finding their former obstacles removing, and it being convenient, were incorporated with this Association. Of these ten churches, four were in Virginia, and six in North-Carolina. The whole number of members was one thousand five hundred and ninety. They agreed now upon an abstract of principles, which was afterwards printed and published. In doctrine and discipline it did not substantially differ from the confession of faith generally received among the Baptists. They agreed to hold two Associations annually, and appointed the next at Burkitt's meeting-house, the next May.

The Kehukee Association continued to meet regularly, and to increase rapidly, until the year 1790. At their October session for that year, it was found that there were no less than sixty-one churches, having more than five thousand members. Several ineffectual attempts, previous to this, had been made to divide it, and the number of churches was now so large, that a division was almost indispensable. They accordingly agreed to divide by the State line, leaving forty-two churches in North-Carolina, and nineteen in Virginia. The Virginia churches met by their delegates for the first time, May 1791, at Portsmouth; and on that account their body took the name of the Virginia Portsmouth Association. Their time of meeting has been, from the first, on the fourth Saturday of May, annually. Their business has been transacted in peace and prudence. The number of churches has increased, but not so rapidly as in other Associations. While elder Meglamre lived, and attended the Associations, he generally acted as moderator. After his death, or when he was absent, the duties of moderator most commonly devolved upon Rev. David Barrow, until his removal to Kentucky.*

Only four years from the time that the Portsmouth Association was taken off, viz. in the year 1794, this

* This account of the Kehukee Association has been taken almost verbatim from Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists.

mother body had again become so extensive, that another division was thought expedient, and was accordingly amicably effected; and Tar-river was fixed on as the dividing line. All the churches above this river, and between it and the State of Virginia, remained with the old establishment, while those to the south of it were dismissed to form the Neuse Association.

The Kehukee Association, by this last division, was reduced to twenty-six churches; from this time it travelled on, without any special occurrence, until about 1801, when it began to enjoy a refreshing season, and for a few years following, was blessed with a share in that remarkable revival, which prevailed most powerfully and extensively through North-Carolina and many other States; so that in the course of two years from the commencement of the revival, there were 1500 persons baptized in the churches belonging to this Association.

Neuse Association.

It has already been related, that this body originated by a division of the Kehukee Association, in 1794. It contained, at the time of its organization, 23 churches, which were situated on both sides of the Neuse-river, from which circumstance it received its name; and they extended from Tar-river nearly to the southern boundary of North-Carolina. This Association comprized a number of the oldest churches in the country, and particularly the Tosniot church, in Edgecombe county, which was gathered by the General Baptists, in the early part of their settlement in the country; but it was reformed and constituted on the Calvinistick plan in 1758, at which time it contained three very worthy preachers, viz. John Thomas, and his two sons Jonathan and John. Jonathan is said to have been a man of considerable eminence in his day. This community was much refreshed and enlarged by that glorious revival which prevailed in the Kehukee Association.

Cape Fear Association.

This Association is situated towards the southeast corner of the State. It took its name from the river on

whose eastern branch the town of Wilmington is situated. It was formed in 1805, of churches which were dismissed from the Neuse Association.

Raleigh Association.

This body takes its name from the town which is now the seat of government, near to which the churches are situated. It was formed in 1805 of only four churches, which were dismissed from the Neuse Association. It has been a flourishing little body, and in 1812 had increased to ten churches and almost a thousand members. There has lately been a very happy rev'val within the bounds of this Association. In 1812, Elder Robert T. Daniel, one of their ministers, wrote me, that upwards of a hundred members had been added by baptism to the church which he serves, in a little more than a year.

Chowan Association.

This Association receives its name from a river which rises in Virginia and empties into the Albemarle sound. It is situated on the northern borders of the state and near its northeast corner. It began in 1806, when eighteen churches, containing upwards of eighteen hundred members, were dismissed from the Kehukee Association, for the purpose of forming it. These churches were all on the east side of the Roanoke-river. Several hundreds have been added to the Chowan Association since it was formed, and yet it is not now so large as it was at first. The reason is, that multitudes from this region have emigrated to the western and more southern States.

Flat-River Association.

This body was formed by a division of the Roanoke Association, in Virginia, in 1794. As a number of churches in that Association were situated in North-Carolina, they were all, by their request, dismissed at the time above mentioned, for the purpose of forming the one whose history we are now relating. I have not

been able exactly to ascertain of how many churches it was at first composed, but the number was probably ten or twelve; nor have I learnt any thing of its proceedings, until the year 1806, when it was divided by a line running north and south, and the western division of churches united in forming the

Country-Line Association.

This body took its name from a creek on which the churches are situated, which runs in a northern direction, and empties into Dan-river, near the line between the two States of Virginia and North-Carolina.

These two small Associations lie on the northern side of North-Carolina, and the churches in the Country-Line are in the counties of Rockingham, Caswell, Person, and Orange.

The churches in these Associations originated from the Separate Baptists, and some of the oldest of them were gathered by Samuel Harris, James Read, Thomas Mullins, and Dutton Lane.

Sandy-Creek Association.

An account of the origin and progress of the Sandy-Creek church and Association, and of the Baptist cause in this part of North-Carolina, up to the year 1770, has already been given in the general history of the Separate Baptists, under the Virginia head.

Shubael Stearns died at Sandy-Creek, in 1771, in the 66th year of his age. The Sandy-Creek Association, notwithstanding the embarrassments in which it had involved itself, by interfering too much in the concerns of the churches, still continued to hold its usual anniversary sessions.

In 1772, after its division, which is related in the general history of the Separates, it contained the nine following churches, viz. Sandy-Creek, Little-River, Shallow Fords, Slow-River, New-River, Southwest, Grassy-Creek, Trent, and Lockwood's Folly. To these churches appertained ten branches, most of which were, in process of time, organized into district churches. The

number of ministers at this time was twenty, only seven of whom were ordained. This Association held many sentiments formerly, and it also holds some now, which are of a peculiar nature, and which do not prevail among their brethren elsewhere. Many of its members were formerly thought to lean considerably towards the Arminian system; but they have now become generally, and some of them strenuously Calvinistick. They now hold that ministers ought not to be ordained until they are called to exercise the pastoral office. The practice of ordaining them as Evangelists, which by the Baptists is generally adopted, they reject. They formerly held nine Christian rites, viz. *baptism, the Lord's supper, love-feasts, laying-on-of-hands, washing feet, anointing the sick, right hand of fellowship, kiss of charity, and devoting children.* They also held to ruling elders, eldresses, deaconesses, and weekly communion.

The nature and design of all the above enumerated rites and offices will be easily comprehended, except that of *devoting children.* This rite they founded on the circumstance of parents bringing little children to Christ, &c. It was thus performed: As soon as circumstances would permit, after the birth of the child, the mother carried it to meeting, when the minister either took it in his arms, or laid his hands on it, thanked God for his mercy, and invoked a blessing on the child, at which time it received its name. This rite, which was by many satirically called a *dry christening*,* prevailed not only in the Sandy-Creek Association, but in many parts of Virginia.

It must not be understood, that all the churches in this body were strenuous, or even uniform, in the observance of this long list of rites, all of which, however, appear to be suggested by the Scriptures; nor did those who maintained the whole of them, refuse communion with their brethren, who neglected a part; and this indifference in some has been succeeded by a general neglect in all, so that the greatest part of the nine Christian rites, and especially those of them which were of a peculiar nature, together with the offices of eldresses and

* Virginia Chronicle, p. 42.

deaconesses have fallen into disuse. But the ordinance, as they esteem it, of laying-on-of-hands, and the office of ruling elders they still maintain.

This Association has also altered its mode as to the frequency of administering the Lord's Supper, and has adopted that which is generally pursued by other brethren elsewhere.

It will be recollected, that when the great body of the Separate Baptists was divided, in the year 1770, that the Sandy-Creek Association became one of the three grand divisions; but it has not prospered so largely, nor branched out so extensively, as the other two. The only Association which has been formed from it, and that but in part, was the Holston, in the State of Tennessee. But it has been the nursery of many worthy ministers and brethren, who have emigrated to the western country and more southern States; and although it has, at times, been reduced almost to the lowest ebb of religious enjoyment, yet it has, at other times, been blessed with the outpourings of the Divine Spirit, and the joyful enlargement of its borders. Two very comfortable and extensive revivals had been experienced in this Association, since the death of Mr. Stearns, before the one about to be mentioned. But by deaths and removals it was, at the close of the eighteenth century, in every respect much reduced. The ministers had become few in number, and the churches small and languid; iniquity greatly abounded in the land, and the love of many had waxen cold. But towards the close of the year 1800, that astonishing work which had been prevailing a short time in Kentucky and other parts, made a sudden and unexpected entrance amongst them, and was attended with most of the new and unusual appearances, which in many places it assumed. This work was not confined to the Baptists, but prevailed, at the same time, amongst the Methodists and Presbyterians, both of which denominations were considerably numerous in the parts. These two last denominations, soon after the commencement of the revival, united in their communion and camp-meetings. The Baptists were strongly solicited to embark in the general communion scheme; but they, pursuant to their consistent (many

call them rigid) principles, declined a compliance. But they had camp or field-meetings amongst themselves, and many individuals of them united with the Methodists and Presbyterians in theirs. The Baptists established camp-meetings from motives of convenience and necessity, and relinquished them as soon as they were no longer needful. Their meeting-houses are generally small, and surrounded with groves of wood, which they carefully preserve, for the advantage of the cooling shade, which they afford in the heat of summer. In these groves the stages were erected, around which the numerous congregation encamped; and when they could be accommodated in the meeting-houses, to them they repaired. A circumstance which led the people to come prepared to encamp on the ground was, that those who lived adjacent to the place of meeting, although willing to provide for the refreshment, as far as they were able, of the numerous congregations which assembled; yet, in most cases, they would have found it impracticable; and furthermore, they wished to be at the meetings themselves, what time they must have stayed at home for the purpose. The people, therefore, would be advised by their ministers and others, at the first camp-meetings, to come to the next and all succeeding ones, prepared to accommodate and refresh themselves. In this way, camp-meetings were instituted amongst the Baptists.

In nearly the same way, meetings of a similar nature were established by the united body of Methodists and Presbyterians in these parts; but like many other things produced on extraordinary occasions, they continued after the call for them had ceased. Their efficacy was by many too highly estimated. They had witnessed at them, besides much confusion and disorder, many evident and remarkable displays of divine power; and their ardour in promoting them, after the zeal which instituted them had abated, indicated that they considered them the most probable means of effecting a revival. From these motives (I am induced to think) camp-meetings have been, and are still, industriously kept up by the Methodists throughout the United States. It is well known that they take much pains, by giving lengthy

notice of their approach, by advertising them in newspapers, &c. to collect as large an assemblage of people as possible, and then, by preconcerted and artful manœuvres, and by a mechanical play upon the passions, to produce that animation and zeal, which, at the times above-nentioned, were spontaneous and unaffected.

In the progress of the revival among the Baptists, and, especially, at their camp-meetings, there were exhibited scenes of the most solemn and affecting nature; and in many instances there was heard at the same time, throughout the vast congregation, a mingled sound of prayer, exhortation, groans, and praise. The fantastick exercise of jerking, dancing, &c. in a religious way, prevailed much with the united body of Methodists and Presbyterians, towards the close of the revival; but they were not introduced at all among the Baptists in these parts. But falling down under religious impressions was frequent among them. Many were taken with these religious epilepsies, if we may so call them, not only at the great meetings, where those scenes were exhibited, which were calculated to move the sympathetick affections; but also about their daily employments, some in the fields, some in their houses, and some when hunting their cattle in the woods. And in some cases, people were thus strangely affected when alone; so that if some played the hypocrite, with others the exercise must have been involuntary and unaffected. And besides falling down, there were many other expressions of zeal, which in more moderate people would be considered enthusiastick and wild.

The above relation was given me by Rev. George Pope, the pastor of the church at Abbot's Creek, who is a man of sense and moderation, and who, with many of his brethren, was much tried in his mind, and stood aloof from the work at its commencement; but it spread so rapidly and powerfully, that they soon discovered such evident marks of its being a genuine work of grace, notwithstanding its new and unusual appearances, that their doubts subsided, and they cordially and zealously engaged in forwarding and promoting it. Mr. Pope, in the course of the revival, baptized about 500 persons. Large numbers were also baptized by John Culpepper,

William M'Gregore, and many others. But as the Minutes of the Association were not printed at this time, the total number of members cannot be now ascertained, yet it must have been very large. But a spirit of emigration has since much possessed the Baptists in these parts, so that the Association is now reduced to the number of members, which is stated in the table.

Yadkin Association.

The Yadkin-river rises in the Alleghany mountains, and unites with the Rocky-river, in Anson county, North-Carolina, and from their junction the stream assumes the name of the *Great Pedee.*

The Yadkin Association received its name from that of the river above mentioned, and lies to the westward of the Sandy-Creek, and originated in the following manner. In the year 1786, eleven churches, which had been previously gathered about the head of the Yadkin and its waters, began to hold yearly conferences, as a branch of the Strawberry Association in Virginia. The proceedings of this conference were annually submitted to the Association to which it had attached itself, for their inspection, and were borne thither by delegates appointed for the purpose. But in 1790, the churches, composing this conference, were, upon their request, dismissed, and formed a distinct Association. The ministers belonging to this body at its commencement, were George M'Neal, John Cleaveland, William Petty, William Hammond, Cleaveland Caffee, Andrew Baker, and John Stone. This Association, like Sandy-Creek, transacted its business, or at least, held its sessions, for a number of years, without a moderator. Some of their scrupulous brethren, it seems, were opposed to order, or formality, as they esteemed it, in their religious proceedings, and pleaded that it was an infringement of Christian liberty, and too much like worldly assemblies, to have a moderator at their head, whom they must address when they spoke, and whose liberty they must request, &c. In 1793, Mr. John Gano, who then lived in Kentucky, visited this Association, and found many difficulties among them on account of these things. But he knew

very well how to manage prejudices so whimsical and absurd, and prevailed on them to choose a moderator and establish rules, by which their business was afterwards conducted with much decorum.*

The church in the Jersey settlements in Rowan county is the oldest in the Yadkin Association, and was gathered by Mr. Gano in 1758, three years after the Sandy-Creek church was established. Mr. Gano resided there about two years, when the church was broken up by the incursions of the Indians, and he returned to New-Jersey, from whence he had removed hither. But the church was re-gathered after the Indian war was over.

Dr. Richard Furman, now of Charleston, South-Carolina, resided and preached in the bounds of this Association, during a part of the revolutionary war.

Joseph Murphy, the pastor of the church on Deep Creek, in the county of Surry, has been, in most respects, the most distinguished minister among the churches in this body. He and William Murphy, whose name frequently occurs in the history of the Virginia Baptists, were brothers. They were both baptized by Shubael Stearns, and began to preach while very young, and were called, by way of derision, *Murphy's boys*. William, who had the most conspicuous talents, removed to Tennessee about 1780, and was one of the most active ministers in the Holston Association, which he assisted in raising up, and in which he was very useful and much esteemed until his death, the exact time of which is not known, but it is believed to have been about 1800.

Joseph was altogether illiterate when he became religious, for he then knew not how to read, and had never learned to write. But being possessed of a strong mind, ready wit, a bold and fearless spirit, and with all, a heart filled with the love of God and man, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of his education, he has been a very useful and much respected preacher throughout an extensive circle of churches. He was once taken up in Virginia for preaching, and carried before a magistrate, where he defended himself so expertly, that his accusers

* Mr. Gano's Life, p. 124.

retired with shame, and the magistrate bade him go about his business.

Mr. Murphy had many verbal rencounters in his more active days, with opposers of different characters, whom he always abashed and foiled. His feats of this kind he now relates with much pleasantry, and with a self-complacency which is altogether excusable in a man who is about 80 years old. He was once opposed by a fanatick of more effrontery than argument, who contended that Adam, before his fall, had not a mortal body, but was a pure spiritual being. A woman was sitting by, carelessly nursing her child, whose name was Frost, who said to the opposer, "I do not see how God could take out a rib from Adam's side, and close up the *flesh* again, if he were nothing but a *spirit.*" "Ah," replied Mr. Murphy, "I think, my friend, you are *frost*-bitten, and will soon wither without any arguments of mine."

Being once opposed by a man who held to the notion of Universal Restoration, Mr. Murphy at last replied, "I do not see, sir, but you, on your plan, make hell the *sanctum sanctorum* of the wicked; for after all the means of the gospel have failed to benefit them, they must go to hell to be made holy, and prepared for heaven."

The churches in this Association are in the counties of Rowan, Wilkes, Surry, Iredell, and some of them are not far from the town of Salisbury.

Mountain Association.

The name of this Association is sufficiently descriptive of its situation; for the churches of which it is composed lie mostly west of the Blue Ridge, and are scattered in the nooks and vallies of the stupendous pile of the Alleghany mountains. As but very partial accounts have been received, the following brief sketches must suffice for its history. It was formed in 1799, by a division of the Yadkin Association, when the ten following churches were dismissed, viz. Rye Valley, Three Forks of New River, North Fork of New River, Fish River, South Fork of Roaring River, Beaver Creek, Head of Yadkin, Synclare's Bottom, Catawba, and Cedar Island.

Three of these churches were in Virginia, and it is said that some of them, or of those which have united with the Association since it was formed, are in the State of Tennessee, but most of them are in North-Carolina, and are in the counties of Ash, Burk, Wilks, and Surry.

I do not learn that this body has ever experienced any remarkable changes, or much enlargement.

French Broad Association.

This is a small body, situated mostly in the county of Buncombe, in a mountainous region in the western part of this State. This county was formerly large enough for a small State, and extended to the Tennessee line. The county of Haywood has, not long since, been taken from it. It is, however, very large, and encompasses a number of everlasting hills and some fruitful vallies. Through it runs a river called the French Broad, which gave name to the Association we are about to describe. The Baptists are scattered in every part of the United States. Scarcely a mountain or valley in which they are not to be found. So many of them were settled in this region, that they were induced to form an Association in 1807. It was, at first, composed of six churches, viz. Little Ivey, Locust, Old Fields, Newfound, Caney-River, French Broad, and Cane-Creek. The three first were dismissed from the Holston Association in Tennessee, and the other from the Broad-River in South-Carolina. Four churches have been added to this body since its formation. The ministers which it contained at its beginning were Thomas Snelson, Thomas Justice, Sion Blythe, Benjamin King, Humphrey Posey, and Stephen Morgan.

By reviewing the history of the Baptists in this State, it appears that it contains 11 Associations, about 180 churches, and upwards of 12000 communicants.

The North-Carolinians, like their neighbours the Virginians, have never had much ambition for learning or human acquirements; but they have had, especially in the low countries, in the bounds of the Kehukee and Neuse Associations and their branches, many very able and respectable ministers and brethren, who have, in

addition to their religious functions, honourably filled many publick stations, as magistrates, legislators, &c. But as their biographies have been much neglected, little can be said about them. Biographical sketches of a few of these men will be found in that part of the work which is devoted to that subject.

The Baptists in this State have never suffered much by persecution, yet there were some attempts made to harass them. About 1768, when persecution was raging so fiercely against their brethren in Virginia, a number were apprehended, belonging to the Kehukee Association, and upwards of 70 persons were summoned by the Court to appear against them, by whom they were accused of heresy, blasphemy, and riots; but in the course of the examination, the complaints appeared so ill founded, that the Court dismissed the whole matter, and appeared ashamed of the prosecution, as well they might be; for their blasphemies turned out to be Scripture expressions; their heresies sound doctrine; and the riots with which they were charged, were raised not by them, but by their persecutors, who disturbed their assemblies.*

The North-Carolina Regulation has already been mentioned, and we promised to give a further account of it. This civil commotion appears to have been similar to the Shays affair in Massachusetts, and the Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania.

Many became much disaffected with the provincial government, which was then administered by Governor Tryon, and formed an extensive combination for the purpose of regulating and reforming it. Some of their complaints were, that they had, in a way of tax, paid between two and three thousand pounds more than would sink their paper money, and yet about sixty thousand pounds of it remained unsunk; that civil officers and lawyers extorted more than the law allowed them, and yet were not punished, but suffered to prosecute the complainers, &c. And as they had remonstrated without effect, and saw no prospect of a redress of their grievances, they determined, at length, to make use of

* Morgan Edwards's MS. Hist. of the Baptists in North-Carolina.

arguments of a more convincing nature. Troops were immediately raised by Governor Tryon to suppress the rebellion; and on May 16, 1771, it seems a battle was fought between 4000 Regulators and 2000 of the Governor's troops, in which 12 of the former and 3 of the latter were slain. I am not able to give a particular history of this rebellious faction, as it was deemed, which, it is sufficient to say, was quelled and dispersed; nor would it correspond with the design of this work, if I could; and I should have passed it by altogether, had it not been for what follows.

Governor Tryon is said to have represented "the Regulators, as a faction of Quakers and Baptists, who aimed at overturning the Church of England." The same insinuation was also published in a news-paper. Morgan Edwards was in the country the next year after these events happened, and observes, "If the Governor said, as here suggested, he must be misinformed; for I made it my business to inquire into the matter, and can aver, that among 4000 Regulators, there were but 7 of the denomination of Baptists; and these were expelled the societies they belonged unto, in consequence of the resolve of the Baptist Association held at Sandy-Creek the second Saturday in Oct. 1769. "If any of our members shall take up arms against the legal authority, or aid and abet them that do so, he shall be excommunicated," &c. When this was known abroad, one of the four chiefs of the Regulators, with an armed company, broke into the assembly, and demanded, if there were such a resolve entered into by the Association? The answer was evasive, for they were in bodily fear. This checked the design much; and the author of the Impartial Relation is obliged to own, page 16, "There (in Sandy-Creek) the scheme met with some opposition, on account that it was too hot and rash, and in some things not legal," &c. One of the seven Baptists, by the name of Merrill, was executed; and he, at the point of death, did not justify his conduct, but bitterly condemned it; and blamed two men (of very different religion) for deceiving him into the rebellion. His speech at the gallows was as follows:

"I stand here exposed to the world as a criminal. My life will soon be a change. God is my comforter and supporter. I am condemned to die for opposing government. All you that are present, take warning by my miserable end, when I shall be hung up as a spectacle before you. My first seducers were Hunter and Gelaspie. They had often solicited me, telling that a settlement only was contended for with regard to publick officers, who, they said, had oppressed the people; and that unless these measures were taken, there would be no remedy or redress hereafter. Thus they pressed me on, by assuring me the disputes (as they called them) then existing might be settled without shedding of blood. I considered this unhappy affair, and thought, possibly, the contentions in the country might be brought to some determination, without injury to any; and in this mind I joined the Regulation. After I had enlisted under the banner of the Regulators, I was ever after pressed to be made a leading man among them; and was one of the number who opposed Col. Weddel with his troops; information prevailing that the Governor was on his march to lay waste this country and destroy its inhabitants, which I now find to be false, and propagated to screen old offenders from justice. As to my private life, I do not know of any particular charge against me. I received, by the grace of God, a change, fifteen years ago; but have, since that time, been a backslider; yet Providence, in which is my chief security, has been pleased to give me comfort, under these evils, in my last hour; and although the halter is now round my neck, believe me, I would not change stations with any man on the ground. All you, who think you stand, take heed lest ye fall. I would be glad to say a few words more before I die. In a few moments, I shall leave a widow and ten children; I entreat that no reflection may be cast on them on my account; and if possible, shall deem it as a bounty, should you, gentlemen, petition the Governor and Council, that some part of my estate may be spared for the widow and the fatherless: it will be an act of charity, for I have forfeited the whole, by the laws of God and man." The man bore an excellent character, insomuch that one of his

enemies was heard to say, "that if all went to the gallows with Capt. Merrill's character, hanging would be an honourable death." All pitied him, and blamed the wicked Hunter, Gelaspie, Howell, Husband, Butler, and others, who deceived and seduced him. Upwards of 70 bills were found at the time, but Merrill was the only Baptist among the number. The four principals in the Regulation are well known to be of other religious denominations.

I thought it necessary to say so much, lest the Governor's words should, in time, make the North-Carolina Regulation another Munster tragedy.*

Six of the North-Carolina Associations, viz. Chowan Country-Line, Flat-River, Kehukee, Raleigh, and Sandy-Creek, have lately formed a General Meeting of Correspondence, on a plan similar to that of Virginia.

There have been some very extensive revivals among the Baptists in this State, since these sketches were made out; if I can learn the particulars respecting them in season, they shall be inserted in the Appendix.

Our brethren in this State have also made some exertions in the Missionary cause, and have an establishment.

CHAP. XI.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

THERE are, at present, four Associations wholly in this State, viz. the Charleston, the Bethel, the Saluda, and the Edgefield; and two others, viz. the Broad-river and Savannah-river, which are partly in South-Carolina and partly in the adjoining States. The Broad-river is in the northwest corner of the State, and a few of the churches are in North-Carolina. The Savannah-river is composed of churches which are situated in the south-east parts of South-Carolina and the neighbouring parts of the State of Georgia.

The history of each of these bodies will be given in their proper order.

* M. Edwards's MS. Hist. of the Baptists in North-Carolina.

From the first settlement of the Baptists in this Province in 1683, there have always been a number of respectable characters of the society, but their numbers increased very slowly for a great number of years, insomuch that in 1751, when the Charleston Association was formed, there were but four churches, and these not very large, to compose it. Soon after this period, Baptist sentiments began more rapidly to prevail. A number of churches were, in a few years, formed from the old ones, or raised up on new ground, in their vicinities, and united in Association with them. About the year 1760, the Separate Baptists from North-Carolina began their evangelical exertions in the upper parts of the State, where their sentiments took a rapid spread, and a number of large churches were soon gathered. And in 21 years after the formation of the Charleston Association, viz. in 1772, there were, in South-Carolina, according to Morgan Edwards's account, who then visited the country, 20 churches including the Separates, in which were 16 ordained ministers, 21 exhorters or licensed preachers, and almost 1100 communicants. And these 20 churches had erected for their use upwards of 40 meeting-houses, as some of them were large and consisted of a number of branches. There were, at the same time, in this State, three churches of the Tunker and one of the General Baptists; in all of which, however, there were but a little more than 100 communicants. But for 34 years subsequent to the last mentioned date, the Baptists increased in this State in a much greater proportion; for it appears by a statement furnished by Dr. Furman, of Charleston, in 1806, that there were then in South-Carolina, of the Calvinistick Associated Baptists, about 130 churches, in which were about 100 ministers, and 10,500 communicants.

The history of the Baptists in South-Carolina naturally divides itself into two branches; and in pursuing it, we shall, in the first place, relate the affairs of those who emigrated hither from other parts, in the early settlement of the province, who settled along the sea-coast, and in the lower parts of the State, and from whom have originated most of the churches in these regions. We shall, in the second place, take notice of those who were at first, and for a number of years, called *Separates*, who settled in the

middle and upper parts of the country, from whom have sprung a major part of the Baptists now in the State.

Of the early settlers of South-Carolina, a considerable proportion were Baptists. They came in separate colonies, about the year 1683, partly from the west of England, and partly from Piscataway in the District of Maine. Those from England, came with Lord Cardross and a Mr. Blake, whose wife and her mother, Lady Axtell, were Baptist members, and settled, some about Ashley and Cooper rivers, and others about the mouth of the river Edisto. Those from the District of Maine were led hither by Rev. William Screven, who, with a considerable number of his brethren, fled from the persecuting rage of the New-England Pedobaptists, and settled on Cooper-river, at a place called Summerton,* at no great distance from the place where Charleston now stands.

Here this company were formed into a church by Mr. Screven, who became their pastor. The names of the constituents are said to have been the Screvens, the Atwells, the Bulleins, the Elliots, the Ravens, the Bakers, the Barkers, the Blakes, the Childs, the Caters, the Whitakers, the Bryants, the Butlers, the Chapmans, &c. It appears pretty evident, that the Baptists from Old and New England, arrived in South-Carolina about the same time; but it is suggested by Mr. Edwards, that those from Piscataway settled here first, and had formed the church before their brethren from England arrived,† and that the small body which had been formed, received considerable additions on their arrival.

Before the year 1693, most of the members had removed from Summerton towards the neck, on which Charleston is built, which made it necessary to remove the seat of the church to the town. They held their worship on their removal at the house of one William Chapman, in King-street, until they raised a temporary building in the same street, which they occupied but a short

* Summerton was probably the name of a plantation, as I am informed that there is no such place now in the region.

† Mr. Edwards dates the beginning of this church in 1664. His accounts were collected from the traditions of ancient people, who must have made a mistake of about 20 years; since it is very evident from Backus's history, that Mr. Screven did not leave Piscataway until some time after the year 1680.

time. In 1699, they erected a brick meeting-house, on the same lot with the parsonage-house, in Church-street, which was demolished in 1808, having been some time in a ruinous condition. The building at present occupied by them, is a commodious brick edifice, 59 feet by 42, and was erected in 1746. Its erection was owing to a singular interference of the Provincial Legislature. A party had drawn off some years before, and formed a church upon the sentiments of the General Baptists, the history of which will be given in its proper place. The lot on which the meeting and parsonage houses had been erected, was given by William Elliot, whose son was now a leading man among the General Baptists. In 1745, the trustees, to whom the above lot had been given being all dead, without conveying the trust to others, the church, for the purpose of securing their property, and preventing disputes which might arise, now presented a petition to the General Assembly, signed by 17 persons, praying that trustees might be appointed by Government. The General Baptists had, at that time, a minister of learning and abilities, whose name was Haywood. The minister of the Particular Baptists (the original church) was Mr. Simmons, generally respected as a good man, but then in his dotage, and under the influence of his son-in-law Dr. Dale, a man of intrigue and a friend of Mr. Haywood. By the Doctor's means a misunderstanding had taken place between Mr. Simmons and his church; in consequence of which, Mr. Simmons was suspended from the exercise of his office, and the doors of the house of worship shut against him; but a small party forced the doors, and introduced him by violence into the pulpit. This was the situation of affairs when the petition was presented; it was, therefore, soon followed by a counter petition from Mr. Simmons and Mr. Gracia, a deacon, praying that the Legislature would not permit the church, whom they styled a party, to deprive Mr. Simmons of his pastoral office and living. A bill was, therefore, brought in, to revive the trust of the lot and buildings in question, by the Assembly, and trustees were appointed, some of whom were of Mr. Haywood's congregation; Mr. Gracia was also one. The Particular Baptists then remonstrated, and

prayed that none might be appointed as trustees, but such as were in communion with them and governed by their rules, declaring the church under Mr. Haywood to be in no connexion with them. They produced evidence to prove, that the original church were Calvinists, and that Mr. Elliot was professedly the same at the time of the donation, and many years afterwards. The Assembly finally passed a law to confirm the donation in the hands of the trustees first nominated in the bill; and in a clause of the law they say, "that as the General Baptists are Antipedobaptists as well as the Particular Baptists, they shall have equal right in the said property." Thus the General Baptists, taking occasion from the dispute between the Particular Baptists and their minister, and making him subservient to their purpose, were, by an act of the Legislature, put in possession of a property, to which, it does not appear, they ever made a previous claim. After Mr. Simmons's death, Mr. Gracia and a few others, who countenanced his opposition, confessed their fault, and were again united to the original body.

This determination of the Assembly bears date May 25, 1745. Thus they went on until Oct. 9, 1758, when both parties agreed that the General Baptists should have the sole use of the meeting-house, and the Particular Baptists the sole use of the parsonage, which (said Mr. Edwards in 1772) is the present posture of their affairs, and suits the latter well enough, as they had been obliged in 1746 to build another place of worship.

In 1787, this church recovered peaceable possession of the whole property, and has held it ever since. In 1801, the City Council having an idea that one half of it had become publick property, in consequence of the General Baptists being extinct, took measures for securing it for the benefit of the Orphan-House. But upon hearing a committee of the church, who substantiated their title, by an exhibition of authentick records, the Council gave up their claim, and officially confirmed the right of the church; which acknowledgment was entered on the publick records of the State.

It has already been stated that William Screven was the founder and first pastor of this ancient and respectable church. He was a native of England, where he was

born about the year 1629. When he settled at Piscataway, cannot be ascertained. An account of the sufferings which he and his brethren endured in that place, and which drove them to seek an asylum in the more tranquil regions of the south, may be found in the history of the District of Maine. In Piscataway he married Bridget Cutts, by whom he had children, Samuel, Mercy, Sarah, Bridget, Elizabeth, Robert, Permenas, Joshua, William, Joseph, and Elisha. But little can be learnt of the history of this numerous family; but it is known that the posterity of this venerable progenitor, although mostly under other names, has been and continues to be respectable, and considerably numerous. The late Col. Thomas Screven, an influential man in the Baptist society in Charleston, and Rev. Charles O. Screven, of Sunbury, Georgia, are amongst the number. Mr. Screven, though not a classical, was a good English scholar, and was eminent for piety and usefulness. After his removal to South-Carolina, the Baptist church in Boston, of which he had been a member, being destitute, sent for him to be their pastor. His answer, dated June, 1707, contains this passage: "Our minister, who came from England, is dead, and I can by no means be spared. It is a great loss and a great disappointment; but the will of the Lord is done." Aug. 6, 1708, he wrote to them as follows: "Our society are for the most part in health, and I hope thriving in grace. We are 90 in all." He wrote "An Ornament for Church Members," which was printed after his death. One passage of which runs thus: "And now for a close of all, (my dear brethren and sisters, whom God hath made me, poor unworthy me, an instrument of gathering and settling in the faith and order of the gospel) my request is, that you, as speedily as possible, supply yourselves with an able and faithful minister. Be sure you take care that the person be orthodox in faith, and of blameless life, and does own the confession of faith put forth by our brethren in London in 1689," &c.

In the latter part of his life, Mr. Screven removed to Georgetown, about 60 miles to the north of Charleston, where he died in peace in 1713, having arrived to the

good old age of 84 years. He is said to have been the original proprietor of the land, on which Georgetown is built.

After the death of its first pastor, the Charleston church underwent a number of changes, as to numbers and harmony. His successors in office were Messrs. Peart and Simmons. Previous, however, to the settlement of the first of them, Mr. White and others preached occasionally with them. Rev. William Peart came hither an ordained minister, but from what place I cannot learn, about the year 1717, and continued the pastor of the church, until he died in 1728. He married Sarah, widow of Paul Grimball, but had no children. She afterwards married a Mr. Smith, and under that name gave a legacy to the first Baptist church in Philadelphia, of about 900 dollars. Mr. Peart's successor was Rev. Thomas Simmons, who was born in England, but came to Charleston from Pennsylvania, where he had been ordained. His father gave him an academical education, and then bound him to the carpenter's business, which he did not like. He, therefore, came to America, that he might be free to follow his inclination, which was towards the ministry. He had two children, Thomas and Hannah. The son died childless; the daughter married Dr. Thomas Dale, and had many children, who removed to England after their father's death.

Mr. Simmons published one piece, entitled, "Some Queries concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit, answered." Under his ministry, the church passed through a series of trials, occasioned by the schism and encroachments of the General Baptists, and by disputes among themselves; and towards the close of it, was reduced to the verge of extinction, there remaining but one man and two women, who were communicants. But when Mr. Whitefield first visited Charleston, there was a great revival under his ministry, and this church sharing largely in its salutary influences, soon received the addition of about a hundred members. Mr. Simmons died January 31, 1747, and was succeeded by Rev. Oliver Hart. His settlement in Charleston was an important event to the South-Carolina churches. His unexpected arrival, while the church was destitute

of a supply, and immediately after the death of the excellent Mr. Chanler, who had occasionally officiated for them since Mr. Simmons's death, was believed to have been directed by a special providence in their favour. He undertook the pastoral office with much seriousness, and soon entered on an extensive field of usefulness. His ardent piety and active philanthropy, his discriminating mind, and persuasive address, raised him high in the esteem of the publick, and gave him a distinguished claim to the affections of his brethren. (For an interesting account of Mr. Hart, see his biography.)

Mr. Hart having, for his safety, retired to New-Jersey at the beginning of the American war, this church was for many years destitute of a pastor. But in 1787, it had the felicity to settle among them Rev. Richard Furman, D. D. who yet continues their much-esteemed and affectionate pastor.

Dr. Furman was born at Esopus, on the Hudson-river, in the State of New-York, about 1748:* his extensive and successful exertions for the benefit of his own church, of the Baptist interest in South-Carolina, and the cause of Zion generally, will furnish interesting articles for some future biographer; but pursuant to the maxims we have adopted respecting the living, they cannot here be minutely detailed.

The Charleston church has now (1813) existed 130 years, and is among the largest in South-Carolina. It is remarkable for its hospitality to visiting brethren, and its abundant charities to those who are in necessitous circumstances.

Ashley River.

This was the second church which was formed in South-Carolina. From about the time the Baptists first settled in this vicinity, they had stood connected with the Charleston church, as a branch of that body. But on May 24, 1736, the members here, to the number of twenty-eight, were constituted into a distinct church by

* I am not certain about the time of Dr. Furman's birth; but I suppose that he is now about sixty-five years of age, and that would bring it as above stated.

a special covenant, under the pastoral care of Rev. Isaac Chanler. The constituents were Isaac Chanler, pastor, William Cater, John Bullein, Richard Bedon, jun. Benjamin Child, John Sheppard, jun. Charles Barker, Charles Filben, Francis Sheppard, Alexander Sheppard, Jacob Bradwell, John Angell, Thomas Ramsay, Richard Bedon, sen. Sarah Baker, Mary Cater, Susannah Bradwell, Christiana Brown, Ann Maam, Elizabeth Chanler, Elizabeth Bullein, Joyel Griffin, Elizabeth Bedon, Elizabeth Salter, Susannah Baker, Elizabeth Marrion, Mary Sheppard, and Ann Peacock.

Mr. Chanler was born at Bristol, England, 1701; came to Ashley-river about 1733, and continued the much-esteemed pastor of this church, until he died, Nov. 30, 1749, in the 49th year of his age. Mr. Chanler was a man of distinguished talents, piety and usefulness. He was the author of a treatise in small quarto, esteemed an able defence of the Calvinistick doctrines, and entitled "The Doctrines of Glorious Grace unfolded, defended, and practically improved." He also published a "Treatise on Original Sin," and a Sermon on the death of Rev. William Tilly. The late Isaac Chanler, M. D. was his son.

Rev. John Stephens succeeded Mr. Chanler. He was born on Staten-Island, in the State and near the city of New-York. Of his early life, I can learn no more, than that he settled first at Horse-Neck, in Connecticut, where he gathered a little church in 1747, having been ordained at Oyster Bay, on Long-Island, the same year. He came to Ashley-river in the month of May, 1750, and shortly after was invested with the pastoral care of the church. In this office Mr. Stephens continued with high reputation, for a number of years; but by an unhappy fondness for strong drink, he was obliged to quit both the church and ministry in 1769.* From this dreadful fall he never fully recovered, but professed and was believed to

* In Mr. Edwards's account of this unhappy affair, I find the following curious remarks: "Has not a *dumb* spirit, a *deaf* spirit, an *unclean* spirit, &c. been cast out? and who knows but *Jamaica* spirit will one day be exorcised out of this country, where it makes such dreadful havock? The Indians themselves lament its being brought hither, though they are excessively fond of it. Surely if any creature of God were not good, rum would be it."
MS. &c. p. 15.

be penitent, and was improperly admitted again to preach. He died suddenly at Black-river in 1785. The defection of Mr. Stephens was a circumstance peculiarly painful to the friends of Zion, and happened about the time Mr. Bedgegood, another celebrated minister, was disowned for a crime which will be mentioned in the history of the Welsh Neck church. From this period the Ashley-river church declined, and in the revolutionary war became extinct. Its property, consisting of the lot on which the house of worship was built, about fourteen miles from Charleston, a valuable parsonage, church plate, several negroes, and some hundred pounds in fund, were seized by a sacrilegious individual, and converted to his own use.

Ewhaw Church.

The Welsh Neck church, as to its constitution, is older than the Ewhaw; but as this originated from the Charleston church, we shall give its history first.

The foundation of the Ewhaw church was laid in the year 1683, when, it is said, that some Baptists from England, in company with those who settled at Ashley-river, and founded Charleston church, arrived here with the lord Cardross. They were visited by Mr. Screven and the succeeding ministers of Charleston, until God raised up a minister among themselves, whose name was William Tilly. The names of the original emigrants were William Fry, Thomas Grimball, Providence Grimball, Ephraim Mikill, Joseph Sealy, Joseph Perminter, Isaac Perminter, Thomas Perminter, and some others, whose names are not known. These persons settled on Edisto-Island, where was the seat and centre of the community, which stood as a branch of the Charleston church. About forty years after this settlement was made, the Baptist families here began to remove their habitations, some to Port-Royal, an island to the south of Edisto, on which the town of Beaufort now stands, and others to Ewhaw, otherwise called Indian-Island. But the brethren who went to Port-Royal soon followed those who had gone to Ewhaw, and by this means the seat of this body was removed from Edisto to the place where it now is.

This church has built three meeting-houses. The first was erected on the island of Edisto, in 1726; for before this time they met in a common meeting-house, which they were turned out of in 1722, by their overbearing brethren, the Presbyterians. The meeting-house at Ewhaw, which is 36 feet by 30, was built in 1751; and it so happened, that as soon as it was finished, Mr. George Whitefield came along, and preached in it for the first time. Besides these, they built a house at Hilton Head, on the island, about 18 miles off, where was formerly a branch of the church.

It has already been mentioned, that the first minister which this people had to live amongst them, was William Tilly. He was a native of Salisbury, in England; was called to the ministry, and ordained by the church in Charleston. He resided on Edisto until his death, which happened April 14, 1744, in the 46th year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Chanler, wherein he thus speaks of the deceased: "A minister he was, able and faithful to declare unto you the whole counsel of God. Some of you were ear and eye witnesses of his steadfast faith and hope on his death-bed. With what composedness of mind and solid satisfaction received he the awful summons! How free from all slavish fear of the king of terrors! How affectionately recommended he you to the blessing and protection of God! and with what cheerful resignation gave he up his spirit to the hands of a dear Redeemer! He lived and died in the Lord."

Mr. Tilly died two years before the Ewhaw church was constituted. This people, for upwards of 60 years after their settlement here, remained a branch of the Charleston church, and for reasons which are not known, took much pains to be considered in that relation, though solicited by the mother body to become a distinct church. But in May, 1746, they were dismissed and organized into a church, by the assistance of Rev. Isaac Chanler, of Ashley-river.

Rev. Francis Pilot, A. M. was the first minister they had after this period. He was born at Norville, in Switzerland, March 11, 1720, of Presbyterian parents, where he received a good education. He arrived in South-

Carolina, in 1734, and ten years after embraced the principles of the Baptists. Soon after the Ewhaw church was constituted, he was called to be its pastor, in which office he continued with much reputation, until his death, in 1774. Mr. Pelot was a very distinguished man, in his day, amongst the South-Carolina Baptists. He possessed an ample fortune, and a valuable library, and devoted much of his time to books. Mr. Edwards, in speaking of this eminent man, who was then alive, observes, "he possesses three islands, and about 3785 acres on the continent, with slaves and stock in abundance. This (said he) I mention, not to flatter my friend Pelot, but in hope that his conduct may influence other such planters to preach the gospel among the poor Baptists, when God inclines their hearts to it." Mr. Pelot assisted in ordaining the late Drs. Samuel Stillman of Boston, and Hezekiah Smith of Haverhill,* and preached the sermons on the occasions.

His successor was Rev. Joseph Cook. For an interesting account of him, and of his ministry at Ewhaw, see his biography.

The next in office at Ewhaw, was Rev. now Dr. Henry Holcombe, of Philadelphia. Dr. Holcombe became the pastor of this church in 1791, and served them about eight years, residing the first part of the time at Ewhaw, and the latter at Beaufort, where a branch of the church lived. In 1799, he removed to Savannah, and officiated as the pastor of the Baptist church in that city, about eleven years, and then removed to his present situation.

Rev. Joseph B. Cook, son of the late Joseph Cook, succeeded Dr. Holcombe in the pastoral care of the church, over which his venerable father formerly presided. Here he continued until 1804, when the Ewhaw church was divided, and the Beaufort church was formed from it, with the pastoral care of which Mr. Cook was immediately invested. Thus the Ewhaw church was again deprived of its pastor, by his removing to a promising station. Aaron Tison, and then William B. Johnson, now pastor of the church in Savannah, each officiated at Ewhaw a while after Mr. Cook's removal. For a few years

* These ministers were both ordained in S. C. one at Charleston, and the other at Pedee.

past this church has been under the care of Rev. James Sweat. Mr. Sweat was baptized by Dr. Holcombe the same day he was ordained. His ministry at the Ewhaw has been attended with great success. A revival commenced here not long since, in which a large number were hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and in one instance Mr. Sweat baptized seventy persons in a day.

Welsh-Neck.

This church was at first called Pedee, from the circumstance of its being situated on the Great Pedee-river, 60 miles north of Georgetown; but when other branches were settled on the same river, it became necessary to give this a more special name, and accordingly the compound name of *Welsh-Neck* was selected, which is descriptive of the people who founded the church, and of its local and peninsulated situation. This church originated in the following manner: In the year 1737, the following Baptist members of the Welsh-Tract church, which was then in the province of Pennsylvania, but now in the State of Delaware, arrived here; viz. James James, Esq. and wife, and three sons, Philip, who was their minister, Abel, Daniel, and their wives; Daniel Devonald and wife, Thomas Evans and wife, one other of the same name and his wife; John Jones and wife, three of the Harrys, Thomas, David, and John and his wife; Samuel Wilds and wife, Samuel Evans and wife, Griffith Jones and wife, and David and Thomas Jones and their wives. These thirty members, with their children and households, settled at a place called *Catfish*, on Pedee-river, but they soon removed about fifty miles higher up the same river, where they made a permanent settlement, and where they all, except James James, Esq. who died at Catfish, were embodied into a church, Jan. 1738.

James James, Esq. was the most distinguished of this company of emigrants, for he was the head of the party, and his son Philip became the pastor of the church. Of him I can learn no more, than that he died at Catfish. His son Philip, the first pastor of the Welsh-Neck church, was born near Pennepeck, Pennsylvania, in 1701: he was ordained over the church in 1743, by Messrs. Chanler and Simmons, and died in 1753.

This venerable man passed through a very singular scene about three months before his death; the narrative is related in full by Mr. Edwards, but we shall be able to give only the substance of it here, which is as follows: He was greatly afflicted for the death of a favourite child, and bewailed his loss in the language of David, *O Abel, my son, my son, would to God I had died for thee, &c.* In the midst of his wailings he fell to the ground as if dead, and was taken up and put on the bed, where he continued for near an hour, without any signs of life. When he revived and saw the people about him weeping, he bid them desist, adding, "had you seen what I have seen, you would not be in trouble about the dear little one." His wife and the company urged him to tell what he had seen concerning the child. He was reluctant to it, but their importunity prevailed, and he went on, "The child now enjoys more happiness in one moment than compensates for all the miseries he endured through life, and the pangs of death also." He then related how he had been transported by a celestial conductor to the paradise of God, where he was chided for his excessive grief, and saw his child in the full stature of a man, in company with the angelick hosts, and uniting in their songs of praise. At length his conductor said to him, "*I am one of that company, and must join them.*" Having said this, the entranced spirit began to sink fast, and soon found itself united with the body. This account is preserved by the family, and is signed by four respectable witnesses.* After this vision, the old man minded no worldly thing, but was full of heavenly joy, and attentive only to spiritual concerns.

His successor, who had been his colleague, was Rev. John Brown. He was born near Burlington, New-Jersey, in 1714, but was brought up at Frankfort, near Philadelphia. He came to Pedee about the time the above-mentioned company emigrated hither, where he was baptized and called to the ministry, and where he was ordained, May 7, 1750; but for some reasons he continued not long in the care of the church. He

* Edwards's MS. Hist. &c. p. 19, 20.

preached in different places around, until his death, and for aught that appears, supported a character becoming his profession.

The next pastor of this church was Rev. Joshua Edwards. He was born Feb. 1703, in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, from which place he emigrated to Welsh-Tract, in Delaware, where he continued almost 30 years, and then removed to South-Carolina, and had the care of this church about six years. He then removed to Cashaway (afterwards called Mount Pleasant) where he was invested with the pastoral office three years. His next remove was to a church on Little Pedee, over which he presided until 1768. After this, he did not engage in the pastoral office of any church, but continued to preach, and was useful till his death, which happened Aug. 22, 1784. He lived to see his posterity, 12 children, 38 grand-children, and 32 great-grand-children; 82 in the whole. His son, Abel Edwards, who was long an esteemed and highly useful deacon of the Welsh-Neck church, died in 1793, aged 54.

Rev. Robert Williams succeeded Mr. Edwards. He was born at Northampton, North-Carolina, in 1717, and was ordained at Welsh-Neck in 1752; but by some means he continued but a short time in the pastoral office here. He died April 8th, 1788. His funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Evan Pugh, who gave him the following character: "He was kind to the poor, and remarkably so to the afflicted; a man of excellent natural parts, and a minister who preached the gospel to the edification and comfort of souls, as many have testified to me; and to crown all, a sincere Christian," &c. Hon. David R. Williams, of South-Carolina, is grandson of this venerable divine, and the only son of Mr. David Williams, who received a classical education, at Charleston, was a very useful and amiable man, and died at the age of 36, about the year 1775.

The Welsh-Neck church had, for its next pastor, Rev. Nicholas Bedgegood, who was born at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England. Mr. Bedgegood received his first serious impressions under the ministry of the famous George Whitefield. He came to America in 1751, and

was, for some time, Mr. Whitefield's agent in the Orphan House, for which employ he was very capable, as he had received a classical education, and had, in his younger days, studied the law three years, under the direction of an able master at Bristol. He was brought up an Episcopalian, but embraced the sentiments of the Baptists a few years after he came to America, and was baptized at Charleston, by Rev. Oliver Hart. The means of determining his suspense about the validity of infant baptism, was a sermon of Dr. Watts, intended to establish the point. He concluded that the Doctor had said the best that could be said on the subject; and if so, he saw that the best only proves, that sprinkling children is an unscriptural practice. He was ordained in 1759; and after officiating for a short time as an assistant to Mr. Hart in Charleston, he removed and became the pastor of this church; and it was here that the marriage took place for which he was disowned by the Association. A number of our ministering brethren from England, and some of distinguished abilities, have acted a similar part with Mr. Bedgegood, although they have not all shared the same fate. He left a wife in England when he came to America, and after he had been pastor of the Welsh-Neck church a number of years, he married another, and alleged in justification of his conduct, that his first wife would not come after him to America, and that he had been informed of her death before his second marriage. His brethren were by no means satisfied with this statement, but requested him to attend the Association, and give them a more full and satisfactory explanation of his conduct. To this summons he did not attend, and was, therefore, disowned. In this situation, Mr. Bedgegood continued until his death, which happened about 1774. He was an accomplished speaker, and a sermon preached before a Society of Planters (the only one he ever published) shows him to have been a man of classick learning and of good understanding. Notwithstanding his being disowned by the Association, I do not find but that he had the care of this church until his death.

Mr. Bedgegood was succeeded in the pastoral office by the famous Elhanan Winchester, who afterwards be-

came a zealous advocate for the doctrine of universal restoration. He continued in the care of this church four or five years. Next to him was Mr. Botsford, now of Georgetown, South-Carolina. After Mr. Botsford's removal, this church had in succession David Lilly, Frame Woods, and Daniel White. Mr. White is from Scotland, but has lately left this church, and it is now destitute of a pastor.

The Welsh-Neck church is the oldest in this part of the State, and has been the mother of a number of others. Cashaway, now called Mount Pleasant, Cape-Fear in North-Carolina, Lynch's Creek, Mars Bluff, and Cheraw Hill, and probably some others originated from it. Some of these churches are now extinct. The late Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, spent a year with the church which was then called Cashaway.

Having related the history of these old churches, of which the Charleston Association was at first composed, we shall now go back to the organization of that body, and give a history of its progress from its first formation to the present time.

Mr. Wood Furman, of Charleston, South-Carolina, son of Dr. Furman, has lately published, in a very handsome style, a 12mo. vol. entitled, "A History of the Charleston Association," from which many of the foregoing articles have been selected, and from which the following narrative is transcribed.

Mr. Hart, who was now the pastor of the church in Charleston, had seen, in the Philadelphia Association, the happy consequences of union and stated intercourse among churches maintaining the same faith and order. To accomplish similar purposes, an union of the four churches before mentioned was contemplated and agreed on. Accordingly on the 21st of October, 1751, delegates from Ashley-river and Welsh-Neck met those of Charleston in the said city. The messengers from Ewhaw were prevented from attending. It was agreed that an annual meeting should thenceforward be holden on Saturday preceding the second Sabbath of November, to consist of the ministers and messengers of the several churches; that the two first days should be employed in publick worship, and a sermon introductory to business preached on the Monday following, at 10 o'clock.

The object of the union was declared to be the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom, by the maintenance of love and fellowship, and by mutual consultations for the peace and welfare of the churches. The independency of the churches was asserted, and the powers of the Association restricted to a council of advice. It was agreed to meet again in Charleston, November, 1752. At that time the delegates from Ewhaw attended, and the proceedings of the first meeting were ratified. The instrument of union bears the following signatures: John Stephens, Oliver Hart, Francis Pelot, John Brown, Joshua Edwards, ministers; James Fowler, William Screven, Richard Bedon, Charles Barker, Benjamin Parminter, Thomas Harrison, Philip Douglas, and John Mikell, messengers.

The Association thus formed, held its meetings for a number of years at the place of its organization, and hence took the name of the "Charleston Association."

In 1755, the Association, taking into consideration the destitute condition of many places in the interiour settlements of this and the neighbouring States, (then provinces) recommended to the churches to make contributions for the support of a missionary to itinerate in those parts. Mr. Hart was authorized and requested, provided a sufficient sum should be raised, to procure, if possible, a suitable person for the purpose. With this view he visited Pennsylvania and New-Jersey in the following year, and prevailed with Rev. John Gano to undertake the service, who attended the annual meeting, and was cordially received. The Association requested Mr. Gano to visit the Yadkin settlement in North-Carolina first, and afterwards to bestow his labours wherever Providence should appear to direct. He devoted himself to the work: it afforded ample scope for his distinguished piety, eloquence and fortitude; and his ministrations were crowned with remarkable success. Many embraced and professed the gospel. The following year he received from the Association a letter of thanks for his faithfulness and industry in the mission. At the same time, the expediency of raising a fund to furnish suitable candidates for the ministry with a competent share of learning, was taken into consideration; and it was recom-

mended to the churches generally to collect money for the purpose. The members present engaged, in behalf of their constituents, to furnish one hundred and thirty-three pounds to begin the fund; and Messrs. Stephens, Hart, and Pelot were chosen trustees. In 1759, Mr. Evan Pugh was proposed by Mr. Gano as a candidate for the ministry. He was examined, approved, and put on a course of studies. Having gone through them, he preached before the Association in 1762 with acceptance, and was soon after ordained.

The general contribution from the churches was not so great as was wished. But a society instituted in Charleston in 1755, which was called the "Religious Society," and flourished many years, was highly useful in aiding the Association in its benevolent design. Several young men were furnished by it with the means of pursuing studies preparatory to the ministry. Of this number were Messrs. Samuel Stillman and Edmund Botsford, both from the church in Charleston. The former was ordained there February 26, 1759, and in 1807 finished at Boston a long life, distinguished by fervent piety, shining talents, and eminent usefulness. The latter survives as the venerable pastor of the church at Georgetown.

In 1768, Rev. Hezekiah Smith, from New-Jersey, was ordained at Pedee by the assistance of several ministers of this body, and resided there a year, supplying the Cashaway church, and visiting those adjacent.

In 1767, the Association having previously called the serious attention of the churches to the subject, formally adopted the confession of faith, published by the London Assembly of 1689. This had been previously held by the churches in their individual capacities, particularly that of Charleston, from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The church at Ashley-river adopted it March 18, 1737. Messrs. Hart and Pelot were appointed to draw up a system of discipline agreeable to Scripture, to be used by the churches. This they brought forward in 1772, and Rev. Morgan Edwards and Mr. David Williams were requested to assist the compilers in revising it. In 1773, it was examined by the Association, and adopted. That and the confession of faith were printed under the inspection of Mr. Hart.

Several churches in North-Carolina having joined the Association in 1758, it was determined, for their accommodation, that an annual meeting of ministers, belonging to this body, should be holden at Pedee in the spring; the object of which, besides preaching, was to consider of the general concerns, and particularly of those in North-Carolina; their proceedings, however, subject to revision by the more general delegation at Charleston. In 1760, five other churches in North-Carolina, viz. Great Kohara, Fishing-creek, Tosniot, and two on Tar-river, joined the confederacy, but soon withdrew.

Several churches of the Separate Baptists were formed in the new settlements of South-Carolina about 1760. One of them situated on Broad-river, sent a letter by their minister, Philip Mulkey, to the Association, in 1762, stating several queries, which Mr. Hart was appointed to answer. An union with this people was thought desirable, and Messrs. Hart and Pugh were delegated to attend one of their general meetings in North-Carolina, and endeavour to effect it. In 1773, Rev. Daniel Marshall, Joseph Reese, and Samuel Newton, commissioners appointed by a general meeting of the Separates held at the Congaree, attended at Charleston for the same purpose. The Association testified their desire of union by proposing liberal terms, which allowed their brethren the observance of their peculiarities, reserving to themselves the right of friendly discussion on the points of difference. But the Separates would be satisfied with nothing short of the Regulars coming fully into their views. So the desirable object was not then accomplished.

In 1772, a correspondence was begun with the Philadelphia Association, by means of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, one of their ministers, who was present.

In 1773, the first regular and full account of additions and other alterations in the churches was taken. Their number of churches was then reduced to 8, which contained 390 members. Mr. Gano attended as messenger from the Philadelphia Association in 1774. He and Messrs. Hart and Pelot, by appointment of the Charleston Association, addressed the Baptist Associations throughout America, in favour of a plan of contribution, for augmenting the funds of Rhode-Island College. Messrs.

Hart and Williams were nominated to receive contributions for that institution, and to transmit the same to Col. Job Bennet, in Newport. In 1775, a correspondence was begun with the Warren and Ketockton Associations. The churches were urged to contribute for the relief of their brethren in Massachussetts, suffering from restrictions on their religious liberties; and the money which should be raised, was directed to be sent to the care of Rev. Isaac Backus.

There was no meeting in 1776, on account of the unsettled state of the country, threatened with invasion. From the first formation of the Association, particular days had been frequently set apart for humiliation and prayer, or for thanksgiving and praise. In 1777, four were appointed for these purposes, both on account of the situation of publick affairs, and the state of religion. At the same time the Association expressed their hearty approbation of the American measures. In 1778, the time of meeting, which ten years before had been changed to February, was restored to the original season.

For a number of years after the Association began, religion flourished among the churches in a remarkable manner. Much happiness and harmony prevailed, and annual additions were made. But in 1765, and some following years, a great declension was complained of. Not long after, several unhappy circumstances took place, which pained the real friends of Christianity. Two ministers, Stephens* and Bedgegood,† who had been in high repute, were disowned; the first for drunkenness, the last for polygamy. About 1777, a revival commenced, several new churches joined the union, and considerable additions were made by baptism.

In 1779, a standing committee was chosen to transact business of emergency during the recess of the Association; particularly to treat with government on behalf of the churches; to correspond with other Associations; to detect impostors, and recommend travelling ministers of good character. Messrs. Hart, Pugh, Botsford, Fur-

* Mr. Stephens professed and was believed to be penitent before his death, and was admitted again to preach.

† See his biography in the history of the Welsh-Neck church.

man, and Cowan, were the committee nominated. By the State Constitution established in South-Carolina, during the revolution, the different denominations were put on a footing, and incorporation was allowed to individual churches, on application to the Legislature. The Association advised those in its connexion to avail themselves of this privilege, which gave them the legal right of holding and recovering property. Several accordingly made application, and obtained it.

South-Carolina soon becoming the theatre of war, churches were scattered, and their intercourse suspended. Several ministers, who had been the active friends of the revolution, retired for safety to neighbouring or distant States. Mr. Hart, who had acted so conspicuous and important a part in the concerns of this body, removed with his family to New-Jersey.

In 1782, a meeting of the Association was held at Welsh-Neck. Ministers were appointed to visit destitute churches. The 7th of November was set apart as a day of thanksgiving, for the interpositions of Providence in favour of America.

In 1783, the standing committee was revived, consisting of Messrs. Pugh, Botsford, and Furman. Three years after, the same nomination took place, with the addition of Messrs. Cook, Lewis, and Holcombe. A faithful and useful minister, Rev. Timothy Dargan, having died in this year, the Association declared their "high sense of the worth of that eminent servant of Christ, and their concern to have the memory of his amiable life and virtues perpetuated."

In 1785, Rev. Silas Mercer and Peter Smith appeared as messengers from the Georgia Association, lately formed, and were cordially received. A correspondence with this Association was introduced.

In 1786, Rev. Joseph Cook was desired to open a correspondence with the Kent and Sussex Association, in England, on behalf of this body. The Circular Address of this year contains the following exhortations: "It is our ardent desire that the members of our churches be well established in the evidence as well as the necessity and importance of Christianity; and that the reasonableness and consistency of its particular doctrines be well

understood. We recommend, therefore, that a thirst for divine knowledge, together with a laudable desire to excel in every grace and virtue, be entertained in all your breasts. Pay particular attention to the education of your children with this view; and where it has pleased God to call any of his young servants to the work of the ministry, let the churches be careful to introduce them in the line of study and improvement; and make suitable exertions to furnish them with the necessary means for this end. We have for several years given intimation of our concern, that the representation of churches in Association has not been better supported, and we are sorry to observe, that this has not had the desired effect. Permit us now to entreat you by all the arguments which arise from the love of Christ, and that dear uniting affection, by which his saints are bound together; by the support, honour, and advantage which the church enjoys from a due regard to the interests of her union, and the tendency it has to promote the divine honour; that it may be attended to, not as a matter depending on convenience, but as of sacred and religious regard. Let each church extend its views beyond its own particular interests, to the happiness of churches abroad, and the general spread of the gospel; and it will be impossible to indulge a backwardness therein." In the same letter they express their joy at the introduction of several promising young men into the ministry, and at the success of the gospel in Great-Britain, and in different parts of America. The expediency of applying for incorporation was considered and agreed on. In 1787, a covenant with this view was drawn up and signed, and a committee appointed to petition the Legislature. A meeting sufficiently numerous was, however, not obtained during the recess; and at the next annual meeting, some members doubting the propriety of the measure, it was relinquished. A few years after, the object was obtained in a different form, and to general satisfaction.

In 1789, the Bethel Association, newly formed in the northwestern parts of the State, and consisting of 16 churches, was represented by the Rev. James Fowler.

A correspondence was commenced, and in consequence of a motion to that effect, made by Mr. Fowler, a proposal was made from the Charleston Association to unite the two bodies; but on account of some inconveniences, apprehended by the Bethel, it failed of accomplishment. Letters and breviates of English Associations were received, and distributed to the churches, and recommended to their perusal.

The object of having a respectable and permanent fund established for the education of pious young men, candidates for the ministry, having been seriously contemplated and earnestly wished by several members of the Association, it was this year taken up, and particularly recommended to the churches. At the following meeting a draft of a plan for the purpose was brought forward by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Furman, S. Mercer, Mosely, and Holcombe, and adopted by the Association. By this it was proposed, That a sermon should be preached annually in each church, followed by a collection. 2d. That delegates, one from each church, should meet at the same time and place with the Association, whose business it should be to examine candidates for the assistance of the churches, and to make application of the fund. The Circular Letter, drawn up by Mr. Holcombe, urges the hearty adoption of this plan. After recounting the disadvantages the Baptist denomination had sustained in various parts of the world, but especially in the interiour parts of America, from the neglect of learning, it proceeds—" We hope, therefore, brethren, that the consideration of diffusing useful knowledge, of capacitating your ministers to acquit themselves with propriety and dignity in the important duties of their functions; of adorning the Christian profession, increasing the respectability of our order, and above all, glorifying our Royal Master, will engage you to make the necessary exertions for completing the proposed design, so manifestly tending to answer such truly laudable purposes. The laws of reason and religion require it at your hands. We not only see, but feel the necessity of it, and beseech you, by your obligations to promote the Redeemer's honour, and your tender regards

for the prosperity of Zion, to make it a matter of serious and religious concern."*

In this year died Rev. Joseph Cook; and the Association paid a tribute of affection and regard to his memory, as "a faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and an able minister of the New Testament."

In 1791, Mr. Furman having, at the request of the Association, published his sermon preached before them in 1789, presented them with fifty copies of the same, and received the thanks of the body. The committee for the Education Fund reported, "That they had a system of rules under consideration, though not fully matured; that they had agreed, when the rules were completed, to apply to the Legislature for incorporation; and that they conceived it might be proper to invest the committee with power to recover and take into their possession any glebes or other property belonging to churches in this connexion, which either are or may become extinct, when liable to revert to the public, or become private property, and apply the same to the interests of the union." The Association, after receiving and considering this report, unanimously approved the plan of enlarging the powers of the committee, and of its obtaining incorporation. They further agreed that due care ought to be taken, that the business and powers of the committee be fully defined, and that they might not interfere with the rights and privileges of the churches as independent bodies, in things either spiritual or temporal.

In 1793, the attention of the churches was called to "the threatening and warning dispensations of Providence, and the declension of religion;" and the third Wednesday of December was appointed as a day of solemn fasting and prayer, to implore the mercy of God on the churches and the country at large; to pray for the peace and prosperity of the United States; for a general refor-

* Though the plan for raising and supporting a fund for the purposes mentioned, was adopted unanimously by the delegates assembled, it met with opposition in several of the churches, so that, at subsequent meetings of the Association, objections were raised against it, which, though answered and generally given up in that body, by those who proposed them, appeared to be retained by the dissatisfied churches; as they either withheld their aid altogether, or contributed very partially toward the fund.

mation among the people, and for the direction and preservation of the government; also, for a sanctified use of the afflicting dispensations of Providence, particularly that by which Philadelphia had been recently visited.*

Contributions had been made for reprinting the Confession of Faith, Church Discipline, and Catechism; but not being fully adequate to the object, Mr. Furman was requested to have the Discipline put to the press immediately, and to import the rest. Accordingly 1000 copies of the Catechism, and 200 of the Confession of Faith were imported, and 2000 of the Discipline printed.

In 1794, to accommodate some of the southern churches, it was proposed to have two meetings in a year; and one by way of experiment was appointed to be holden the ensuing May at Ewhaw. Delegates from Charleston, Ewhaw, Coosawhatchie, Pipe-Creek, and Black Swamp, attended. They concluded that the plan of holding two meetings in the year was impracticable, and recommended instead of it, that the annual meeting should be held in the northern and southern parts alternately. This recommendation was afterwards complied with. They also took into consideration the General Concert of Prayer, proposed to be holden on the first Tuesday of January, April, July, and October; the object of it being to unite with a number of good men of different denominations, at home and abroad, for "the revival of religion among Christians; the propagation and success of the gospel among the heathen, and the conversion of the Jews to Christianity." The observance of this Concert was earnestly recommended, and the recommendation renewed from year to year. The Circular Letter of 1795 contains the following admonitions: "The situation of the church calls for deep humiliation before God, serious concern respecting the state of our souls, vigorous exertions in the cause of God, and diligent use of the appointed means of grace. In vain do we acknowledge our imperfections, or professedly lament our leanness, if our hearts are not affected. And what blessings can we reasonably expect, while the rational and most proper means, which God has put within our power, and to

* In this year this city was first visited with the yellow fever.

which his word directs, are neglected? Permit us, dear brethren, to suggest our fears, that the duties of the closet and the discipline of the heart, are awfully neglected in the present day. We fear the views of even those who have made the most serious profession, are too much limited to the present life. Have we not almost forgot to consider ourselves as strangers and pilgrims on the earth? Is not the spirit of ambition, pride, and covetousness prevalent to a high degree? Who are they that feel anxiously concerned for the things which are Jesus Christ's? Who burn with zeal for the honour of Jehovah; mourn for the abominations of the land; and feel bowels of compassion for perishing and immortal souls? Has not the gracious and holy Spirit of God, the Comforter, been grieved by our untender walk, by our unbelief, ingratitude, formality, and neglect or abuse of our privileges? Have not the solemn meetings for prayer, repeatedly recommended, been either shamefully neglected, or attended with a coldness and indifference unbecoming those who profess to know Jesus Christ, or to believe the awful realities of eternity? Rouse, brethren, from your lethargy; reason, interest, obligation call; judgments threaten; mercies invite; all that is sacred to the heart of a rational immortal creature, requires your activity, seriousness, and diligence, in the cause of your God and Redeemer. Render to Jehovah his unquestionable and too long detained due, and prove him herewith, if he will not pour you out a blessing, that there even shall not be room sufficient to receive it."

In 1797, a letter was received from Mr. John M. Roberts, expressing gratitude for the assistance afforded him in obtaining education for the ministry; and his "firm determination to use his best exertions to obtain every suitable qualification, and to devote himself to the great work;" which gave much satisfaction.

Rev. Gabriel Gerald, a member of the church at the High-Hills of Santee, having advanced sentiments subversive of the Christian Sabbath, and a difficulty existing between him and the church in consequence of the same, the Association was applied to. Mr. Gerald then published a pamphlet in defence of his opinions and practice. At

the request of the Association, a letter was written in answer to his publication, with a view to convince him of the obligation to observe the Sabbath, and to reclaim him from what appeared a dangerous error; but it proved ineffectual. The church put Mr. Gerald under censure, and he appealed to the Association, complaining of unfair treatment. A letter was also received from the church, requesting assistance. Messrs. Furman, Botsford, and Fowler, were appointed a committee on behalf of the Association, to meet both parties. Next year the committee reported, that according to their judgment, some of the church's proceedings had been irregular; but that they had just cause of dissatisfaction with Mr. Gerald, both on account of his principle and conduct; that a liberal plan of reconciliation, proposed by the committee, had been rejected by him, and that he persisted in the sentiment and conduct he had defended from the pulpit and the press. He died soon after, without having recanted his sentiments.

In 1800, the proposition of the Philadelphia Association, to establish a general conference of the Baptist Associations throughout the United States, was taken into consideration, and it was voted, that "if a well-digested plan should be devised for such a coalition, in which the proper objects were clearly pointed out, with suitable measures to attain them, and the danger of perversion and abuse well guarded against, and if a general concurrence in the undertaking should be obtained of the churches in the United States, this Association are disposed to give it their support." In the same year, the Association recommended to churches destitute of pastors, to endeavour to support publick worship by engaging some of their members to read sermons, and take a lead in prayer.

In 1801, they petitioned the Legislature for an amendment of the law, passed the preceding year, imposing restrictions on religious meetings, so far as respects persons of colour. The petition was renewed the next year, and attended with a degree of success. The thanks of the Association were returned to General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Major Thomas Pinckney, and

Henry William Desaussure, Esq. for their patriotick exertions in its behalf.

In 1802, provision was made for the employment of a missionary to travel and preach in destitute places. The object failed of accomplishment for the want of a suitable person to undertake it. A mission, however, to the Catawba Indians, which had for some time been contemplated, was now commenced. Rev. John Rooker was engaged for a year to preach to them, at least once a month, and to consult the chiefs and other persons of influence, on their disposition to have a school founded among them. Mr. Rooker at the next meeting reported, that "the Indians had given him a very favourable reception; were much pleased with the attention the Association had shown by appointing a missionary to them; had attended very seriously to his preaching, and from the first expressed an earnest desire that a school might be established among them for the instruction of their youth: also, that there appeared the beginning of a work of grace among the white people, who attended on his preaching when ministering to the Indians; and that he was in hopes the Indians would share in the blessing." It was, in consequence, determined to continue the mission, and Mr. Rooker was authorized to employ a teacher to instruct the youth in the common branches of education, and the principles of Christianity. A school was accordingly established, and has been continued. Samples of writing done by the Indian youth, have been exhibited from year to year, evincing considerable proficiency. Letters also have been repeatedly received from the chiefs of the nation, requesting a continuance of the mission and school. At the meeting of 1806, Robert Marsh, an Indian of the Pomunky tribe, living with the Catawbas, and a licensed preacher, was present, and preached with acceptance to a large and affected audience.

Dr. Ramsay, in his history of South-Carolina, lately published, hath in a note inserted the following observations on this subject: "It is truly honourable to the Baptists, that they have done so much for the instruction of the Indians; and it is lamentable that the State has done so little. The Catawba Indians have, for a long time, been friendly, and have lived among, or rather

been surrounded by white people, and yet no one effort has been made by the State for the civilization and instruction of this tribe, nor of any of the Indians. A century and half has not passed away, since this people were the sole possessors of the whole of this extensive and beautiful country; but these former lords of the soil have been driven from river to river—from forest to forest—rolled back nation upon nation, till they are fugitives, vagrants, and strangers in their own land. Carolinians! cherish the few that remain, and prevent their cursing the day that white men landed in the country of their forefathers."*

In 1803, Dr. Furman, Mr. Botsford, and Mr. Roberts, were appointed a committee of correspondence, and in particular to correspond with the committee of the Philadelphia Association, to aid their design of publishing general religious information.

This year died the Rev. Evan Pugh; on which occasion the Association thought it incumbent on them to express their high sense of his "eminent abilities and worth, as a man, a scholar, a Christian, and a divine." Rev. Aaron Tison, David Owen, and Jeremiah Rhame, "three zealous and much approved preachers of the gospel," died in 1805; and in 1806, Rev. Lewis Collins, "an aged and faithful minister, eminent for his piety, and useful in his day."

In 1804, the Association petitioned the Legislature for a law to abolish the practice of duelling.

In 1808, Dr. Samuel Jones, of Pennsylvania, presented the Association with 150 copies of his Century Sermon, preached before the Philadelphia Association, to be applied to the uses of the Education Fund; and a vote was passed expressing gratitude for this instance of his liberality.

A motion was made this year to have the Association Sermon in future preached on the Saturday of the an-

* "The *Catawba Indians* are a small tribe, who have one town called Catawba, situated on the Catawba river, north lat. 34° 49′, on the boundary line between North and South-Carolina, and contains about 450 inhabitants, of which about 150 are fighting men. They are the only tribe which resides in the State. 144,000 acres of land were granted them by the proprietary government."——*Morse.*

It is said that their territory at present is about 16 miles square; but they have been degenerating for many years, and their number and strength have probably decreased since the above account was taken.

nual meeting, and the business then entered on, with a view to expedite it, but was negatived. It was resolved to continue the usual mode of conducting the business, and the following reasons were assigned by the Association: "First, because devotion and the exercise of the best ministerial gifts at those general meetings are objects, in our estimation, of the first importance. Secondly, as the administration of the Lord's Supper is a part of the solemn service appointed for the Sabbath on these occasions, it is proper and necessary that the exercises of the Saturday should be preparatory to the sacred transaction of approaching the table, and that the mind be as little as possible diverted from the great object, which then claims its attention. Thirdly, the plan of hurrying through the business of the Association, we think is wrong; the subjects which come under consideration, being generally very serious and important, and requiring time for deliberation. In general, they have been too much hurried. It is, therefore, recommended to the ministers and delegates, in future, to come with an expectation that the business will not conclude before Wednesday. And as it too often happens that the ministers meet on Saturday, without any expectation to preach on that day, and if called to preach, deliver hasty, indigested discourses; which circumstance has a bad effect on the general state of the meeting; it is requested that they in general endeavour to come prepared to preach, and that on subjects the most useful and important, suited to excite a fervid, yet rational piety.

The death of Rev. Samuel Eccles, and Mr. Alexander M'Neal, was noticed with affection and respect for their memory, as "of men, of whose usefulness in the ministry the most pleasing hopes were entertained. The first had been for several years a student under the care of the general committee; and the other had lately arrived from Scotland."

In 1809, Rev. Messrs. Johnson and Collins were appointed a committee to act with the Missionary to the Indians, in superintending the school, and occasionally visiting the nation.

It was recommended to the churches and the publick to encourage, by subscription, the undertaking of Mr.

Woodward, of Philadelphia, to republish Dr. Gill's Exposition; and each church was advised to provide a copy for the use of its minister.

It was determined also, to encourage the author of this History in his undertaking, the design of which he had then announced.

In 1810, this Association determined to patronize the publication of the Confession of Faith, System of Discipline, and Catechism, in one volume; and to address the other Baptist Associations in the State with a view of obtaining their concurrence.

From 1773, when the first account of additions, &c. was taken, till 1790, the following changes took place—nineteen new churches were added to the Association—two joined other Associations—and three became extinct. The whole number of churches being twenty-two. In this period there were baptized 980—received by letter 284—dismissed by letter 520—excommunicated 105—dead 213. Whole number 1904.

From 1790 till 1810, twenty new churches were added—seven were dismissed to the Savannah-river Association—two were excluded for not maintaining their representation—and two became extinct. The whole number of churches remaining, thirty-three. In this period there were baptized 2874—received by letter 660—dismmissed 1615—excommunicated 458—restored 56—dead 525. Whole number of members 2907.

This account closes with 1810. Since that time, although but one new church has been added to the Association, yet it has greatly increased, so that in 1812 it contained 3498 members. 525 were added that year.

The foregoing history of this Association contains most of the information which we shall be able to give of the churches, which it comprises. Of the few following, however, it may be proper to give a few historical sketches.

Congaree.——This church, which has been the mother of a number of others, now belonging to this Association, originated from the Separate Baptists, and was gathered in the following manner. About the year 1764, Philip Mulky began to preach in this neighbourhood, and so successful were his labours, that in the course of a year

or two the following persons were baptized, viz. William Tucker, Jane Curry, Martha Goodwin, Isaac Rayford, Joseph Reese, Thomas Norris, and Timothy Dargan, (these three afterwards became ministers) Benjamin Bryon, Nathan Ellis, John Gill, and others, to the number of thirty-three, who, in November 1766, were constituted into a church, by the help of Rev. Joseph Murphy, of North-Carolina. Concerning the progress of this church, from a short time after its formation to the present time, we have but little information. It soon became very extensive, and branched out on almost every side; of these branches, those at the High-Hills of Santee, Wateree, Twenty-five-mile Creek, and Amelia township, have since become distinct churches, and now have a seat in the Charleston Association.

The first pastor of the Congaree church was the famous Joseph Reese, of whom we have given a biographical account. Rev. John Newton was for a time associated with him in the care of this extensive community. I can learn but little more respecting him than that he was a native of Pennsylvania, and was an excellent man. He preached many years in North-Carolina, in connexion with the Separates, where his labours were much blest; he came to Congaree in 1765, and three years after received ordination at the hands of Messrs. Oliver Hart and Evan Pugh, for which, as they were Regular Baptists, he was censured and silenced, by the Sandy Creek Association, which assuming body at that time claimed the jurisdiction of the Congaree church. After remaining in this situation for some time, he was restored to his ministry, but never fully engaged in it, after this arbitrary occurrence.

High-Hills of Santee.——This is a church of some celebrity, and as it is a branch of the last mentioned, we shall briefly state its origin and progress.

About the year 1769, Mr. Jeremiah Dargan preached in this place, which was then wild and irreligious. Soon after, Mr. Joseph Reese visited them, and by his preaching alarmed the whole neighbourhood; and so successful were the labours of these faithful and zealous men, and particularly the latter, who is considered as the founder of the church, that in a short time a great num-

ber were baptized, and among them was Dr. Furman and his first wife. These new converts joined the Congaree church, as has already been suggested, and stood as a branch of that body, until the Santee church was constituted in 1772. The number of constituents was about 70. A few months after the church was organized, Mr. Furman was by them called to the ministry; he was ordained here in 1774, by Messrs. Reese and Pugh. Soon after his ordination he became the pastor of the churc', and continued in that office until 1787, when he removed to Charleston. After his removal, the church was without a pastor about ten years, when they had the happiness to settle among them Rev. John M. Roberts, who remains their worthy and useful pastor.

The seat of the original church is about three miles north of Statebury, and about a hundred north-west of Charleston. It has two or three other places of worship, not many miles distant. The Santee church has been a mother establishment; for the churches of Ebenezer, Lynch's Creek, (2d of that name) Upper Fork of Lynch's Creek, Swift Creek, Bethel, Camden, and Calvary, all originated from it. Being in a central situation, it has frequently been the place of the Association's meeting.

Georgetown.——It may be seen in the biography of Rev. William Screven, that he made Georgetown his place of residence for a number of years in the latter part of his life; but it does not appear that there were ever many Baptists in the place, until ministers of this order began to be invited here by Mr. William Cuttiro. Mr. Cuttiro was a native of the town, but was a resident in Charleston, where he was baptized by Rev. Oliver Hart, in 1767. Two years after, he returned and settled in Georgetown. From this time, by his solicitation Baptist ministers began to visit the place. Dr. Furman was the most frequent visitor, as his labours were the most acceptable. He, for many years, annually spent several weeks in visiting and administering to the brethren here; for Mr. Cuttiro had now a number of his family and some others united in profession with him, and by Drs. Furman and Staughton, they were formed into a church in 1794. For one year immediately subsequent to its constitution, this church was supplied by Dr.

Staughton, now of Philadelphia, who had then just come to America. In 1797, Rev. Edmund Botsford removed from the Welsh-Neck church, and settled in the pastoral office at Georgetown. Mr. Botsford was born at Woburn, in Bedfordshire, England, November, 1745; he came to America when he was about 20 years of age, and soon after was baptized by Mr. Hart, of Charleston; and after studying with him between two and three years, he began to preach at Tuckaseeking in Georgia, in 1771. In that State he tarried about seven years, when he travelled and preached abundantly with much success; but in the American war he was obliged to fly from the country, with the loss of most of his estate. He then settled at the Welsh-Neck, where he continued until he removed to his present situation. Mr. Botsford was a very successful labourer in the vineyard in his more active days; and although his ministry in Georgetown has been highly reputable in the view of all, and much esteemed by the pious, yet it has not been so successful as he and his friends could have wished. Most of the old members have died, and few others have succeeded them, so that the church is now in a feeble state. This church has a handsome and commodious wooden meeting-house, which was well finished in 1804. It stands on a lot of one acre, which was given in reserve by the Rev. William Screven, when the town was first laid out; but was not occupied until almost a hundred years after his death. This house, which is about 60 feet long, is situated on a delightful eminence, directly opposite the market-house, and commands a view of the whole town from the front of it, and of very extensive rice fields from its rear.

Beaufort.——This town is situated on the island of Port-Royal, about 70 miles S. W. from Charleston, and is remarkable for its healthy situation, and the hospitality and politeness of its inhabitants. The Baptist church here originated from the division of the ancient one at Ewhaw, and was formed in 1804.

The foundation for this church was laid by the labours of Dr. Holcombe, now of Philadelphia, who resided here a number of years, while he was pastor of the Ewhaw church, and by whom many of the constituents of the

church were baptized. While Rev. Joseph B. Cook was pastor at Ewhaw, he also devoted a part of his labours to this branch of that body; and soon after the church was formed, he became its pastor. In this office he continued until 1809, when he resigned his charge, and is now settled at Camden, where a church has lately been formed. About the time of Mr. Cook's resignation, Rev. James Graham, from Scotland, came to the place, and had the care of the church a short time; but his connexion with this people was not altogether happy for himself nor them, and was therefore soon dissolved.

Rev. William S. Brantly, their present pastor, succeeded Mr. Graham. Mr. Brantly is a native of North-Carolina, where he was born in 1786. He received considerable assistance towards his education, from the Charleston Education Fund, and graduated at Columbia College in 1809.

The Beaufort church has a valuable and commodious house of worship, built of a composition of oyster-shells, and mortar made of the same marine materials.*

Columbia.——Although the church in this town is of a recent date, yet considering its situation and the circumstances of its origin, it demands a brief description.

In 1804, Jonathan Maxcy, D.D. a Baptist minister, formerly President of Rhode-Island College, settled in this town in the Presidency of the South-Carolina College, which had been established here a little while before. The doctor commenced a course of preaching in connexion with his presidential duties, which, however, on account of debility, he was obliged to relinquish in about six months. It does not appear that there was much preaching here by the Baptists from this period until 1808, when Mr. Brantly, now of Beaufort in this State, then

* There are in Beaufort, and along the sea-coast in that region, many stately edifices built of this composition. Oysters of an inferiour quality grow here in an abundance, of which there are no examples in the northern States. They appear to be short-lived, and the shells are wafted in vast bodies along the shore, so that whatever quantities are desired may be procured with ease. A sufficient portion of them are reduced to lime, and much mortar is necessary in this work, with which the shells are intermixed, and with this composition the wall is made, which, when it is thoroughly dry, is as impregnable as rock, and I know not but of equal durability. The nicest structures of this kind are plastered without and within, and make an elegant appearance, while stables and coarser buildings, are left in a rough, unplastered state, and present to the view of a stranger, a ragged and curious sight.

a student under President Maxcy, by the request of the inhabitants of Columbia, preached to them about a year, during the latter part of his residence in College. Next to him was Mr. Johnson, now of Savannah, who began preaching here in the beginning of the year 1809. Mr. Johnson removed hither from the church at Ewhaw, of which he was pastor. He found in the place upwards of twenty Baptist professors, belonging to different churches. He began preaching in the College Chapel, and his ministry was crowned with success. Under him the church at Columbia arose; it was founded in the latter part of the year 1809, of about 36 members, and has now increased to upwards of 100, and has erected a commodious brick meeting-house 40 feet square. Since Mr. Johnson's removal to Savannah, this church is left destitute of a pastor.

The Baptists, whose history we have thus far related, were denominated *Particular* or *Regular*, when these terms were in use among our southern brethren. They are the most ancient, and have always been the most active and influential in all matters of publick concern; although they have for a number of years, been inferiour in number to those who originated from the *Separates*. The beginning of this people in South-Carolina has been briefly related in the history of the Separate Baptists of North-Carolina, Virginia, &c.; and for the purpose of preserving the thread of our history, we have in the preceding narrative given an account of one of these churches, viz. the Congaree, with its numerous branches. What remains is to give as good an account as we can collect of the Associations and numerous churches, which have originated from that zealous people, improperly called Separates, who were devout and successful almost to a proverb, wherever they began their early and evangelical exertions.

Mr. Furman's history does not describe this people, as it is confined to the Charleston Association. Mr. Edwards has left some sketches of their history; and the author of this work travelled much among them, and took much pains in his historical inquiries respecting them; yet he will be able to say but little of them, compared with what has been said of their brethren in the

lower parts of the State; partly for the want of historical facts of any kind, and partly for the want of such, as would make a diffusive narrative sufficiently interesting to the reader.

About the year 1760, a number of the Separate ministers of the Sandy Creek connexion in North-Carolina, began to travel and settle in this State, some a little before and others a little after the above-mentioned period. Among the ministers, Daniel Marshall and Philip Mulky appear to have been the most distinguished.

These evangelical adventurers were accompanied by many of their brethren in their removals. Marshall settled at Beaver Creek, where he soon gathered a church. Here he tarried not long before he removed to Stephen's Creek, where he gathered another, and then crossed over the Savannah River and settled in Georgia, where the remainder of his useful life was spent in the service of his Master.

Mr. Mulky exercised his ministry in different places, in the upper regions of this State, where he was for many years a very reputable and successful minister; but the latter part of his life was most sadly beclouded. The Fairforest church, now belonging to the Bethel Association, was founded by him, and as it is the oldest of the Separate Baptists in the State, and became the mother of many others, we shall relate its early history at large.

In the year 1759, Philip Mulky and wife, Stephen Howard and wife, Obadiah Howard and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Benjamin Gist and wife, Charles Thompson, Thomas Thompson, and Rachel Collins, all members of Deep River church in North-Carolina, arrived in this State, and settled first at Broad River, where they embodied into a church, and chose Mr. Mulky for their pastor. After tarrying here about two years, and increasing to 104, the above-named thirteen persons, (leaving the rest behind) removed to Fairforest, where they were again formed into a church in 1762, which, in about ten years, increased to 167 members. Some of their habitations were a hundred miles from each other; and besides the main establishment, there were four branches, which, in process of time, were organized into distinct churches.

Mr. Mulky's conversion, as related by Mr. Edwards, was truly remarkable. His success in the ministry, says this historian, was so great, that he became exalted above measure in his own esteem, and in that of his converts; but at length, to the grief of the friends of Zion, he began to stumble, and soon fell into many heinous sins, and remained, when an old man, an outcast from the church, and a disgrace to that precious cause, of which he had been such an eminent champion.

In 1771, the following churches, viz. Fairforest, Stephen's Creek, Congaree, Bush River, Little River of Broad River, Little River of Saluda, and Mine Creek, formed an Association, to which they gave the name of Congaree. This body, by the means of Morgan Edwards, soon opened a correspondence with the Philadelphia Association; other churches united with it soon after it was formed, and it travelled well for a time. But the old New-England Pedobaptist policy, which Shubael Stearns introduced into the Sandy Creek Association, was soon put in practice here. The Association began to tamper with the discipline of the churches, and infringed on their independency; it of course became embarrassed in its proceedings, as all Associations will, when they attempt to see and act for the churches, and in a few years was entirely broken up.

But the churches do not appear to have been impeded in their progress by the dissolution of the Association; they continued to increase and send forth their branches in different directions; and in 1789, many of those which had belonged to the Congaree Association, and others which had been raised up since it was dissolved, united in forming an establishment to which they gave the name of the

BETHEL ASSOCIATION.

This body, at its constitution, consisted of sixteen churches. They immediately delegated James Fowler, one of their principal ministers, to the Charleston Association, who was cordially received; and who, pursuant to his instructions, so far adjusted the little matters of difference, which had heretofore prevented their union

with the Separates, that a correspondence was opened, which has been maintained to the present time.

From this period the name of *Separate* began to be disused, and was soon entirely laid aside ; so that the Baptists in South-Carolina, from whatever source they originated, have for many years past been united in their external order and doctrinal sentiments.

The Bethel Association has been a very flourishing body, and has had within its bounds a number of very extensive revivals. It also shared largely in that extraordinary work which prevailed in the southern and western, and some other States, from 1800 and onward.

In 1803, there were received by baptism in all the churches of which it was composed, 1411 persons, which made its total number, at that time, notwithstanding the Broad River and Saluda River Associations had been set off from it before, 3518.

The Edgefield Association has been formed from it since, and many of its members have removed to the western country, so that it is not so large as it was at the close of the great revival ; but still it is a large and respectable body.

From the foregoing sketches it appears, that the Bethel Association has been an increasing and nurturing community, beyond any of the kind in the State. It does not appear that any of its ministers have been distinguished for literary acquirements ; but it has generally contained a number of men of very respectable talents, who have been remarkably zealous and successful in the most noble and benevolent employment on earth, even winning souls to Christ.

David Lilly was an eminent minister in this Association nearly if not quite from its establishment, until the Edgefield Association was taken from it, when he united with that body, and died within its bounds, about 1809. There were sufficient materials for an interesting memoir of his life, which his friends proposed to publish, and from which I intended to select a biographical sketch of his character ; but this tribute of respect, which was due to the memory of an eminent and worthy minister of the gospel, has never been paid.

James Fowler was long a very useful and distinguished minister among the churches in this region. What little I have learnt of his history is as follows: Some time before the Bethel Association was formed, he, with two other men who were brothers, by the name of Rogers, were together pursuing the same occupation, in a situation remote from any of the Baptist denomination. They were brought up Presbyterians, and emigrated hither from some one of the northern States. Their minds were awakened to religious concerns; and, regardless of the traditions of their fathers, they took the Bible for their creed, and from it they, according to the best of their understanding, formed a religious system of their own. They at length heard of a Baptist preacher, who lived about 20 or 30 miles from them, and to him they delegated one of their number, to see how far his religious tenets and theirs would agree. When the messenger returned, he informed them, that the minister's principles and theirs were exactly alike, and that he had a large church of the same mind. Having thus found a people with whom they were agreed, and with whom they could associate for the communion of saints, they immediately repaired to them, were baptized, and admitted into their community. Returning home, they soon set up little meetings where they lived, in which Fowler was generally put forward. In this way he began his labours, and soon became an eminent minister of the gospel of Christ, and finished his course with joy in February, 1802, being about 60 years of age. He was generally the Moderator of the Bethel Association, and was, for many years, one of the principal ministers in that body.

BROAD RIVER ASSOCIATION.

In the year 1800, the bounds of the Bethel Association having become very extensive, the fourteen following churches, situated in the north-west corner of this State, and in the adjoining parts of North-Carolina, viz. Tiger River, Boiling Spring, Green Creek, Goucher Creek, Sandy Run, Buffaloe, Green River, Cedar Spring, French Broad, Mountain Creek, Bill's Creek, State Line,

Buck Creek, and Long Creek, in answer to their request, were dismissed, with permission to form an Association by themselves. They were organized shortly after, when the above-mentioned name was given to it, with reference to the river on both sides of which the churches are situated. The Broad River rises in the mountains, and unites with the Saluda in forming the Congaree, which is the main branch of the Great Santee.

This Association experienced very great enlargements soon after it was formed. In the spring of 1802, the powerful work which prevailed at that time throughout this country, began to be experienced by the churches in this body, and continued more or less for three successive years, in which the Broad River Association received an addition by baptism of 1296 members, which increased the whole number to upwards of 2000. But by different means it has been greatly diminished since that period, notwithstanding large additions have at different times been made to the churches. Great numbers have removed beyond the mountains, to the western States and territories; and in the course of five years, viz. from 1803 to 1808, there were excommunicated from the churches in this Association 285 persons; which circumstance proves that they received much chaff with the precious grain, as is too often the case in such great ingatherings; it also proves that they have used a commendable degree of diligence in winnowing it out, when it was discovered. A number of preachers were raised up in the time of the great revival, most of whom continue to be successful labourers in this part of the Lord's vineyard.

Most of the churches in this Association are in the neighbourhood of the Blue Ridge, and none of them are far distant from the mountainous parts of the back country. Those of Sandy Run, Green River, Mountain Creek, Bill's Creek, Silver Creek, north of Catawba River, Providence, Concord, and Smyrna, are in the counties of Rutherford, Burk, and Lincoln, in North-Carolina. Those in South-Carolina are in the districts of Greenville, Spartanborough, Union, and York.

SALUDA ASSOCIATION.

THIS also originated from the Bethel Association. In 1802, the nine following churches, viz. Big Creek, Fork Shoal, Brushy Creek, Cross Road, Sciona, Keowee, Woolyray, Middle Fork of Saluda, and Shoal church, were dismissed from that body. The churches of Ebenezer, Shackley Ferry, Bethuel, Cathie's Creek, Neal's Creek, Salem, Hopewell, and Wilson's Creek, which had never belonged to any Association, united with those above-named in forming the Association, whose history we are now relating, which was organized in 1803. This body is in the south-west corner of the State, and like the Broad River extends to the mountains.

Rev. Elnathan Davis, a native of Maryland, of whom we have given some account in the biography of Shubael Stearns, was one of the principal ministers in this Association, and continues, in his old age, to be esteemed a father in the churches, having been a successful preacher of the gospel about fifty years.

Rev. Moses Holland is also an old and respectable preacher, and was one of the constituents of the community.

The churches which compose this Association are mostly in the districts of Greenville, Abbyville, and Pendleton, on both sides of the Saluda River, from which it received its name.

EDGEFIELD ASSOCIATION.

THIS is another flourishing establishment, from that fruitful mother of churches, the Bethel Association. It was formed in 1808, when it was called *Beulah*; but the next year its name was exchanged for that of the district in which most of the churches are situated, which joins the Savannah River, and is opposite Augusta in Georgia. Of this body we are able to give only a short but pleasing account; for soon after it was formed, a happy revival commenced, which became very powerful and extensive; and in the course of about eighteen months, about fourteen hundred persons were baptized. In the course of this revival, Samuel Marsh, one of their

principal ministers, baptized in two churches about five hundred of this number.

A pleasant anecdote is related of one of the converts in this revival, which it may not be improper here to insert. A Mr. F——, who had been famous for hilarity and worldly amusement, was taken under concern of mind. His associates were very unwilling to give him up, and tried various methods to divert his attention from what they esteemed a needless anxiety, and draw him again into his former vain and sinful pursuits; but all their efforts proved ineffectual. At length they contrived a shooting-match; and as Mr. F—— valued himself on his skill with the rifle, they laid a considerable wager against him, and doubted not but their plan would succeed. Two gentlemen, one of whom has since been a member of Congress, waited on him with much gravity, and explained to him the object of their visit. He saw at once through their design; he hesitated at first, but on the whole manifested a willingness to exert his skill, provided they would let him use his own rifle, and load it himself. This request they declared was altogether reasonable, and seemed much pleased that they had obtained his consent. Mr. F—— then stepped up to his book-case and took down his Bible; "This (said he) is my rifle." And, turning to Acts xiii. 10, he handed his Bible to one of the men, and said, "There is my load." The astonished gentleman read as follows: *O full of all subtilty and mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness! wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?* He immediately hung his head, and settled down, as if shot indeed. Conviction from that time fastened on his mind; his brother, also, and both of their wives were convicted, and in a short time were hopefully converted, and united with the tempted but faithful man in a religious profession. This was called F——'s *buck-load.*

History of the General Baptists in South-Carolina, from their Commencement until they became extinct.

There was never but one society of this people in this State. Some sketches of their history have been given in the account of the Charleston church. They origi-

nated about 1733, when several members of the Charleston church withdrew from that ancient body, and embraced the sentiments of the General Baptists. William Elliot, jun. was the leader of this separation. He appears to have been a man of wealth and influence. Soon after these people had withdrawn, they sent to England for a minister, and obtained a Mr. Robert Ingraham. In 1736, they were organized into a church; the constituents were Rev. Robert Ingraham, William Elliot, William Elliot, jun. Thomas Elliot, Joseph Elliot, Bernard Elliot, Frances Elliot, Elizabeth Elliot, Henry Toomer, Mary Toomer, Mary Toomer, jun. Richard Butler, Joshua Toomer, George Tinnons, John Clifford, Thomas Tow, Thomas Davis, Dorothy Jones, Ann Bonneau, Amorintha Farr, and Ann Chidely.

The seat of this church was at Stono, about 16 miles south-west from Charleston, where they had a meeting-house and some temporalities. They also claimed, for a while, a part of the estate belonging to the church from which they separated, as has been before related. This church flourished considerably for a time, and had some able ministers for its pastors. But after existing about 50 years, it became entirely extinct; and the temporalities, which it possessed to a considerable amount, which were bestowed upon it mostly by the Elliots, after suffering many diminutions, were converted to private use.

Rev. Robert Ingraham, their first minister, was a native of Lincolnshire, England, but came hither directly from Farnham, near London. He was pastor of the church but a short time, for he died in 1738.

Rev. Henry Haywood was his successor. He arrived hither from Farnham in 1739, and soon after was invested with the pastoral care of the church, in which he continued until his death, which happened in 1755. His character is that of a scholar, but an oddity in person and conduct. Mr. Whiston speaks handsomely of him; but Dr. Gill very indifferently. He translated into English Dr. Whitby's Treatise on Original Sin; and prepared for the press a pretty large volume, in defence of the Apostolical Constitutions. He published a defence of Dr. Whitby against Dr. Gill; also a catechism, which he dedicated

to three ladies, but saw himself neglected by the chief one of them, when on her death-bed; for she then sent for Rev. Oliver Hart, to assist her in that serious situation. Mr. Hart waited on her, and moved that her own minister might be sent for; she replied, "Mr. Haywood is a good companion for the living, but he is not fit to die by, for he thinks but little of Jesus Christ."

Rev. Daniel Wheeler was the next in office here. He was a native of Calne, in Wiltshire, England; arrived in Charleston in 1757, and after serving the church about ten years, died in 1767, in the 61st year of his age. All that is said of him is, that he was esteemed a pious and honest man.

The fourth and last pastor of this church, was Rev. Caleb Evans, A. M. He was born in 1743, in the parish of Lanafonfowr, in the county of Brecknock, Wales; received his education at Aberdeen, in Scotland; arrived in Charleston in 1768, and died in 1772. About the time of Mr. Evans's death, this church consisted of but eight members; part of them resided at Stono, and the others in Charleston: it continued in a declining way for a few years after, and then became extinct.

From the preceding history it appears, that for more than a hundred years the Baptists have held a respectable standing in South-Carolina, and that they have increased with great rapidity within about twenty or thirty years past. This great increase has been mostly in the middle and upper regions of the State, which were formerly immoral and irreligious to a proverb. The prevalence of religion has had a very pleasing effect in moralizing, and, indeed, in humanizing the manners of the people. Most of the famous race-grounds are now deserted, and the barbarous sports, which were once very common, are now but little known. The author having previously heard so many reports to the disadvantage of the people, in what are called the back countries in this and the adjoining States, entered those parts with some unpleasant apprehensions. He expected to find many saints to befriend him, but he was fearful of meeting with some heedless sinners who might molest him. But he has the pleasure of declaring, that he was most agreeably disappointed in the general manners of the

people, and was treated by all classes with much civility and hospitality. There are, it must be confessed, the remains of that class of people, who gave this country such a bad name, who occasionally commit acts of violence and outrage, but they are generally among themselves, and not on strangers or sober people.

This reformation in manners, so much to the credit and happiness of the people in this country, must not be ascribed wholly to the exertions of the Baptists; for the Presbyterians and Methodists are entitled to a respectful share; and to the powerful and salutary grace of God belongs all the praise.

The great revival in this country, soon after the commencement of the present century, has often been referred to in the preceding narrative. We should be pleased to give a more particular account of it than we have hitherto done, or than we, for the want of materials, are able to do. The most we can say is, that between the years 1800 and 1803, there were most surprising movements of a religious nature on the minds of the people in South-Carolina; and notwithstanding the manifest enthusiasm of many, the great Shepherd of the sheep gathered into his fold a large and precious number of Adam's ruined family. Of these, between three and four thousand joined the churches belonging to the Bethel and Broad River Associations. Large numbers were, at the same time, added to the Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

Camp meetings, during these refreshing seasons, were often held in the middle and upper regions of the State, which were promoted mostly by the Methodists and Presbyterians. Many of the Baptists, however, attended them, and united with their brethren of other denominations, so far as they could consistently with their principles. They also held meetings of a similar nature among themselves, so long as the necessity for them continued; and when that ceased, they returned to their usual places of worship.

The two following letters will give the reader a view of the manner in which the meetings above-mentioned were conducted.

The following is an Extract of a Letter, written by Rev. David Lilly, dated Aug. 23, 1802, to the Editor of the Georgia Analytical Repository, and from the 3d Number of that Work it is now transcribed.

"*Rev. and dear Sir,*

"I take my pen in hand to transmit to you good tidings. A great work of God is going on in the upper parts of this State. Multitudes are made to cry out, "What shall we do to be saved?" A few days ago, I returned from our Association. We have had a truly refreshing season. A vast concourse of people assembled on Saturday, and considerable appearances of solemnity soon took place; but no uncommon effect till Sunday late in the evening. Then the Lord was pleased to manifest his power to many hearts. Numbers were powerfully exercised through the whole night, and some were thrown to the ground.

"On Monday the work increased. The hearts of many were made to melt; and several men, noted for their impiety, were stricken and lay among the prostrate. I must acknowledge it was a memorable time with my soul; the like I had not felt for many years before. In general, the people were much engaged through the greater part of Monday night. Before sun-rise, on Tuesday morning, the sacred flame began to burn afresh; several, who had been before unaffected, came to the earth. The Association rose about 3 o'clock in the afternoon; and such a degree of brotherly affection as appeared among the ministers and messengers of the churches, I scarcely ever saw. It was enough to melt the heart of the greatest infidel living. So very intent were the people to hear, that they petitioned for preaching, after business was finished; and some of the ministers continued with them, in constant exercise, till midnight. During this time, the work appeared to increase. About twenty persons came to the ground, several of whom were lusty strong men; and many more were made to pray heartily to God. Among the number very deeply affected, were several officers of considerable rank, and others of equal respectability. Be assur-

ed, my brother, the Lord is doing great things for his people in this country.

"The hearts of sinners melt before the word of truth, like wax before the sun. Infidelity is almost ashamed to show its head. Several deists have been constrained, under a sense of their lost condition, to cry out aloud for mercy. A few, even of those who attributed the effects produced among us to infernal agency, have been reached, and overcome by an influence, which they now acknowledge to be divine.

"The work under the preaching of the Presbyterian ministers, is going on rapidly indeed, and has already extended northwardly into Virginia and through the upper country southwardly to Georgia. The clergy of all denominations, join hand and heart, in the common cause of Christianity. In some of the churches of our Association here, the great revival is but just beginning; in others it rapidly increases.

"Among the most successful of our ministers in this work, are the brethren Slackleford, Palmer, Holland, Clayton, and Greer. Besides their churches flourishing to a degree that exceeds all former experience, there are several others where the work is almost as great; and very few without some promising appearances. Ministers preach day and night; and when they make no appointments, are surrounded by distressed souls. These are daily obtaining the most satisfactory sense of peace with God, and pardon through the blood of Christ. After believing, they openly profess their faith, and crowd into our churches.

"A few weeks past, Mr. Slackleford baptized thirty-six at one time. Two of those were little girls; one was twelve, and the other but ten years old, yet they both gave satisfactory evidence of a gracious change. With these I must mention two lads, but little past those ages, and several young ladies of nearly the first respectability in the back country, who were not ashamed to follow Christ through the liquid grave. On this occasion, it was supposed, that there were no less than two thousand persons present; a third of whom, at least, were in tears at the same moment of time. Crowds came up to the ministers to be prayed for, and many fell helpless on the ground. This

took place at Woodruff's meeting-house, in the district of Spartanburgh. The number baptized in our Association, since last year, is seven hundred and three.

"God has greatly magnified, and is marvellously magnifying his word. In some way and degree or other, almost every one seems to feel and acknowledge its power. My poor soul, some time ago much dejected and bowed down, is now rejoicing in God my Saviour. At this instant my eyes overflow with tears of gratitude and joy, while the flame of divine love burns in my heart.

Yours, &c. D. L."

A Letter from Dr. Furman of Charleston, to Dr. Rippon of London.

Charleston, 11*th Aug.* 1802.

"*Rev. and dear Sir*,

"Having promised you some information respecting the extraordinary meeting at the Waxhaws, to which I purposed going at the time I wrote in May, and having accordingly attended it, I now sit down to perform my promise.

"It was appointed by the Presbyterian clergy in that part of the country, but clergymen of other denominations were invited to it; and it was proposed to be conducted on the same principles and plan with those held in Kentucky. The place of meeting is about 170 miles from Charleston, in the midst of a large settlement of Presbyterians, but not far distant from some congregations of Baptists and Methodists. This Presbyterian congregation is one of the first which were formed in the upper parts of this State; has for its pastor a Mr. Brown, who is a respectable character; and is furnished with a commodious place of worship. But as the place of worship would not be in any wise equal to the numbers expected, a place was chosen in the forest for an encampment. The numbers which assembled from various parts of the country, formed a very large congregation, the amount of which has been variously estimated; to me there appeared to be 3000, or perhaps 4000 persons; but some supposed there were 7000 or 8000. My information respecting the number of ministers who attended, was probably not correct; but from what I ob-

served, and collected from others, there were 11 Presbyterians, 4 Baptists, and 3 Methodists. The encampment was laid out in an oblong form, extending from the top of a hill down the south side of it, toward a stream of water, which ran at the bottom in an eastern direction, including a vacant space of about 300 yards in length and 150 in breadth. Lines of tents were erected on every side of this space; and between them, and behind, were the waggons and riding carriages placed; the space itself being reserved for the assembling of the congregation, or congregations rather, to attend publick worship. Two stands were fixed on for this purpose: at the one, a stage was erected under some lofty trees, which afforded an ample shade; at the other, which was not so well provided with shade, a waggon was placed for the rostrum.

"The publick service began on Friday afternoon, the 21st of May, with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. M'Corkel, of the Presbyterian church; after which, the congregation was dismissed: but at the same time the hearers were informed, that they would be visited at their tents, and exhorted by the ministers, during the course of the evening. To this information an exhortation was added, that they would improve the time in religious conversation, earnest prayer, and singing the praises of God. This mode of improving the time, both by the ministers and a large proportion of the hearers, was strictly adhered to: not only were exhortations given, but many sermons also were preached along the lines in the evening; and the exercises continued, by the ministers in general, till midnight; and by the Methodist ministers, among their adherents, nearly or quite all the night.

"On Saturday morning, the ministers assembled, after an early breakfast, and appointed a committee to arrange the services for that day and the two following. The committee consisted wholly of Presbyterian ministers. They soon performed the work of their appointment, and assigned the several ministers present their respective parts of the service. By this arrangement, two publick services were appointed at each stand for that day; three for the Sabbath, together with the administration of the communion, at a place a little distant from the en-

campment; and two at each stand again for Monday. The intervals, and evenings in particular, to be improved in the same manner as on the former day. Necessary business calling me away on Sunday evening, I did not see the conclusion of the meeting. This, however, I can say, it was conducted with much solemnity, while I was at it; and the engagedness of the people appeared to be great. Many seemed to be seriously concerned for the salvation of their souls; and the preaching and exhortations of the ministers in general were well calculated to inspire right sentiments, and make right impressions. In the intervals of publick worship, the voice of praise was heard among the tents in every direction, and frequently that of prayer by private Christians. The communion service was performed with much apparent devotion, while I attended, which was at the serving of the first table. The Presbyterians and Methodists sat down together; but the Baptists, on the principle which has generally governed them on this subject, abstained. Several persons suffered at this meeting those bodily affections, which have been before experienced at Kentucky, North-Carolina, and at other places, where the extraordinary revivals in religion within this year or two have taken place. Some of them fell instantaneously, as though struck with lightning, and continued insensible for a length of time; others were more mildly affected, and soon recovered their bodily strength, with a proper command of their mental powers. Deep conviction for sin, and apprehension of the wrath of God, was professed by the chief of them at first; and several of them afterwards appeared to have a joyful sense of pardoning mercy through a Redeemer. Others continued under a sense of condemnation, after those extraordinary bodily affections ceased; and some from the first, appeared to be more affected with the greatness and goodness of God, and with the love of Christ, than with apprehensions of divine wrath. In a few cases there were indications, as I conceived, of enthusiasm, and even affectation; but in others a strong evidence of supernatural power and gracious influence. Several received the impression in their tents; others in a still more retired situation, quite withdrawn from company; some, who

had been to that moment in opposition to what was thus going on, under the character of the work of God; and others, who had been till then careless. The number of persons thus affected, while I was present, was not great in proportion to the multitude attending. I have, indeed, been informed several more were affected the evening after I came away, and the next day; but in all, they could not be equal to the proportional numbers which were thus affected at some other meetings, especially in Kentucky. Several, indeed a very considerable number, had gone 70 or 80 miles from the lower parts of this State to attend this meeting; of these, a pretty large proportion came under the above described impressions; and since their return to their houses, an extraordinary revival has taken place in the congregations to which they belong. It has spread also across the upper parts of this State, in a western direction. There are some favourable appearances in several of the Baptist churches; but my accounts of them are not particular enough to be transmitted. Taking it for granted that you have seen the publication entitled "Surprizing Accounts," by Woodward, of Philadelphia, containing the accounts of revivals in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North-Carolina, I therefore say nothing of them; but only, that the work in North-Carolina increases greatly; opposition however is made by many; and I am informed that the congregation, of which I have been writing so much, (that at the Waxhaws) is likely to be divided on account of it; and that Mr. Brown has been shut out of the place of worship since the meeting was held there, by some, I suppose a majority, of his elders and adherents. A particular reason of the offence taken by them, as I have understood, was the practice of communing with the Methodists. Having mentioned this denomination frequently, I think it proper to say, that it is that class of Methodists who are followers of Mr. Wesley, which is intended; few of the followers of Mr. Whitefield are to be found in the United States, not at least as congregations. These general meetings have a great tendency to excite the attention, and engage it to religion. Were there no other argument in their favour, this alone would carry great weight with a reflecting mind;

but there are many more which may be urged. At the same time, it must be conceded that there are some incidental evils which attend them, and give pain to one who feels a just regard for religion. Men of an enthusiastick disposition have a favourable opportunity at them of diffusing their spirit, and they do not fail to improve the opportunity for this purpose; and the too free intercourse between the sexes in such an encampment is unfavourable. However, I hope the direct good obtained from these meetings will much more than counterbalance the incidental evil.

"I am, reverend and dear Sir, your friend and servant in the gospel, RICHARD FURMAN."

Most of the first settlers of South-Carolina were members of the Church of England; Episcopacy of course became the established religion of the Province, and remained so until after the American war, when, by the State Constitution, all denominations were placed on a level as it respects the favours of government. During the Provincial government, dissenting ministers were not permitted to celebrate the rites of matrimony; large glebe lands were appropriated for the benefit of the clergy, which the society still hold, and the money to build their churches was drawn from the publick treasury.

These were some of the exclusive privileges which the civil government conferred on the Episcopal establishment. But it does not appear that the Baptists or any dissenters have ever been much molested in this government, either by corporal punishments or those perplexing, provoking, and rapacious things, called in New-England *ministerial taxes*.

Though the Baptists, as a denomination, have never suffered much persecution in a legal form, yet some individuals, and especially a number of their ministers, have suffered from the improper interference of unworthy magistrates and unauthorized and bigotted persons.

Morgan Edwards gives the following account of the arbitrary proceedings of a magistrate near the Cheraws on Pedee River, by the name of Alexander Gordon, who is said to have been a Presbyterian: "One Joseph Cates held a meeting in his neighbourhood. His worship pre-

sently fetched the aggressor *coram nobis*, and got three others to assist him to form a spiritual court. The preacher was then asked, "Who gave you authority to preach?" He replied, "The same that gave the apostle Paul authority." Upon which, his worship angrily said, "He blasphemeth! What say you, gentlemen?" The gentlemen were of his mind, and the Baptist preacher was severely whipt. The thing gave great offence in the neighbourhood, insomuch that his worship found it requisite to propagate evil reports concerning the preacher's moral character, in order to justify the action; for persecutors always represent the persecuted as devils rather than men."

But these days of rancour and opposition are past. The Baptists are now a large, respectable, and indeed powerful body, and are more in danger of being affected to their disadvantage by prosperity than adversity. The communicants and adherents in South-Carolina are estimated by Dr. Furman at upwards of 70,000 souls, which is more than one-sixth of the population of the whole State.

The Education Fund belonging to the Charleston Association, with Mr. Roberts's Academy, and the funds which have been collected for defraying the expenses of the mission to the Catawba Indians, will be noticed under the respective heads of Literary and Missionary affairs.

CHAP. XII.

GEORGIA.

The first settlements in Georgia were made in 1733. Mr. Edwards informs us, that among the first settlers were some Baptists, particularly William Calvert of Lincolnshire, William Slack of Ireland, Thomas Walker of Northampton, and one Polhill.* Calvert and Polhill were preachers, though not ordained. But the Baptist

* Polhill was the grandfather of the present Thomas Polhill, of Newington, who writes me, that it is doubtful in his mind whether he was a Baptist.

interest was very small in this State, for about forty years after its settlement. There were but four churches in the whole province when Mr. Edwards visited it, about 1772; these were not large, and most of them were newly formed. But a little before this period the zealous Separates began to emigrate hither: great success attended their labours; many churches were soon raised up; and from their introduction to the present time, the Baptist cause has had a gradual, and in many instances a rapid prevalence throughout most parts of the State; so that Georgia now contains more of our denomination than any of the southern States, Virginia excepted.

Although the Baptists in Georgia made their first appearance in the low countries, yet they never had much success there, until within about twenty years past; but they have been numerous in the upper country for about forty years, which makes it proper that we should relate their history first.

The Church on Kioka Creek is the oldest in Georgia; it belongs to the Georgia Association, and was gathered by that famous Baptist minister, Daniel Marshall. This church was organized in 1772; it is situated about 18 miles above Augusta, in the county of Columbia, in the neighbourhood of the two Kioka Creeks, which empty into the Savannah river within one mile of each other. Mr. Daniel Marshall's name has been often mentioned in the preceding part of our history, and in his biography the reader may find his character more fully delineated. After sojourning in many places in Virginia and the Carolinas, he, in 1771, removed from the neighbouring part of South-Carolina, and settled on the largest of the Kioka Creeks, where he resided to the close of his useful life. It will be remembered by the reader, that Mr. Marshall was a Separate Baptist, and one of the principal founders of that extensive community. A number of his brethren had removed to Georgia before him; some he found in the neighbourhood where he settled, and others were scattered in different parts of the country; and this dispersion of the brethren laid the foundation for a number of churches, which were raised up not long after.

The Kioka church has been an important establishment, having been the nursery of a number of useful ministers, and the mother of many churches. Samuel Newton, Abraham Marshall, Alexander Scott, Silas Mercer, Loveless Savage, Thomas Mercer, Samuel Cartlidge, John and James Saunders, John Stanford, and John Boyd, are among the ministerial sons, which she hath sent forth into the Lord's vineyard. The founder of this church was remarkable for encouraging his brethren in the exercise of the gifts with which they were endowed. It was a common saying with him, "I would that all the Lord's servants were prophets." During the troubles occasioned by the American war, many of the Baptists among others fled from the country; but Mr. Marshall maintained his post, and with very few exceptions held his meetings regularly through the whole of the war. On the return of peace, the refugees returned to their deserted homes and almost ruined possessions; and with them a flood of emigrants, many of whom were Baptists, poured into the country from many of the more northern States, and the Kioka church soon began to increase, and has generally been in a flourishing condition from that to the present time. This church has experienced a number of very precious revivals. In 1787, about one hundred were baptized by their present pastor, Rev. Abraham Marshall, the worthy son and successor of Daniel. The next remarkable ingathering here was about 1802, in the time of the great revival, which prevailed most powerfully at that time in many parts of Georgia. The religious attention at Kioka was very great; two or three camp-meetings were, from necessity, held in the neighbourhood, in which some of the most affecting scenes of joy and sorrow, of depression and transport were exhibited. In this revival, Mr. Marshall baptized about 100 more.

This church had two temporary buildings for publick worship, which had gone to decay before their present meeting-house was erected, which is a commodious brick building, 60 feet by 40.

The aged Daniel Marshall died in 1784, and his son Abraham succeeded him in the pastoral office, in which he still continues. Mr. Marshall was born at Windsor,

near the city of Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1750. He was only three years old, when his father, excited, as he supposed, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, literally left all, and went to preach to the Mohawk Indians. Here young Abraham, as he with much pleasantry informs his friends, received the rudiments of his education; for the first things he remembers, were smoking wigwams, and their tawny, untutored inhabitants. He remained with his pious parent in all his excursions, and was, when he settled in Georgia, about 21 years of age. He had began to preach a short time before. He has now been in the ministry more than forty years, is extensively known and much respected; and more than this, the maxims we have adopted will not permit us to say. Some account of his visit to New-England in 1786, may be found in the biography of his kinsman Eliakim Marshall.

We have thus briefly related the history of the church, which the venerable Daniel Marshall, in his old age, founded in this State; and as we have obtained but a few scattering hints concerning the other churches, which were founded shortly after, we shall pass on to take some notice of the Associations, which have originated from these early establishments, and inter-perse with their history whatever we may think proper to mention concerning the ministers or churches which they have or may now comprehend. These Associations are the Georgia, Hephzibah, Sarepta, and Oakmulgee, most of them are large and all of them respectable communities.

Georgia Association.

This being the oldest, demands our first attention. It was organized in 1784, thirteen years after Daniel Marshall settled at Kioka. As the Minutes of its first meetings were not printed, nor its records preserved, it cannot be ascertained of what number of churches it was at first composed. In 1786, two years after its formation, it contained the ten following, viz. Kioka, Fishing Creek, Upton's Creek, Philip's Mill, Whatley's Mill, Long Creek, Long Creek of Ogechee, Providence on Rocky Comfort Creek, Powel's Creek, and Van's

Creek. The number of members was, at that time, only 518, and the principal ministers were Saunders Walker, Jephtha Vining, Dozier Thornton, Peter Smith, Abraham Marshall, Mark Cook, Silas Mercer, Thomas Mercer, and John Harvey. Jeremiah Walker, David Tinsley, and Matthew Talbot removed into the country soon after the date above mentioned. Most of the abovenamed preachers were eminent among the Baptists and extensively useful in their day, and with very few exceptions removed hither, as did most of their Baptist brethren from North-Carolina and Virginia. For an account of the famous Silas Mercer, see his biography. Thomas Mercer, his half brother, has gone to the Missisippi Territory, and belongs to the small Association which has there been formed. The mutable and spotted character of Jeremiah Walker is given in his biography, as is that of the meek and exemplary Saunders Walker, his natural brother. Peter Smith has removed to the State of Ohio, and belongs to the Miami Association. David Tinsley died in Georgia, and is well spoken of. He was one of the early Separate preachers in Virginia, where he was a number of times imprisoned, and once in company with Jeremiah Walker. Mr. Tinsley received four ordinations. The first was to the office of a deacon, the second to that of a ruling elder, his third ordination was to the office of preaching the gospel, and in the fourth place he was ordained an evangelist by Col. Samuel Harris, while he officiated in the dignified character of the Apostle of Virginia.

The Georgia Association has abounded with ministers, who were either nurtured within its bounds, or received among them from other parts; but as so many have been dismissed to other Associations, its present number is not great; but among them are yet retained Abraham Marshall and Jesse Mercer. Something has been said of Mr. Marshall already. Jesse Mercer is a son of the late worthy Silas Mercer. He was born in Halifax county, North-Carolina, 1769. It was soon after his birth, that his father, as may be seen in his biography, got the church parson to dip two of his children in a barrel of water which he had prepared for the purpose. When he became a believer, he was baptized again; so that

Mercer is truly an Anabaptist. He was ordained when he was about 20 years of age, and has now been in the ministry more than twenty years. He travelled considerably in his younger days, but for a number of years past, has been stationed in the care of four large churches, viz. Whatley's Mill, Philip's Mill, Powelton, and Sardis, formerly called Hutton's Fork; all of which were gathered by his father, and supplied by him during his life. There are other preachers belonging to these churches, but Mr. Mercer is considered their pastor, and preaches and administers the Lord's Supper to them in rotation once in four weeks; and whenever a month has five Lord's days in it, he leaves his circle, to visit some of the neighbouring churches. All the above-mentioned churches are large and wealthy, and by their united efforts afford their circulating pastor only a moderate support. But either of them might well enough support him alone; and whether they continue this practice, so disadvantageous to themselves and so laborious to their pastor, because they are mutually unwilling to part with him or with a little more of their carnal things, is not our province to say. Mr. Mercer certainly merits their esteem; but they would find no difficulty in procuring acceptable pastors, if they would set about it properly. We observed something on the circumstance of one minister supplying a number of churches, in the close of our history of the Virginia Baptists, and there proposed to speak more definitely of the matter in the chapter of general observations.

But to return: The Association of which we are speaking, increased very fast for a number of years from the date last mentioned, so that, in 1790, it contained 34 churches and 2877 members.

In 1796, a number of churches were dismissed to form the Hephzibah Association. Only two years after, seven churches more were dismissed from this increasing establishment, which united under the name of the Sarepta Association. And in 1810, another detachment was taken off to form an Association by the name of Oakmulgee. But after all these dismissions, this flourishing body contains upwards of thirty churches, and more than two thousand communicants.

Hephzibah Association.

In 1794, eighteen churches were dismissed from the Georgia Association, and by them the Hephzibah was soon after formed. But little more can be said respecting it, than that it has moved on in harmony and order, and has experienced some refreshing seasons. Benjamin Davis, Thomas Mercer, John Stanford, William Franklin, John Harvey, Joseph Baker, George Granbury, William Cone, and David M'Cullers were its principal ministers at the time of constitution. Some of them have since died, some have removed to other parts, and others have succeeded them. This body contains but few preachers in proportion to the number of churches, and all we can say of them is, that they are a plain, laborious, and pious set of men, who labour six days in the week for the support of their families, and the seventh for the good of souls.

The churches which compose this Association are situated mostly in the counties of Washington, Burk, Warren, Laurens, Wilkinson, Jefferson, Bullash, Liberty, Tatnall, Effingfour, and Twiggs. They are on both sides of the Ogechee and Oconee rivers, and some of them are between the rivers Oconee and Oakmulgee, and extend down the country within 50 or 60 miles of the sea-coast.

Sarepta Association.

In 1798, seven churches were dismissed from the Georgia Association, and in due form were organized under the name of the Sarepta Association. The names of these churches were Shoal Creek, Van's Creek, Dove's Creek, Hollow Spring, Cabbin Creek, Nail's Creek, Millstone, and Trail Creek. All of them then were in the upper settlements in the State. Dazier Thornton, John Cleaveland, William Davis, Thomas Johnson, and Thomas Gilbert were the ministers of the above-mentioned churches.

The Sarepta Association has enjoyed great prosperity and enlargement, and received large additions in the time of the great revival about 1802.

The churches of this Association are situated along the south side of the Savannah river, and extend from the mouth of Broad-river of Georgia, which empties into the Savannah about fifty miles above Augusta, to the highest settlements in the State in that direction. They also extend out into the country as far as the river Oconee. They are scattered over many counties, but most of them are in those of Elbert, Oglethorpe, Jackson, and Franklin. Two of them are over the Savannah in South-Carolina.

Oakmulgee Association.

A few years since, a large tract of land, high up in Georgia, was purchased of the Indians, and their claim to it forever extinguished. This tract is called by the Georgians the *New Purchase.* Being a healthy and fertile country, it was settled with great rapidity, and the seat of government has been removed from Louisville on the Ogechee to Milledgeville, which has here been erected.

Many Baptist churches were in a short time gathered in the New Purchase. They united with the Georgia Association; but many of them were very remote from the centre of that body, which led them to think of forming an Association among themselves. Accordingly, in Oct. 1810, about twenty churches petitioned the mother body for a dismission, which was granted. A number of newly constituted churches, which had not associated, united with them; and in November of the same year, they organized a body to which they gave the name of the Oakmulgee Association. The next year, six more newly established churches were added to this confederacy; so that now (1811) it contains thirty-four churches and 1885 communicants. The churches of this Association are situated between the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, and are scattered over an extent of country of from thirty to thirty-five miles wide, and from sixty to seventy miles in length, and are mostly in the counties of Randolph, Morgan, Putnam, Baldwin, and Jones.

It is now about forty years since Daniel Marshall settled in Georgia; and in this time it appears that the Baptists, which proceeded directly or indirectly from the Separate connexion, have increased to about a hundred and forty churches, and not far from eleven thousand members.

We shall now proceed to treat of our brethren in the low country, and also to give some account of the Savannah-river Association.

Unfortunately for this part of our history, Mr. Edwards's sixth volume of Manuscript Materials, which related wholly to the Baptists in Georgia, has all been destroyed, except one leaf and part of another. This volume must have been small, as it was written about forty years ago, when the Baptists had never flourished much in the province. From the defaced and perishing remains of this volume, I find the following sketches. "About the year 1759, eight families of the Seventh-day Baptists settled near Tuckaseeking." More will be said respecting them in the history of that people.

"In the year 1757, Nicholas Bedgegood, of the Orphan-house, embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, and was soon after baptized by Oliver Hart, of Charleston. In 1763, he baptized Mr. Benjamin Stirk and wife, Thomas Dixon, and one Dupree; these, with a few other Baptists, had the Lord's Supper administered to them, at the Orphan-house, by Mr. Bedgegood. But Mr. Stirk removing to Goshen, Dupree dying, and Dixon going to England, the society broke up, to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Whitefield, whose righteous soul had been so vexed with the matter, that he spake unadvisedly with his lips." From the time of this dispersion, there always have been Baptists in this region, but no church was formed until a number of years after. According to Mr. Edwards, there were, in 1772, "about forty Baptist families, scattered over the southern parts of Georgia, and amongst them were about fifty baptized persons, most of whom were emigrants from other colonies, and some from the old country."

In the year 1771, Rev. Edmund Botsford, now of Georgetown, South-Carolina, who was then young, began to preach at Tuckaseeking, and continued to labour

with much success in different parts of Georgia, for the space of about eight years; but the distractions of the American war obliged him to make a precipitate flight from the country, with the loss of about £300 sterling, which he had but a little while before received from England.

When Mr. Botsford began his ministry in Georgia, Daniel Marshall was the only ordained minister in the State; but besides him, there were Abraham Marshall, Saunders Walker, and Solomon Thompson, who were not ordained. Between Mr. Botsford and these men, there was not, at first, a very intimate connexion. The reason was, that they were of the Separate order, and he was a Regular Baptist; and besides, the scene of his labours was generally much lower down the country than theirs. But the suspicions of the Separates gradually subsided; Mr. Botsford was by degrees admitted to their fellowship and affection; and before he fled from the country, the hindrances to their union were so far removed, that they zealously and successfully co-operated in their evangelical exertions.

During five years of Mr. Botsford's residence in Georgia, that is, from 1773, when he was ordained, to 1779, he baptized 148 persons, and founded two churches; the first was called New Savannah, and was organized in 1773. This church now belongs to the Hephzibah Association, under the name of *Botsford Old Meeting-House.* Mr. Botsford preached here but a short time; for the next year after the church was formed, a war broke out with the Creek Indians, which obliged him to leave the place. He next settled on Briar Creek, at some distance, where another church was soon founded, which also belongs to the Hephzibah Association. A number of the constituent members of this church had previously united with the Ewhaw church, in South-Carolina, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Francis Pelot.*

* The following anecdotes of Mr. Botsford, while he laboured in Georgia, may not be unacceptable to the reader. Once on a journey up to the Kioka, where he had appointed to preach, he called at a Mr. Savidge's to inquire the way. This Mr. Savidge was then a bigotted churchman, but was hopefully acquainted with the truth. After he had given the stranger proper directions, the following conversation ensued: "I suppose you are the Baptist minister, who is to preach to-day at the Kioka." "Yes, Sir; will you go?" "No, I am not fond of the Baptists; they think nobody is baptized but them-

Before Mr. Bedgegood left the Orphan-house for South-Carolina, he baptized a number of persons besides those who have been named, and among them was the mother of Rev. Thomas Polhill, of Newington. There were about this time a few Baptist members at Goshen, Tuckaseeking, and other places; and Benjamin Stirk appears to have been the most distinguished and active character among them. He was a native of Leeds, Yorkshire, England. Mr. Whitefield took him under his

selves." "Have you been baptized?" "Yes, to be sure." "How do you know?" "How do I know? why, my parents have told me I was." "Then you do not know, only by information." On this Mr. Botsford left him, but "How do you know?" haunted him, till he became convinced of his duty; he was baptized by Mr. Marshall, and began to preach the same day he was baptized, and still continues a useful minister amongst the Georgia Baptists. Botsford's "How do you know?" says Mr. Savidge, first set me to thinking about baptism.

In the parts of Georgia where Mr. Botsford laboured, the inhabitants were a mixed multitude of emigrants from many different places; most of them were destitute of any form of religion, and the few who paid any regard to it were zealous churchmen and Lutherans, and violently opposed to the Baptists. In the same journey in which he fell in with Mr. Savidge, he preached at the court-house in Burk county. The assembly at first paid a decent attention; but, towards the close of the sermon, one of them bawled out with a great oath, "The rum is come." Out he rushed, others followed, the assembly was soon left small, and by the time Mr. Botsford got out to his horse, he had the unhappiness to find many of his hearers intoxicated and fighting. An old gentleman came up to him, took his horse by the bridle, and in his profane dialect most highly extolled both him and his discourse, swore he must drink with him, and come and preach in his neighbourhood. It was now no time to reason or reprove; and as preaching was Mr. Botsford's business, he accepted the old man's invitation, and made an appointment. His first sermon was blessed to the awakening of his wife; one of his sons also became religious, and others in the settlement, to the number of fifteen, were in a short time hopefully brought to the knowledge of the truth, and the old man himself became sober and attentive to religion, although he never made a publick profession of it.

Not long after, Mr. Botsford preached at Stephen's Creek, a little over the Savannah river, in South-Carolina, where he was called upon to baptize Sarah Clecker, the wife of an ignorant, wicked Dutchman. The woman observed, she did not know that her husband would consent to her being baptized. Being informed he was present, Mr. Botsford called him up to him, and addressed him as follows: "Mr. Clecker, I have reason to hope that your wife is a believer in Christ, and she wishes to be baptized; but she is unwilling to go forward, unless you give your consent. I suppose you do not object, Sir." "No, no, Got forpit I shoult hinter my vive, she was one goot vive." While they were preparing for the water, the little man fell into a great rage, and cursed the preacher for "a —— goot for notting son of a ——. Vaut, to ax me pevore all de beble, if he may tip my vive." But this Mr. Botsford did not hear of till afterwards. Returning from the water, he saw Mr. Clecker leaning against a tree, pparently in great trouble. He stepped up to him, and asked him what was the matter? "Vaut was de matter? why, Sir, my vive is going to hefen and I am going to the tivel. I am a boor lost sinner: I cant be forgiven: I fear de ground will open and let me down to de hell, for I cursed and swore you vas one goot for notting —— son of a ——. Lort have mercy on me." This was in July; the miserable man found no comfort till he was brought into the liberty of the gospel; and the September following, Mr. Botsford baptized him.

patronage, and settled him in his employment at the Orphan-house, about 1760, or perhaps earlier. He was brought up a Presbyterian, and continued in the belief of pedobaptism until 1763, when he became what he was wont to call a *Bible Christian*, and was baptized as before related. He remained at the Orphan-house about four years after his baptism, where he lost his first wife, and married for his second the widow of Nathaniel and the mother of the present Thomas Polhill, who possessed a plantation in the neighbourhood of Goshen, about eighteen miles above Savannah on the Augusta road, to which he removed in 1767. As there was no Baptist church in that vicinity, and indeed not one at that time in Georgia, he united with the church at Ewhaw, South-Carolina, about twenty-five miles from him. Mr. Stirk began to preach soon after he settled at Goshen. He set up a meeting at his own house, and another at Tuckaseeking, upwards of twenty miles still higher up the country. He also preached occasionally at the Ewhaw; and it was on his way to that church, that he fell from his horse into the water, and received an injury under which he languished for a time, and of which he died in 1770.

Mr. Stirk was a good English scholar, and possessed a small share of classical learning. He was endowed with good natural parts, and was eminent for piety and zeal. Having a desire to promote the interests of learning, he became a benefactor to Rhode-Island College.

As Mr. Stirk's second wife was a woman honourable and eminent in her day among the few Baptists who were then scattered in this part of Georgia, it may be proper to give a short account of her.

This lady is remarkable for having been the wife of two Baptist ministers, and the mother of a third. She was born in South-Carolina, in 1732, of pious and reputable parents, of the Presbyterian persuasion. Her name at first was Hannah Barkersdale. She was four times married. Her husbands' names were Miller, Polhill, Stirk, and Scott. The first was a merchant of Charleston, with whom she lived but about a year. The second was a preacher in Mr. Whitefield's connexion, a pious and worthy man. He embarked for England in 1761, to ob-

tain Episcopal ordination. But before he left Charleston harbour, a violent whirlwind divided the river so that the channel was seen, and the ship and all on board were swallowed up by the returning waves. Mr. Stirk has been mentioned. Her fourth and last husband was Rev. Alexander Scott, for many years pastor of the church at Black Swamp, in South-Carolina. With him she lived about seven years; and then, after lingering some time, died in peace, March 10, 1780, in the 48th year of her age. Mr. Scott, about three years ago, removed to the Missisippi country, where he died shortly after.

Rev. Thomas Polhill, the only surviving child of this venerable woman, is of opinion that she was the first person who was baptized in Georgia. While the Baptists were but few in the parts where she lived, her house was a home for preachers, and her active benevolence was extended to all around her.

Besides the persons already mentioned, there were baptized in these times a Mr. Cox, and a Mr. Williams and his wife, and others whose names are not known.

Having thus prepared the way, we shall next proceed to relate the history of some of the churches in this part of Georgia.

Newington.—This church appears to have been the oldest of white people which was formed in the region now under consideration. It took its name from that of a plantation on which the meeting-house was erected, in the neighbourhood of Goshen, in the county of Effingham, eighteen miles from Savannah, and was constituted in 1793. But since that time the seat of the church has been removed to the adjoining county of Scriven. This church is small now, and has never been large, and no very remarkable things can be said respecting it. It was one of the three churches which formed the Savannah-river Association.

For the origin of this church, we must go back about fifty years; for it appears there have been scattered Baptist members in this vicinity ever since the dispersion of Mr. Bedgegood's disciples from the Orphan-house. The first Baptist minister who preached here was Benjamin Stirk. After him were Mr. Botsford and Mr. Scott; but no special effects attended the ministry of either of these

men. In 1789, a black man preached in the neighbourhood in a negro yard under some peach-trees. Curiosity led some white people to hear him, and among the rest was Major now Elder Thomas Polhill and his wife. They were both convicted by the discourse of this poor sable preacher, and in a short time were brought into the liberty of the gospel, and baptized by Mr. Scott. From the time of his conversion, Major Polhill became a patron of the Baptist cause, and a promoter of meetings in his neighbourhood. He invited Baptist ministers to preach in his house: God blessed their labours; and in 1793, a sufficient number had been baptized to form a church, which, as soon as it was organized, chose Mr. John Goldwire for their pastor, who had been ordained two years before. Mr. Goldwire still continues the pastor of the church, although very aged and infirm. Mr. Polhill also became a preacher of the gospel, and is now an assistant to the aged and venerable Goldwire.

Savannah.—This city contains three Baptist churches, one of white people, and two of Africans. The history of the African churches will be related in the account which we propose to give of that people. The church of white people was founded by its late pastor, Dr. Holcombe, now of Philadelphia. It was constituted in 1800, but was begun six years before that time, in the following manner. In 1794, Messrs. Jonathan Clark, George Morse, Thomas Polhill of Newington, and David Adams, one of the deacons of the church in Charleston, proposed the erection of a house of worship for the Baptists in this city. But as the Baptist members were few in number, and these generally poor, there appeared but little prospect of success. About this time, Mr. Rees from Wales, the same man who led out the company of Welsh people to the mountains in Pennsylvania, visited Savannah, and with much zeal and address encouraged the design of building the house, which had been proposed. A plan for it was drawn up by Dr. Furman of Charleston; aid was solicited by the above-named gentlemen and others; and so great was their success, that in 1795, a house fifty feet by sixty was erected. It was at first merely inclosed. The next year it was rented to the Presbyterians, who had lately lost their house by fire. They occupied

it three years. Such was the posture of the affairs of the Baptists in Savannah, in 1799, when Mr. Holcombe, who was the pastor of the church at Ewhaw, but lived at Beaufort, by the invitation of the pew-holders in their meeting-house, came to reside in the city. So much success attended his ministry, that in 1800 it was judged proper to organize a church in the place. The constituent members were Henry Holcombe and wife, George Morse and wife, Elias Roberts and wife, Rachel Hamilton, Esther M'Kenzier, Elizabeth Story, Martha Stephens, Eunice Hogg, and Mary Jones, widow of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the State. Not long after the church was formed, Mr. Holcombe was invested with the pastoral care of it, and continued in that office about eleven years. Under him, the church was built up to a flourishing and respectable body, the meeting-house was well finished, and to it were added a bell, clock, baptistery, and other appendages of ornament and convenience. But Dr. Holcombe having resided a long time in a debilitating climate, found it necessary to retire to a more healthy situation. He accordingly announced to the church his intention of removing, and wished them to look out for a successor. He retired to Mount Enon, about fifteen miles from Augusta, where he intended to spend the remainder of his days in retirement, and in preaching as he was able to the neighbouring churches. But by the affectionate importunity of the first church in Philadelphia, he consented to leave this retreat, and become its pastor.

The Savannah church, after remaining destitute of a pastor about a year, obtained William B. Johnson, who is now agreeably settled among them. Mr. Johnson had been a few years pastor of the church in Columbia, South-Carolina. He was bred to the law, but was constrained to leave that profession, and engage in the less lucrative one of preaching the gospel.

Sunbury.——At this place, which is some distance below Savannah, there is a very respectable church under the care of Mr. Charles O. Scriven, a graduate of Rhode-Island College; but I have not obtained any particulars respecting its origin.

Of the remaining churches in this part of the State, I have not procured sufficient materials to form any interesting narratives; I shall, therefore, pass on to other matters.

SAVANNAH-RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in Savannah in 1802. It was composed at first of only three churches, which were the two in Savannah and the one at Newington. But not long after, a number of churches belonging to the Charleston Association were dismissed from that body, and united with this. The new churches, which have been raised up in this part of Georgia and the neighbouring parts of South-Carolina, have become members of this Association. It has progressed with harmony and prosperity, and has increased to almost thirty churches, and upwards of five thousand members.

The General Committee *of the* Georgia Baptists.

This Committee was formed in 1803. Its plan and operations are much like the General Committees in the other southern States. It was intended to be composed of representatives from all the Associations in the State. But this representation was never full, which is not to be much wondered at. In the first place, many are prejudiced against the establishment. And again, but few ministers can find time, after attending their respective Associations, to travel from one end to the other of their wide State to attend a Committee, which has never had and cannot consistently find much business to do.

An account of the Mount Enon Academy will be given in the history of Literary Institutions.

From the preceding sketches it appears, that great success has attended the exertions of the Baptists in Georgia. And no embarrassments, worth mentioning, have been thrown in their way by the civil power. The Church of England was the established religion of Georgia before the war. But dissenters of every denomination have, from first to last, enjoyed as much liberty as they could desire. I do not find that any Baptist was ever molested

in a legal way for preaching the gospel, excepting Daniel Marshall, and he was soon discharged, as is related in his biography. The Episcopal church does not appear to have flourished much in Georgia at any time, and it is now very small. And indeed there are but a few congregations of any denominations in the State, besides the Baptists and Methodists: both of these are very numerous; and we are sorry to say, that instead of striving to walk together as far as they are agreed, many of them on both sides spend too much time in disputing about Calvin and Wesley, perseverance and falling from grace.

The great increase of the Baptists in Georgia has been occasioned partly by the emigration of Baptist professors from other parts; but mostly by the great and precious revivals of religion, which have at different times been experienced in almost every part of the State.

In the year 1793, Mr. Abraham Marshall wrote as follows to Dr. Rippon of London. "In 1787 there was a glorious revival: thousands attended on the word. The Baptists have great influence, and are the most numerous of any denomination in this State. We are increased (that is, the Georgia Association) to upwards of three thousand three hundred, in about twenty years past."

Some account of the share which Georgia had in the great revival in 1800 and onward, has already been given. Many thousands, during the progress of this revival, were added to the Baptist churches. Mr. Jesse Mercer, of the Georgia Association, in the course of two years baptized about three hundred persons. In 1809, another revival began in the upper part of the State, in the bounds of the Georgia and Sarepta Associations, and many hundreds were hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and united with the churches of his saints.

In 1812, there was a very extensive revival in many different parts of the State. By the four Associations of Oakmulgee, Sarepta, Georgia, and Savannah, it appears that three thousand and eight hundred were added to them all, in the course of the year. To the Savannah were added about fifteen hundred, and to the Sarepta over twelve hundred and fifty.

CHAP. XIII.

An Account of four Baptist Churches of Africans in Georgia, and of two in the West-Indies; together with some general Observations respecting the Circumstances of the African Slaves in the Southern and Western States.

A MYSTERIOUS Providence has permitted a large portion of the sable sons of Africa to be transported from their native country to this western world, and here to be reduced to a state of absolute and perpetual slavery; but He who can bring good out of evil, has overruled this calamity for their spiritual advantage; and thousands of these poor, enslaved, and benighted people, we have very satisfactory reason to believe, have found gospel liberty in the midst of their temporal bondage, and are preparing to reign forever in the kingdom of God.

There are multitudes of African communicants, in all the Baptist churches in the southern and western States; and in Georgia there are four churches, wholly composed of them. Some brief sketches of their history will now be given.

First Coloured Baptist Church in Savannah.

The origin of this church, according to Rippon's Register and Holcombe's Repository, was in the following manner. About the beginning of the American war, George Leile, sometimes called George Sharp, but more commonly known among his brethren and friends by the name of brother George, began to preach at Brampton and Yamacraw, near the city of Savannah. He had been converted about two years before the war by the preaching of a Baptist minister in Burke county, whose name was Matthew Moore; by this minister he was baptized, and by the church, of which he was pastor, he was approbated to preach. His labours were attended with a blessing among the people of his own colour on different plantations, and many of them were brought, by his means, to a saving acquaintance with the gospel. When the country was evacuated by the British, George, with

many others, removed from Georgia to Kingston, in the island of Jamaica. Here his labours were attended with great success, and by him a large church was soon raised up; in giving the history of which, we shall relate more at large the character and labours of this worthy man.

Previous to George's departure for Jamaica, he came up to the city of Savannah from Tylee-river, where departing vessels frequently lay ready for sea, and baptized Andrew Bryan and Hannah his wife, and two other black women, whose names were Kate and Hagar. These were the last labours of George Leile in this quarter. About nine months after his departure, Andrew began to exhort his black brethren and friends, and a few whites who assembled to hear him. Edward Davis, Esq. permitted him and his hearers to erect a rough wooden building on his land at Yamacraw, in the suburbs of Savannah. Of this building they were, in a short time, very artfully dispossessed. It appears that these poor, defenceless slaves met with much opposition from the rude and merciless white people, who, under various pretences, interrupted their worship, and otherwise treated them in a barbarous manner. Andrew Bryan, and his brother Samson, who was converted about a year after him, were twice imprisoned, and they, with about fifty others, without much ceremony were severely whipped. Andrew was inhumanly cut, and bled abundantly; but while under their lashes, he held up his hands and told his persecutors, that he rejoiced not only to be whipped, but *would freely suffer death for the cause of Jesus Christ.* The Chief Justice, Henry Osbourne, James Habersham, and David Montague, Esquires, were their examinants, who released them. Jonathan Bryan, Esq. the kind master of Andrew and Samson, interceded for his own servants and the rest of the sufferers, and was much grieved at their punishment. The design of these unrighteous proceedings against these poor innocent people, was to stop their religious meetings. Their enemies pretended, that under a pretence of religion, they were plotting mischief and insurrections. But by *well doing* they at length silenced and shamed their persecutors, and acquired a number of very respectable and influential advocates and patrons, who not only rescued

them from the power of their enemies, but declared that such treatment as they had received would be condemned even among barbarians. The Chief Justice Osbourne then gave them liberty to continue their worship any time between sun-rising and sun-set; and the benevolent Jonathan Bryan told the magistrates that he would give them the liberty of his *own house or barn*, at a place called Brampton, about three miles from Savannah, and that they should not be interrupted in their worship. From this period, Andrew and Samson set up meetings at their master's barn, where they had little or no interruption for about two years. Such was the beginning of the first African church in Savannah, which, after having been the mother of two others, now contains about fifteen hundred members.

Not long after Andrew began his ministry, and his converts began to increase, they were visited by an aged Baptist minister, whose name was Thomas Burton, since deceased, who, on a credible profession of their faith, baptized *eighteen* of Andrew's black hearers. In 1788, they were visited by Rev. Abraham Marshall, of Kioka, who was accompanied by a young preacher of colour, by by the name of Jesse Peter. Mr. Marshall baptized forty-five more of the congregation in one day, and formed them into a church, and ordained Andrew as their administrator and pastor. This church, at first, consisted of upwards of eighty members, and from the time of its organization, under the successful ministry of its worthy pastor, it began to increase very fast; so that in the year 1792, their number amounted to two hundred and thirty-five; and besides these, there were three hundred and fifty, who had been received as converted followers, many of whom had not obtained permission of their owners to be baptized.

Towards the close of the year 1792, they began to build a place of worship in the suburbs of the city of Savannah, which, by the assistance of a number of benevolent gentlemen of different denominations, was finished in due time, and is 42 feet by 49. The plan of building this house, it seems, was projected by Messrs. Jonathan Clark, Ebenezer Hills, and others. The corporation of the city of Savannah gave them a lot for the purpose.

This coloured church, as it is generally called, (for no white person belongs to it) is now a large and respectable establishment. Many of its members are free, and are possessed of some estate. It was one of the three churches which formed the Savannah-river Association; and by its returns to that body in 1812, it contained about fifteen hundred members, many of whom belong to the plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah, and some are a number of miles out in the country. But their masters give them liberty every Sabbath to meet with their brethren, and the poor creatures, with peculiar delight, go up to their Jerusalem to worship.

Andrew Bryan, the pastor of this church, is now an old man, and is spoken of by all who know him in terms of peculiar respect. He was born at a place called Goose-Creek, about 16 miles from Charleston, (S. C.) in what year is not known. He was a slave when he began to preach; but his kind master indulged him with uncommon liberties. After his death, he purchased his freedom of one of his heirs.

His character was thus given by the judicious Joseph Cook of Ewhaw, in 1792: "His gifts are small; but he is clear in the grand doctrines of the gospel. I believe him to be truly pious; and he has been the instrument of doing more good among the poor slaves, than all the learned doctors in America."

Since writing the above, I have been informed by Mr. Johnson of Savannah, that this venerable man finished his course in October, 1812. He was supposed to have been about 90 years of age. His remains were interred with peculiar marks of respect. Addresses were delivered at the meeting-house by Rev. Mr. Johnson of the Baptist, and Dr. Kollock of the Presbyterian church. About five thousand attended him to the grave, where another address was delivered by Mr. Thomas F. Williams.

Although he was a slave when he began to preach, yet he left an estate worth about three thousand dollars. He is succeeded in the pastoral office by his nephew Andrew Marshall, who is now working his time out, (as they call it) and is said to be a man of promising parts.

Second African Baptist Church in Savannah.

This church was formed in 1802, and now consists of upwards of three hundred members. This church has also a comfortable meeting-house in Savannah, 67 feet by 30. It is under the pastoral care of a very respectable black preacher, whose name is Henry Cunningham. He, like Andrew Bryan, was originally a slave, but is now free, having worked his time out.

The African Church on the Great Ogechee River, commonly called the Great Ogechee Coloured Church.

This body, like the last mentioned, originated from the African church in Savannah, under the care of Andrew Bryan; and was constituted in 1803. But it has not been so prosperous as the two others, and has diminished rather than increased.

African Church in Augusta.

This church appears to have been raised up by the labours of Jesse Peter, a black preacher of very respectable talents, and an amiable character. It was constituted in 1793, by elders Abraham Marshall and David Tinsley.

Jesse Peter, sometimes called Jesse Golfin, on account of his master's name, continued the pastor of this church a number of years, and was very successful in his ministry. I find his character thus given by Mr. Abraham Marshall, in 1793, in Rippon's Register, Vol. I. p. 545: "He is a servant of Mr. Golfin, who lives twelve miles below Augusta, and who, to his praise be it spoken, treats him with respect. His countenance is grave, his voice charming, his delivery good; nor is he a novice in the mysteries of the kingdom."

Mr. Peter died about 1806. Their present pastor is Cæsar M'Cridy, under whose ministry the church appears to flourish and prosper. They have a meeting-house at Springfield, in the upper end of the city of Augusta.

This church was once upwards of five hundred in number; but it is now reduced, by various means, to a little less than four hundred, who walk together in harmony and love.

This church has belonged to the Georgia Association from its beginning. Abraham Marshall, the friend of black people, lives but a short distance from it; and to his fatherly care they are much indebted for many of their comforts.

There are multitudes of black people in all the churches in the southern States; but I know of no church of the Baptist denomination which is wholly composed of them, except those whose history has been related.

Their white brethren generally do not encourage them to form churches by themselves. Such are their circumstances, their mode of life, and their want of knowledge to regulate church affairs, that it is altogether best, in the present state of things, that they should be connected with their white brethren, who are capable of guiding and instructing them.

Some Account of the African Baptists in the Islands of Jamaica and New-Providence.

Jamaica.——In this island there are now two Baptist churches. The first was planted by a black man, by the name of George Leile. This very respectable and successful servant of the Lord, went from Savannah to Jamaica, about the close of the American war. He was born in Virginia about 1750; his father's name was Leile, and his mother's name was Nancy. His master's name was Henry Sharp, who, some time before the war, removed and settled in Georgia. He was a Baptist, and a deacon of a Baptist church of which Elder Matthew Moore was pastor at the time of George's conversion. By Mr. Moore's preaching, this poor slave was awakened to a sense of his lost condition, about two years before the war. After labouring under great distress of mind, about six months, he was brought to rejoice in the truth, and was, not long after, baptized by Mr. Moore,

and received into his church. He was soon discovered to have ministerial gifts, and accordingly the church gave him approbation to preach. He soon began to labour with good success at different plantations. Sometimes he preached on the evenings of Lord's days to the church to which he belonged, and for about three years he preached at Brampton and Yamacraw, in the neighbourhood of Savannah. Mr. Sharp, his master, was kind to his servant and brother, and gave him his freedom not long after he began to preach; but he continued in the family until his master's death, who was killed in the war. George then went free; but some interested heirs, being dissatisfied with his liberation, threw him into prison; but by producing the proper papers, he was released; his particular friend in this business, was a Col. Kirkland. At the evacuation of the country by the British, he went to Jamaica with Col. Kirkland, to whom he was then an indented servant, for money which he owed him. The company landed at Kingston, and Col. Kirkland recommended George to General Campbell, the Governour of the island, who employed him two years, and when he left Jamaica for England, he gave him a certificate for his good behaviour. About this time he had procured money enough to settle Col. Kirkland's demand on him, and then he received from the vestry and Governor, a certificate of the freedom of himself and family; for he had now a wife and a number of children. As soon as he had thus established himself in the country, he set up a meeting in a small private house in Kingston, in September, 1784; he immediately had a smart congregation, and his preaching was attended with very good effect among the poorer sort, especially the slaves. In a short time he formed a church of only five persons, including himself. The people at first persecuted them, both at their meetings and baptisms. It must have been rude fellows of the baser sort indeed, whatever were their pretensions, who would thus disturb these poor defenceless people. But they found friends in the magistrates, who appear, by a number of accounts, to have treated George and his religious associates with much humanity and kindness. They, in the early stage of their proceedings, presented a petition to

the *Honourable House of Assembly*, in which they "set forth their distresses, and desired liberty to worship Almighty God, according to the tenets of the Bible." The Assembly sanctioned their proceedings, by granting them the liberty they desired; upon which, opposition ceased.

From this small beginning, the Baptist cause prevailed very rapidly among the poor Jamaica negroes, so that in seven years from the formation of the church, viz. in 1791, there were, according to Mr. Leile's statement, about four hundred and fifty, who had, in a judgment of charity, been converted to Christ; four hundred of whom had been baptized. And together with well-wishers and followers in different parts of the country, he reckoned about fifteen hundred people.

About six years after this church was planted, Dr. Rippon of London was informed of the pleasing event, by Mr. Joseph Cook, of Ewhaw, (S. C.); and for the purpose of learning more of George Leile and his numerous converts, he immediately wrote letters to Mr. Cook, to Mr. Jonathan Clark, of Savannah, and to Mr. Wesley's people at Kingston; a number of communications were forwarded by different persons, the substance of which he inserted in his Annual Register, which he was publishing at that time, from which the preceding sketches have been selected; and from the same work I shall now transcribe the following letters; as they will furnish the reader with a better view of the character of Mr. Leile and his followers, than can otherwise be given. Previous, however, to introducing the testimony of others, it may be proper to insert the account which Mr. Leile has given of himself and people, which he communicated to Dr. Rippon, in answer to more than fifty questions which the Doctor had proposed to him:

"I cannot justly tell what is my age, as I have no account of the time of my birth; but I suppose I am about 40 years old (in 1791.) I have a wife and four children. My wife was baptized by me in Savannah, and I have every satisfaction in life from her. She is much the same age as myself. My eldest son is nineteen years, my next son seventeen, the third fourteen, and the last child a girl of eleven years; they are all members of the church. My occupation is a farmer, but as the seasons,

in this part of the country, are uncertain, I also keep a team of horses and waggons, for the carrying goods from one place to another, which I attend to myself with the assistance of my sons; and by this way of life have gained the good will of the publick, who recommend me to business, and to some very principal work for Government. I have a few books, some good old authors and sermons, and one large Bible that was given me by a gentleman. A good many of our members can read, and are all desirous to learn; they will be very thankful for a few books to read on Sundays and other days.

"I agree to election, redemption, the fall of Adam, regeneration, and perseverance, knowing the promise is to all who endure, in grace, faith, and good works, to the end, shall be saved.

"There is no Baptist church in this country but ours. We have purchased a piece of land at the east end of Kingston, containing three acres, for the sum of £155,* currency, and on it have begun a meeting-house, 57 feet in length by 37 in breadth. We have raised the brick wall eight feet high from the foundation, and intend to have a gallery. Several gentlemen, members of the House of Assembly, and other gentlemen, have subscribed towards the building, about £40. The chief part of our congregation are *slaves*, and their owners allow them, in common, but three or four bits per week† for allowance to feed themselves; and out of so small a sum we cannot expect any thing that can be of service from them; if we did, it would soon bring a scandal upon religion; and the free people in our society are but poor, but they are all willing, both free and slaves, to do what they can. As for my part, I am too much entangled with the affairs of the world to go on, as I would, with my design, in supporting the cause; this has, I acknowledge, been a great hindrance to the gospel in one way; but as I have endeavoured to set a good example of industry before the inhabitants of the land, it has given general satisfaction another way. And, Rev.

* £140 currency is £100 sterling.

† A bit is about five pence half-penny sterling.

Sir, we think the Lord has put it in the power of the Baptist societies in England to help and assist us in completing this building, which we look upon will be the greatest undertaking ever was in this country for the bringing of souls from darkness into the light of the gospel. And as the Lord has put in your heart to inquire after us, we place all our confidence in you, to make our circumstances known to the several Baptist churches in England; and we look upon you as our father, friend, and brother.

"Within the brick wall we have a shelter, in which we worship, until our building can be accomplished.

"Your letter was read to the church two or three times, and did create a great deal of love and warmness throughout the whole congregation, who shouted for joy and comfort, to think that the Lord had been so gracious as to satisfy us in this country with the very same religion with our beloved brethren in the old country, according to the Scriptures; and that such a worthy ——— of London, should write, in so loving a manner, to such poor worms as we are. And I beg leave to say, that the whole congregation sang out that they would, through the assistance of God, remember you in their prayers. They all together give their Christian love to you, and all the worthy professors of Jesus Christ in your church at London; and beg the prayers of your congregation, and the prayers of the churches in general, wherever it pleases you to make known our circumstances. I remain, with the utmost love, Rev. Sir, your unworthy fellow-labourer, servant, and brother in Christ, GEORGE LEILE.

"P. S. We have chosen twelves trustees, all of whom are members of our church, whose names are specified in the title; the title proved and recorded in the Secretary's office of this island."

The following letter, directed to Dr. Rippon, was dated Kingston, Jamaica, Nov. 26, 1791.

"*Reverend Sir,*

"The perusal of your letter of the 15th July last gave me much pleasure, to find that you had interested yourself to serve the glorious cause Mr. Leile is engaged in.

He has been for a considerable time past, very zealous in the ministry; but his congregation being chiefly slaves, they had it not in their power to support him; therefore, he has been obliged to do it from his own industry; this has taken a considerable part of his time, and much of his attention from his labours in the ministry: however, I am led to believe that it has been of essential service to the cause of God, for his industry has set a good example to his flock, and has put it out of the power of enemies to religion to say, that he has been eating the bread of idleness, or lived upon the poor slaves. The idea that too much prevails here amongst the masters of slaves is, that if their minds are considerably enlightened by religion or otherwise, that it would be attended with the most dangerous consequences; and this has been the only cause why the Methodist ministers and Mr. Leile, have not made a greater progress in the ministry amongst the slaves. Alas! how much is it to be lamented, that a full *quarter of a million* of poor souls should so long remain in a state of nature; and that masters should be so blind to their own interest, as not to know the difference between obedience, enforced by the lash of the whip, and that which flows from religious principles. Although I much admire the *general doctrine* preached in the Methodist church, yet I by no means approve of their discipline set up by Mr. Wesley, that reverend man of God. I very early saw into the impropriety of admitting slaves into their societies, *without permission of their owners*, and told them the consequences that would attend it; but they rejected my advice; and it has not only prevented the increase of their church, but has raised them many enemies. Mr. Leile has very wisely acted a different part. He has, I believe, admitted no slaves into his society but those who had obtained permission from their owners, by which he has made many friends; and I think the Almighty is now opening a way for another church in the capital, where the Methodists could not gain any ground. A short time will determine it, of which I shall advise you. I really have not time to enter so fully on this subject as I wish, being very much engaged in my own temporal affairs, and at present having no clerk. The love I bear

to the cause of God, and the desire I have of being any ways instrumental to the establishing of it in this land of darkness, has led me to write this; but before I conclude, I have some very interesting particulars to lay before you. Mr. Leile has, by the aid of his congregation, and the assistance of some few people, raised the walls of a church ready to receive the roof, but has not the means to lay it on and finish it; nor do I see any prospect of its going further, without he receives the aid of some religious institution from home. One hundred and fifty pounds, I think, would complete it; and if this sum could be raised, it would greatly serve the cause of God, and might be the means of bringing many hundred souls, who are now in a state of darkness, to the knowledge of our great Redeemer. If this could be raised, the sooner the better. Our family contributed towards the purchase of the Methodist chapel; nor shall our mite be wanting to forward this work, if it meets with any encouragement from home. I am a stranger to you, but you may know my character from Daniel Shea, Esq. and John Parker, Esq. merchants in your city; or from Mr. Samuel Yockney, tea-dealer, in Bedford Row.

"Perhaps you may expect me to say something of Mr. Leile's character. He is a very industrious man, decent and humble in his manners; and, I think, a good man. This is my opinion of him. I love all Christians of every denomination; and remain, with respect and sincere regard, Rev. Sir, your friend and Servant,

"STEPHEN COOKE."

In 1793, Mr. George Gibbs Bailey, of Bristol, England, then at Kingston, wrote as follows respecting our worthy brother George: "I have inquired of those, who, I thought, could give me an account of Mr. Leile's conduct, and I can say, with pleasure, what Pilate said, "*I can find no fault in this man.*" The Baptist church thrives abundantly among the negroes, more than any denomination in Jamacia; but I am sorry to say, the Methodist church is declining greatly."

The following Letter to Dr. Rippon was dated Kingston, Jamaica, May 18, 1792.

"*Rev. and dear Sir,*

"In answer to yours, I wrote the 18th December last; and as I have not received a line from you since, I send this, not knowing but the other was miscarried. Mr. Green has called upon me, and very kindly offered his service to deliver a letter for me into your hands; he also advised me to send you a copy of our church covenant, which I have done; being a collection of some of the principal texts of Scripture which we observe, both in America and this country, for the direction of our practice. It is read once a month here on sacrament meetings, that our members may examine if they live according to all those laws which they professed, covenanted, and agreed to: by this means our church is kept in scriptural subjection. As I observed in my last, the chiefest part of our society are poor illiterate slaves, some living on sugar estates, some on mountains, pens, and other settlements, that have no learning, no, not so much as to know a letter in the book; but the reading this covenant once a month, when all are met together from the different parts of the island, keeps them in mind of the commandments of God. And by shewing the same to the gentlemen of the Legislature, the justices, and magistrates, when I applied for a sanction, it gave them general satisfaction; and whenever a negro servant is to be admitted, their owners, after the perusal of it, are better satisfied. We are this day raising the roof on the walls of our meeting-house; the height of the wall from the foundation is seventeen feet. I have a right to praise God, and glorify him for the manifold blessings I have received, and do still receive from him. I have full liberty from Spanish-Town, the capital of this country, to preach the gospel throughout the island. The Lord is blessing the work every where, and believers are added daily to the church. My tongue is not able to express the goodness of the Lord. As our meeting-house is out of the town, (about a mile and a half) I have a steeple on it, to have a bell to give notice to our people, and more particularly to the owners of slaves that are in our society, that they may know the hour on which we meet, and be satisfied that their

servants return in due time; for which reason, I shall be greatly obliged to you to send me out, as soon as possible, a bell, that can be heard about two miles distance, with the price. I have one at present, but it is rather small. The slaves may then be permitted to come and return in due time; for at present we meet very irregular, in respect to hours. I remain with the utmost regard, love, and esteem, Rev, Sir, yours, &c.

"GEORGE LEILE."

The next January, Mr. Leile wrote again to Dr. Rippon as follows:

"Our meeting-house is now covered in, and the lower floor was completed the 24th of last month. We suppose we are indebted for lumber, lime, bricks, &c. between 4 and 500 pounds. I am not able to express the thanks I owe for your kind attention to me, and the cause of God. The school-master, together with the members of our church, return their sincere thanks for the books you have been pleased to send them: being so well adapted to the society, they have given great satisfaction.

"I hope shortly to send you a full account of the number of people in our societies, in different parts of this island. I have baptized near 500.

"I have purchased a piece of land in Spanish-Town, the capital of this island, for a burying-ground, with a house upon it, which serves for a meeting-house. James Jones, Esq. one of the magistrates of this town, and Secretary of the island, told me, that the Hon. William Mitchell, Esq. the Custos, had empowered him to grant me license to preach the gospel, and they have given me liberty, to make mention of their names in any congregation where we are interrupted. Mr. Jones has given permission for all his negroes to be taught the word of God. The gospel is taking great effect in this town. My brethren and sisters, in general, most affectionately give their Christian love to you, and all the dear lovers of Jesus Christ in your church at London, and beg that they and all the other churches will remember the poor Ethiopian Baptists of Jamaica in their prayers. I remain, dear Sir and brother, your unworthy fellow-labourer in Christ,

GEORGE LEILE."

The April following, one of Mr. Leile's associates thus wrote to the assiduous Doctor, who took much pains to learn the affairs of his sable brethren:

"*Rev. and dear Sir.*

"I am one of the poor, unworthy, helpless creatures, born in this island, whom our glorious Master, Jesus Christ, was graciously pleased to call from a state of darkness to the marvellous light of the gospel; and since our Lord hath bestowed his mercy on my soul, our beloved minister, by the consent of the church, appointed me deacon, school-master, and his principal helper.

"We have great reason in this island to praise and glorify the Lord, for his goodness and loving-kindness, in sending his blessed gospel amongst us, by our well-beloved minister, brother Leile. We were living in slavery to sin and Satan, and the Lord hath redeemed our souls to a state of happiness, to praise his glorious and ever-blessed name; and we hope to enjoy everlasting peace by the promise of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. The blessed gospel is spreading wonderfully in this island: believers are daily coming into the church; and we hope in a little time to see Jamaica become a Christian country.

"I remain, respectfully, Rev. and dear Sir, your poor brother in Christ,

"THOMAS NICHOLAS SWIGLE."

I find no account of the progress of this church, nor of the affairs of our African brethren in this island, for about nine years from the last-mentioned date, until the following letter was written, by which it appears that they were in a prosperous state.

"*Kingston, Jamaica, May* 1, 1802.

"*Rev. and dear Sir,*

"Since our blessed Lord has been pleased to permit me to have the rule of a church of believers, I have baptized one hundred and eleven; and I have a sanction from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Rees, rector of this town and parish, who is one the ministers appointed by his Majesty to hold an ecclesiastial jurisdiction over

the clergy in this island, confirmed by a law passed by the legislative body ot this island, made and provided for that purpose.

"Our church consists of people of colour,* and black people; soine of free condition, but the greater part of them are slaves and natives from the different countries in Africa. Our number, both in town and country, is about five hundred brethren, and our rule is to baptize once in three months; to receive the Lord's supper the first Lord's day in every month, after evening service is over; and we have meetings on Tuesday and Thursday evenings throughout the year. The whole body of our church is divided into several classes, which meet every Monday evening, to be examined by their class-leaders, respecting their daily walk and conversation; and I am truly happy to acquaint you, that since the gospel has been preached in Kingston, there never was so great a prospect for the spread of the same as there is now. Numbers and numbers of young people are flocking daily to join both our society and the Methodists, who have about four hundred. Religion so spreads in Kingston, that those who will not leave the Church of England to join the Dissenters have formed themselves into evening societies. It is delightful to hear the people, at the different places, singing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs; and to see a great number of them, who lived in the sinful state of fornication, (which is the common way of living in Jamaica) now married, having put away that deadly sin.

"Our place of worship is so very much crowded, that numbers are obliged to stand out of doors. We are going to build a larger chapel as soon as possible. Our people being poor, and so many of them slaves, we are not able to go on so quick as we could wish, without we should meet with such friends as love our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, to enable us in going on with so glorious an undertaking.

"I preach, baptize, marry, attend funerals, and go through every work of the ministry without fee or re-

* In most parts of the United States, the term *people of colour* is intended to be a more respectful name for black people; but it is probable the writer here intends *creoles*.

ward; and I can boldly say, for these sixteen years since I began to teach and instruct the poor Ethiopians in this island the word of God, (though many and many times travelling night and day over rivers and mountains, to inculcate the ever-blessed gospel) that I never was complimented with so much as a pair of shoes to my feet, or a hat to my head, or money, or apparel, or any thing else, as a recompense for my labour and my trouble, from any of my brethren, or any other person. My intention is to follow the example set before me by the holy Apostle St. Paul, to labour with my hands for the things I stand in need of, to support myself and family, and to let the church of Christ be free from incumbrances.

"We have five trustees to our chapel and burying-ground, eight deacons, and six exhorters.

"I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. V. of his Majesty's ship Cumberland, in this town, who has been at my house and at our chapel, and has seen all my church-books, and the manner in which I have conducted our society. He has lately sailed for England with Admiral Montague, and when he sees you, he will be able to tell you of our proceedings better than I can write.

"All my beloved brethren beg their Christian love to you and all your dear brethren in the best bonds; and they also beg yourself and them will be pleased to remember the poor Ethiopian Baptists in their prayers, and be pleased also to accept the same from, Rev. and dear Sir, your poor unworthy brother in the Lord Jesus Christ, THOMAS NICHOLAS SWIGLE.

"*P. S.* Brothers Baker, Gilbert, and others of the Africans, are going on wonderfully in the Lord's service, in the interiour part of the country."

The circumstance of Mr. Swigle's being in the care of the church at Kingston, led me to think that George Leile was dead. But I now conclude that he was then labouring in the interiour of the country. I have lately learnt from Mr. Johnson of Savannah, and he received his information from the coloured brethren there, that letters were received in Savannah, about 1810, from Mr. Leile, stating that he had met with great success in

his ministry; that he had constituted a respectable church in the interiour of the country, as a branch of the mother church; that the meeting-house in Kingston, with the steeple and bell, cost four thousand pounds.

A short Account of the African Baptists in Providence, one of the Bahama Islands.

In 1791, George Leile wrote to Dr. Rippon as follows: "Brother Amos ——— is at Providence. He writes me that the gospel has taken good effect, and is spreading greatly. He has about three hundred members." This Amos was a negro preacher, and probably went from Georgia with George Leile. It appears by Asplund's Register, that this church was gathered in 1788. I have also learnt from Mr. Johnson, that letters were received from Amos by the black brethren in Savannah, in the autumn of 1812, stating that his church had increased to eight hundred and fifty.

I know of no other Baptist churches in the West-Indies. The Methodists and Moravians have made numerous converts, and formed large establishments. In 1809, according to Lee's History of the Methodists, there were of that society, in all the West-India islands, upwards of twelve thousand.

The African Baptist churches in Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston, have been noticed under the heads of those respective cities.

We shall now close this chapter with some general observations on the condition of the converted negroes, and the slaves generally in the southern States. We shall not enter into the merits of slavery, nor dwell much upon the arguments which are brought for and against it. We design to go no farther into the investigation of this unhappy policy, than to exhibit something of the circumstances of our African brethren, who are involved in it.

Slaves are the most numerous in Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. There are some in a number of the other States; but in these six, the great body of them is found, and Virginia alone contains about three hundred thousand, almost one-third

of its whole population. And I know not but the proportion is as great in the five other States. In all the States under consideration there are multitudes of black people and creoles, who are not slaves. Some are the descendants of manumitted ancestors; many who were born slaves have been liberated by benevolent and conscientious owners, and others have purchased their own freedom.

Multitudes of the inhabitants of these States have nothing to do with slavery; some from principle, and others for the want of means to obtain them.

The Quakers, who are numerous in some of the southern States, to their praise be it spoken, would never hold slaves.

The Methodists in some places set out on this principle: their ministers preached against slavery; many set them at liberty; but I believe at present their scruples are mostly laid aside.

The Baptists are by no means uniform in their opinions of slavery. Many let it alone altogether; some remonstrate against it in gentle terms; others oppose it vehemently; while far the greater part of them hold slaves, and justify themselves the best way they can.

In the six States we have named, there are now about ninety thousand Baptist communicants; and I conclude as many as forty thousand of this great number are negroes. Many of them it is true are free, but the greatest part of them are slaves. Thousands of them are owned by Baptist masters, and others by other people. The owners of slaves have generally been loaded with reproachful invectives for their practice. They have been all, without discrimination, charged with a want of both principle and feeling, with tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. But "to discriminate is just."—Many must be blamed, but others ought rather to be pitied. Many of the best of masters have slaves, who are idle, thievish, stupid, and suspicious, and every way calculated to vex their feelings and mar all their enjoyments: and whatever may be said of the condition of their slaves, all must allow that the masters' is more wretched than theirs. Many I have seen are heartily sick of having slaves about them, and think that the people at the

northward, who are free from the incumbrance of this troublesome property, are far more happy than they.

In travelling to collect materials for this work, I spent about five months in the six States now under consideration. I set out with a determination to say nothing on the subject of slavery; but people would converse upon it. Some were very curious to learn the minds of the northern people respecting slavery; others wanted to know how we could do our work without negroes; and many were anxious to clear themselves of the unjust aspersions, which, in their opinions, had been cast upon them. There is a class of people, (though I am happy to say I do not find many in it who profess religion) that entrench themselves around with their laws, their customs, and their wealth, and spurn with indignity any scruple of the lawfulness of holding slaves. There is another class, who are so amazingly suspicious that you are about to censure them, that it seems really cruel to mention one word against the slave-holding policy. But by far the greater part of those brethren, who are concerned in slavery, converse upon the subject with much frankness, and the following are the principal reasons which they assign for their practice:

1st. They had no hand in bringing them into the country; but since they are brought, somebody must take care of them.

2d. They cost them much money, generally from three to five hundred dollars apiece, and sometimes more; if they set them free, all this must be sacrificed.

3d. Others observed they had inherited their slaves as a part of their patrimonial estate: they came to them without their seeking, and now they know no better way than to find them employment, and make them as comfortable as their circumstances would permit.

4th. Some mentioned that the Romans and other nations had slaves; that they were numerous at the introduction of Christianity; that neither Christ nor the Apostles, nor any of the New-Testament writers said any thing against it; that if it were contrary to the spirit of the gospel, it is strange that it is no where prohibited. The last of these arguments has just about as much weight as those which are brought in support

of infant baptism; the others I shall leave without any comment.

The fact is, most of the people under consideration, awoke into being surrounded with slaves, and now they must make the best they can of their situation.

But it is a well-known and pleasing fact, that the evils of slavery are yearly diminishing. Worldly policy has done something towards ameliorating the condition of this numerous class of pitiful beings; but religion has done much more.

Anxious that these strictures should be made with candour and correctness, and give a true, impartial representation of the business of slavery, as it is practised among our southern brethren, I addressed a number of ministers on the subject, and requested their assistance towards forming this article. But few, however, seemed inclined to say much about it. But Mr. Botsford of Georgetown, South-Carolina, entered cheerfully and ingenuously upon the subject, and the following is a part of his communication. "I have now been in this country upwards of forty-six years, as I arrived in Charleston from England in 1766, then something more than twenty years of age, and had never heard much respecting the negroes, or had seen more than four or five. I had every prejudice I could have against slavery. I must confess to this day, I am no advocate for it. But it does not appear to me in the same light it did on my first arrival. It is true, the slaves have no hope of freedom, and it is also true, they have no proper idea of the nature of freedom. Many in their own country were slaves, and many who were not, were miserable. Several with whom I have conversed, have really preferred their present state in this country to their own country, though in that they were free. It is more than probable, however, were the slave-trade abolished, their own country would be more desirable. I will give you an anecdote of a middle aged woman, who came to me a few weeks ago, to tell me the good things God had done for her soul. Among other things, she very heartily thanked God for bringing her into this country, to hear the blessed gospel. "Well but," said I, "you are a slave." She replied, "O, Massa, I am a slave for true, but I have a good mas-

sa and missis. I wish all my countrymen and women were here to hear this blessed gospel." "What, and be slaves too?" said I. "O Massa," said she, "my own country too bad; this the best country for poor negro, too much if he get good Massa." She is not the only one I have heard express themselves in much the same manner."

Mr. Botsford observes that there are but few plantations in South-Carolina, which have not an opportunity of attending worship, either among themselves or at some publick place. Some masters, it is true, discourage all kinds of worship among their slaves; but many, who are not religious themselves, are yet willing that their slaves should attend to religion, and suffer them to go to places of worship, and permit exhorters to come on their plantations, &c.

Mr. Botsford has a few slaves in his possession, and his reasons for holding them are as follows: "Providence has cast my lot where slavery is introduced and practiced, under the sanction of the laws of the country. Servants I want; it is lawful for me to have them; but hired ones I cannot obtain, and therefore I have purchased some: I use them as servants; I feed them, clothe them, instruct them, &c.;---as I cannot do as I would, I do as I can."

The existence of slavery in a country is calculated to awaken all the propensities of human nature, whether good or bad. Those who are so disposed, have abundant opportunities to play the tyrant, and to vent all their merciless and angry passions upon a set of poor, defenceless fellow beings; while those who are inclined to tenderness and compassion, may always find occasions for displaying these noble virtues. The following anecdotes will exemplify these remarks. A planter in the upper part of Georgia, went down to Charleston to purchase slaves. A cargo had just been landed—they were set up at auction—declared to be sound in wind and limb, and were struck off to the highest bidder. This planter purchased his complement, and the driver conducted them off. On the way to Augusta, one of the women accidentally saw the man who had been her husband in Africa; the dissevered pair immediately recognized each other, and their feelings at this unexpect-

ed meeting may be conceived by those, who are acquainted with conjugal affection. The owner of the husband was moved at the scene, and proposed either to sell or buy, that the poor creatures might live together on the same plantation. But the other, hard-hearted man! would do neither. They of course were soon parted; the woman was conducted up the country, and soon after died with grief.

I spent a night with a Baptist minister in Georgia, who had a plantation of about fifty slaves. By his request I took the lead in the devotion of the evening. A large company of negroes assembled in the hall. Their attention was solemn and devout, and their singing melodious. At the close of the exercises, the master exhorted his servants in a very affectionate manner to attend to what they had heard. Among them was a very aged man, to whom he spoke in the tenderest manner, and inquired respecting his spiritual enjoyments, and so on. His answers were broken, but sensible. After the negroes had retired, my worthy brother gave the following account of the pious old Jack, who was supposed to be at least a hundred years old. He had belonged to a neighbouring estate, which had been divided and run down, and the old worn-out servant was left without support. He went to another plantation among his kindred, but they treated him unkindly, and he concluded to go out into the woods and die. Mr. —— one day returning from Savannah, found him wandering in the road: he inquired who he was? and having heard his melancholy tale, took him into his carriage, carried him home, and had kept him a number of years, without any reward, or ever expecting any.

This old African was an example of piety, and had a striking discernment in spiritual things. One day he said to his master, "Massa, me no like dat a man who pray here and talk to us lass night." "Why, Jack, why you no like him?" "O, me dont know, Massa, he pray and tell well enough; but me no get hold of him." Soon after, it was found out that the man was an impostor.

I was at the house of a Baptist minister in Virginia, who had many slaves, and among them one, who was a brother in the ministry. He was a sensible man and a

very acceptable preacher. He had a wife and family all comfortable and happy. He had a good horse, had money at interest, and was called abroad to preach oftener than his master. And here I would observe, that among the African Baptists in the southern States, there are a multitude of preachers and exhorters, whose names do not appear on the minutes of Associations. They preach principally on the plantations to those of their own colour; and their preaching, though broken and illiterate, is in many cases highly useful.

The following anecdote affords a cutting reproof to all whom it implicates. A poor ignorant negro came to a minister with a melancholy and dejected look, and desired him to come and baptize his master again. "Why, Sambo," replied the minister, "what is the matter of your master?" "O, my massa been one good massa when you baptize afore; but now he forget all his religion, and scold, and vex, and whip poor negro."

I saw a man in Virginia, who was bred in Massachusetts: he went to Virginia with all the prejudices of a New-England man against slavery, and was determined at all events he would never traffick in human flesh. He soon found it difficult to get servants. That class in society who cheerfully serve in New-England are above the business here. He hired his neighbour's slaves; but they were miserable help. At length a fine looking black woman, of about thirty years of age, came to him and begged him to buy her. She had a ticket from her master, signifying that she was for sale. She informed him that her master lived twenty miles off—that she had lost her husband—that she had two children, which her master intended to keep; but his affairs were such that he must sell her, and had given her leave to find a master for herself, a thing very common in these countries. She furthermore added, that a man stood ready to buy her, who wanted to carry her down the Missisippi river; and in case she was sold to him, she must be parted from her children forever. She wept and begged him to buy her, so that she might live near her children. The man knew not what to do, for he found his principles, his interest, and compassion, all thrown into immediate collision; but as interest and compassion

were both on one side, they overpowered his principles, and he bought the woman. She has proved a faithful servant: he permits her to go twice in a year to see her children; and she is happy and contented, and blesses her master for making her his slave.

These anecdotes are absolutely matters of fact, without any fiction or colouring, and they are specimens of what is every where met with throughout the land of slaves.

African converts are numerous among the Methodists as well as Baptists. The Methodist church in Charleston, a few years since, consisted of about eighteen hundred members. It was supposed that fifteen hundred or more of them were negroes.

But after all we can say of the kindness of masters and the comforts of slaves, it must be acknowledged that thousands of these wretched beings are sunk beneath an enormous load of oppressive misery. But the rich grace of God, which has within a few years past been so remarkably diffused in these States among both masters and slaves, I hope, and am inclined to believe, will be the salt of this part of the earth, and preserve it from those dreadful calamities, which many have feared. Were it not for this, I should really fear that oppressed humanity would one day collect its energies to a point, and revenge itself in acts of terrible retaliation on the authors of its weighty woes.

Those, who may wish to gain further information of the religious negroes, may find many interesting accounts in Holcombe's Letters lately published, and in a little piece entitled Sambo and Tooey, published not long since by Mr. Botsford.

CHAP. XIV.

TENNESEE.

This State lies west of North-Carolina, to which it formerly belonged, and directly south of Kentucky, from which it is divided by an east and west line; it is naturally divided into two grand sections by the Cumberland Mountains, which are but thinly inhabited; the settle-

ments of course are mostly in the east and west ends of the State. These two divisions are, for the sake of distinction, called, the one East and the other West Tennessee. Knoxville in East, and Nashville in West Tennessee, are considered the capitals or principal towns in their respective divisions. They are two hundred miles apart.

The Baptists were not, as in Kentucky, the first settlers in this State, nor have they been, as they are there, the most numerous denomination of Christians. The Presbyterians took the lead as a religious denomination here, and in 1788, according to Morse's Geography, when there were but ten Baptist churches in the country, and most of these very small, they had twenty-three large congregations. The Methodists also made an early beginning in this State, especially in its western part, where they have collected many societies, and they are probably now the most numerous of any one denomination in the State. The Presbyterians, however, are considerably numerous; and the Baptists have increased much within a few years, and are now increasing very fast, especially in West-Tennessee.

The first settlements in this State were made on the Holston river and its waters, in East-Tennesee, and in the south-east corner of the State of Virginia; and in these settlements the first Baptist churches were established. It is said there were two churches gathered in this part of Tennessee, which was then a dangerous wilderness, some time before any of those arose, whose history we are now about to relate; but they were broken up and scattered, during the time of the Indian war. The circumstances under which they were gathered, I have not been able to learn. They were probably collected some time after the year 1765, and broken up in that Indian war which happened in 1774. One of these churches was on Clinch-River, a few of whose members returned after the war, and the church was re-constituted by the name of Glade Hollows, and now belongs to the Holston Association.

But the beginning of the first churches which have had a permanent standing was in the following manner: About the year 1780, William Murphy, James Keel, Thomas Murrell, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, Matthew

Talbot, Joshua Kelly, and John Chastain, moved into what was called the Holston country, when it was in a wilderness state, and much exposed to the ravages and depredations of the Indians. These ministers were all Virginians, except Mr. Lane, who was from North-Carolina. They were accompanied by a considerable number of their brethren from the churches which they left, and were followed shortly after by Jonathan Mulky, William Reno, and some other ministers and brethren, and amongst the other emigrants there was a small body which went out in something like a church capacity. They removed from the old church at Sandy-Creek, in North-Carolina, which was planted by Shubael Stearns; and as a branch of the mother church, they emigrated to the wilderness, and settled on Boon's Creek. The church is now called Buffaloe Ridge, and is under the pastoral care of Jonathan Mulky.

In 1781, one year after the settlement of most of the persons above mentioned, five or six churches having been established by the emigrants, they, for their mutual advantage and edification, concluded to meet together in conference twice in a year; this conference, they, in a short time, organized into a temporary Association, which they chose to place under the patronage and direction of the Sandy-Creek Association in North-Carolina. To this body they made annual returns of their proceedings, which they submitted for their inspection and approbation. But the remoteness of their situation rendered this measure so inconvenient, that by the approbation of their North-Carolina brethren, they, in 1786,* erected their body into a distinct and independent Association by the name of Holston. This Association, at this time, consisted of the seven following churches, viz. Kendrick's Creek, Bent Creek, Beaver Creek, Greasy Cove, Cherokee, North Fork of Holston, and Lower French Broad. The ministers belonging to it at this time, were Jonathan Mulky, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, James Keel, William Murphy, John Frost, and Alexander Chambers. A few of these ministers in

* Mr. Asplund in his Register dates this Association in 1788: but the date which I have given must be correct, as I took it from the records of the Association.

a short time removed to other parts, but most of them became permanently stationed in the country, and have been diligent and successful labourers in this part of the vineyard. Most of the early Baptists in this region were of the old Separate order: some, however, were Regulars; but the leading sentiments of both were Calvinistic, and there was so little difference in their notions of doctrine and discipline, that these names were soon forgotten, and they went on together with great union and harmony. This Association adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, at the time of its constitution, and still adheres to the doctrinal sentiments contained in that instrument. They held an occasional correspondence, for a number of years, with some of the Kentucky Associations; but the distance being so great, and the inconveniences attending it were found to be so many, that it has for some time been laid aside. There has been considerable debate at different times in this body about *laying-on-of-hands*; but it is left at present for ministers, churches, and brethren, each one to follow their own light and convictions on the subject. Some refreshing seasons were experienced at different times amongst the churches within the bounds of this Association, and it progressed with a good degree of prosperity until 1802, when, by a mutual agreement, a division, which had some time before been proposed, was effected. The Association at the time of this division contained thirty-six churches, and between two and three thousand members. The line of division was from Powel's River to the Flat Gap, on the Clinch Mountain, and thence by a crooked route to English's Mountain. All the churches to the north of this line remained with, and retained the name and constitution of the Holston Association; while those at the south of it were dismissed to form a new one, which they called Tennessee. A number of churches and some of the oldest in this body, are in the State of Virginia. In 1809, the Holston Association contained eighteen churches, 1213 members, and thirteen preachers, eight of whom were ordained, and five were not. The churches in the State of Tennessee are mostly in the counties of Green, Hawkins, Sullivan, Washington,

Jefferson, and Carter. Those in Virginia are in the counties of Washington and Russel.* In the time of the Great Revival, the bodily exercises of jerking, dancing, &c. were considerably prevalent in many of the churches in this Association and in the Holston settlements generally; an account of which will be given in the history of that remarkable work.

TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION.

This Association, as has been related, arose from the division of the Holston, in 1802. It did not, like the mother Association, adopt the Confession of Faith, but professed to hold its substance and spirit, with some modifications of some of the articles which it contains. Many of the churches in this body are in the neighbourhood of Knoxville, and most of them are on the Holston, Tennessee, and Clinch Rivers. It received its name from the river, which gives name to the State. This Association has already become considerably large, and it now extends over the Clinch River, to the Cumberland Mountain; and a few churches have lately been gathered in the nooks of vallies of the mountain, on land which was, till within five or six years, inhabited by the aboriginal proprietors of the soil.†

* Mr. Semple, in his history of the Virginia Baptists, makes ten churches of this Association to be in Virginia; but from the Minutes which I took when I visited it in 1810, there were but three. The reason of this disagreement is probably this. I was informed that a number of churches, which had formerly belonged to the Association, had, for some cause which I cannot now relate, withdrawn; these churches are probably the ones in question, and had not withdrawn when Mr. Semple received his information.

† The road from East to West Tennessee leads directly over the stupendous and terrible piles of the Cumberland Mountains. Eighty miles of this road are most rugged and dreary indeed. It leads through land till lately claimed by the Indians, and it was by paying an annual sum for the privilege, that the United States government obtained permission of the native proprietors of the soil, to lay open a road through this desolate region, and establish three or four stands where houses of entertainment were kept for the convenience of travellers. But five or six years ago a very large tract of country, in which this road was included, was purchased of the Indians, and their claim to it forever extinguished. Since that period a few settlements have been made in the inhabitable parts of the mountains, but a considerable part of them are wholly unfit for settlement; as they are altogether incapable of cultivation. There are now many inns or ordinaries on the road for the entertainment of travellers; most of which are of a truly inferiour kind. A few of them, however, are kept with a good degree of neatness and attention; and furnish more comforts to the lonesome traveller, than he could expect to find in such a barren and inhospitable desert. This road I found the most dreary and unpleasant of any which I travelled in any of the United States.

One night I tarried at an inn where I was treated with much hospitality. Shortly after I arrived, the people informed me that two panthers had lately

This Association in 1809, contained thirty churches, fourteen ordained and two unordained preachers, and 1466 communicants. The churches are principally in the counties of Knox, Claiborne, Seveir, and Jefferson. The dispute about the laying-on-of-hands has also been, at different times, agitated in this Association as well as in the Holston, and the subject is also left on the same ground. Robert Fristoe of this Association, a native of Stafford county, in Virginia, and nephew to the famous Virginia preachers of the name, usually officiates as the Moderator of its meetings, and is considered a principal minister in the body.

WEST TENNESSEE.

The settlements in this part of the State were not commenced till a number of years after those in East Tennesee had become large and flourishing. In the year 1780, a party of about forty families, invited by the richness of the Cumberland country, under the guidance and direction of Gen. James Robertson, passed through a wilderness of at least 300 miles to the French Lick, there founded the town of Nashville, on the Cumberland River, and commenced settlements on the luxuriant soil in its vicinity. But I have not learnt that there were any Baptists in this company. The first church of this denomination in West Tennessee was gathered in 1786, on one of the branches of Red River, called Sulphur

been seen by the side of the road which I had passed, and that one of these dreadful animals had, not long before, came near the house in the night, and screamed like a woman in distress, and came near decoying the man of the house to go out into the woods to search for what he supposed at first a bewildered and unfortunate sufferer. They had but just finished this relation, when two men rode up to the door, of a most rustick and woodsy appearance; they informed us that they were in pursuit of a man who had lately broken a log jail, some distance off down the mountain, and that he was imprisoned for robbing and murdering a traveller on the road. This was unpleasant news for me. They also informed us there were lurking a few miles off, two noted horse-thieves on foot, one of whom had lately broken jail in South-Carolina, and had fled to these remote mountains for protection, and that they were supposed to be waiting to furnish themselves with horses to expedite their escape to still remoter regions, as horse-stealing in South-Carolina is a capital crime; and this, I thought, was bad news for myself and horse too. The people also informed me, that the wolves were at that time very numerous and voracious, and that a company of them had, a day or two before, shown alarming signs of insolence and hostility to some travellers on the road. After hearing all these unpleasant relations, I committed myself to the divine protection, and retired to rest as composedly as I could; but I could not help reflecting that I must ride in the morning, if my horse was not stolen, over rocks and mountains, through mud and snow, ten miles, without a house or inhabitant.

Fork, some considerable distance from Nashville. Who were its constituents I have not been able to learn; they must, however, have been an adventurous set of people, to have settled in such a remote region, where they were exposed to continual alarms, and destructive depredations from the Indians. The founders of this church probably emigrated from North-Carolina or Virginia, about the year 1783, when a swarm of emigrants poured into this region from many different quarters. One John Grammar was for a short time their pastor; but he removed from them, and the church was dissolved before any of those were formed which are now in existence. A considerable number of families of the Baptist persuasion had settled in many parts of the Cumberland country,* but it was not till the year 1790, that Baptist churches began to be established, or the denomination to flourish. In the course of five or six years from this date, five churches were gathered; and in 1796, they were embodied into an Association called Mero District, after the name of a civil department, which then comprehended all the counties in West-Tennessee. This Association has become the mother of two others, viz. the Red River and Concord, which are both considerably large, and very respectable and flourishing establishments. The five churches, which at first composed the Mero Association, were Mouth of Sulphur Fork, White's Creek, Head of Sulphur Fork, which has generally been known by the name of Dorris's church, Middle church on Sulphur Fork, and the church on the west Fork of Station Camp. The ministers, who had assisted in raising up these churches, were Daniel Brown, Joseph Dorris, Nathan Arnett, and Patrick Mooney. The number of members at the commencement of the Association is not recorded,† but they must have been

* As the first settlements in this part of Tennessee were made on the Cumberland River and its vicinity, the whole region was distinguished by the name of the "Cumberland Country, or Cumberland Settlements," and it was not until the settlements became extensive, that the name of West Tennesee was adopted.

† It is a uniform practice with all the Associations in the western and most of those in the southern States, to procure a blank book at their commencement, in which they record all their proceedings and all remarkable events. Many Associations could not conveniently print their Minutes, until a number of years after their commencement. But in these records they are preserved. This

few. The church at the Mouth of Sulphur Fork is the oldest now in existence in West-Tennessee. It was constituted in 1791, by the assistance of Elder Ambrose Dudley and John Taylor, from the Elkhorn Association in Kentucky. These ministers by the request of the brethren in this place travelled not far from two hundred miles, mostly through a wilderness, where they were continually exposed to be destroyed by the Indians. This church was at first called Tennessee; it united with the Elkhorn Association, where it continued until the Mero District Association was formed. This church remained alone in the wilderness, having no other within more than a hundred miles of it, until 1794, when that on White's Creek in Davidson county, about six miles to the north of Nashville, was gathered. The church at the Head of Sulphur Fork was constituted in North-Carolina in 1795, and immediately after emigrated to this country in a church capacity, having before their removal chosen Joseph Dorris for their pastor; from this circumstance, this has been generally distinguished by the name of Dorris's church. The Middle church on Sulphur Fork was constituted in 1796, and partly of members, who had belonged to the church, which was gathered in 1786; the one on Station Camp was raised up the same year. These were the beginnings of the Mero Association, and it will be seen by recurring to the geography of the country, that most of the churches were on the waters of the Red River, and that all of them were north of the Cumberland.

At the annual meeting of the Association in 1797, the churches on Richland Creek, Mill Creek, and the Head of Red River, were admitted as members of the infant establishment. That on Richland Creek was the first Baptist church which was gathered on the south side of the Cumberland River. The Rev. John Dillohunty took the care of this church at its commencement, and still continues their much respected pastor. He emigrated from the Neuse Association in North-Carolina, and has been an eminent and successful Baptist preacher for fifty-five years.

commendable practice is not generally adopted by the Associations in the middle and eastern States, but it is certainly worthy their attention. These records have afforded me peculiar service, and have often saved me much riding and labour.

The church on Mill Creek was the second one raised on the south side of the Cumberland River; it is like that on Richland Creek in the neighbourhood of Nashville. The same day the church was constituted, Mr. James Whitsett, who is a native of Virginia, was ordained as their pastor, in which office he still continues. He is now in the meridian of life, and by a kind Providence placed in easy circumstances, and is laborious, successful, and highly esteemed, throughout an extensive circle of brethren and churches. Robert C. Foster, Esq. a planter of considerable opulence, and one of the Senators in the State Legislature, is a member of this church.

From 1797 till 1801, the Association travelled on in a prosperous manner, and had increased to eighteen churches, in which were sixteen ministers and about 1200 members; but now its progress was impeded, and its former harmony much interrupted. Some reports had gone abroad against Joseph Dorris, who had at this time become very popular as a preacher, and a number of things had appeared in his conduct, which had, for some time, been a source of peculiar trial to many of his brethren. But no steps of gospel labour were taken with him, until the matter was abruptly introduced before the Association at Mill Creek in the year 1800, by the delegates from the church on White's Creek. They, pursuant to instructions received from their constituents in open assembly, declared a non-fellowship with both Dorris and his church; with Dorris for unchristian behaviour, and with his church for not dealing with him. The matter, being thus brought before the Association, the churches were advised to send brethren to examine into the grounds of complaint against Dorris and his church. An examination in due form was accordingly made; and though the charges against Mr. Dorris were many and grievous, yet nothing could be sufficiently proved to justify the Association in excluding either him or his church from their seats. The report of these proceedings was made at the Association in 1802, on the reception of which the churches of White's Creek and Richland Creek immediately withdrew.

No further steps were taken at this meeting. But at an extra session of the Association in the April follow-

ing, appointed for the special purpose of attending to this business, it was resolved that Mr. Dorris's case should be reconsidered; and the Association proceeded to try their obnoxious brother the second time for the same offences. He however acceded to the proposal, and professed to desire a full and fair investigation of all the charges exhibited against him. But this examination issued like the former; the brethren concerned could not, by substantial proofs, convict him; nor could they, in their own minds, acquit him. His friends declared him innocent, but others alleged that he had, by the connivance of his party, and his own artful measures, so entrenched himself on every side, that matters could not be fairly examined. The Association now relinquished their pursuit of Mr. Dorris, and began to study how they should extricate themselves from the difficulty in which they were involved on his account. They would have been glad to have dismissed him and his church at first, but he was as much determined to maintain his seat, as his brethren were to displace him. The Association, therefore, at last, resorted to the singular expedient of dissolving their body and forming a new one, into which they would not receive him. This event took place in the year 1803. The new Association, which originated in this curious transformation, was called Cumberland; and all the churches, which had belonged to the old Association, united with the new one, except Dorris's and three other small ones, which sided with him. These four churches continued to meet under the name of the Mero Association; their number in 1805, amounted to about 200; but they have never prospered, nor increased, nor been admitted into the fellowship of any of the neighbouring Associations.

Mr. Dorris, of whom so much has been said, and who has been the cause of so much trouble to his brethren in these parts, is a native of North-Carolina, where he commenced his ministry. The manner of his removal to this country has been related. His reputation was sullied before he left his native State, and he always moved under a misty cloud of censures and complaints since he settled in Tennessee. The burden of the charges against him have been for imprudent or criminal

conduct with women, that fruitful source of iniquity and slander, from which have issued a thousand polluted streams, to spot the garments and ruin the usefulness of many, who have assumed the ministerial character. But amidst all the evil reports, which have been circulated against him for twenty years, Mr. Dorris has continued to preach abundantly, with great confidence and zeal; for notwithstanding all the censures which his brethren have passed upon him, and the warnings which they have published against him, such are his talents and address, that he has ever found means to attach many to his person and ministry. He is said to be a man of great art and intrigue; and it has also often been said of him (as it may in truth be said of many others) that if he had been as careful and skilful in avoiding occasion for censures and reproaches, as he has been in entrenching and defending himself when they were brought against him, that he would doubtless have enjoyed, through life, much more reputation, innocence, and ease.

CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION.

The singular origin of this body has already been related. It contained fifteen churches at its beginning; and in 1806, three years after, so great was its prosperity that it had increased to thirty-nine churches which contained about 1900 members. Its bounds had now become so extensive, that a division was thought necessary; and the mountainous tract of land called the Red River Ridge, which lies between the Red and Cumberland Rivers, was agreed upon for a general line of division. The churches south and south-east of this ridge retained the name and constitution of the Cumberland Association, while those on the other side of it formed themselves into a new one, by the name of Red River. The Cumberland, from this division, travelled on with a prosperous course until 1809, when its boundaries had become so extensive, that it was thought expedient that it should divide again. Another division was accordingly amicably effected, and the line was as follows. To begin on the Red River, and at the place where the road from Lexington, Kentucky, to Nashville, crosses it, and to

follow this road southwardly by Haysborough to Nashville, thence to the Harpeth Licks, and thence to the Tennessee River. This line runs about north and south, and all the churches west of it retained the name and constitution of the Cumberland Association, while those east of it were formed into a new one, by the name of Concord. By this division the mother Association was reduced to ten churches; but it has since greatly increased. In 1811 and 1812 there was a very extensive revival in the bounds of this Association. At its annual session in 1812, it appeared that in twelve months past 1081 members had been added to its churches. This Association, as will be seen by the line of division above mentioned, lies wholly to the west of Nashville. A number of its churches are not far from that town in the county of Davidson, the oldest county in West-Tennessee; and of the rest some are in the counties of Dickson, Montgomery, and Humphries.

RED RIVER ASSOCIATION.

THE manner in which this body originated has already been related. It contains some of the oldest churches in the country. The river which gave name to it has its rise in the State of Kentucky, but its course, which is generally south-west, is mostly in Tennessee; it empties into the Cumberland River at Clarksville, about twenty-five miles below Nashville.

A good degree of prosperity has attended this Association from its beginning, and it has now become large. It lies on the line between Tennessee and Kentucky, and a part of its churches are in the latter State.

CONCORD ASSOCIATION.

THIS body was organized in 1810, of churches dismissed from the Cumberland Association. Between eight and nine hundred members were added to it in 1812. The churches in it lie on both sides of the Cumberland River, and extend eastward from Nashville about fifty miles, near to the western side of the Cumberland Mountains. I have not ascertained the names of all the coun-

ties in which they are situated. A number of them, however, are in those of Davidson, Sumner, Wilson, and Rutherford.

ELK RIVER ASSOCIATION.

THIS is a new Association, which was formed in 1808, in a remote and newly settled region, on the south side of the State of Tennessee, and in the neighbourhood of the Tennessee river, about opposite the Muscle Shoals. This extensive tract of land, known at present by the name of the Elk and Duck River country, much of which is said to be very fertile, was included in that extensive purchase which the United States' government made a few years ago of the Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians. As soon as the Indian claim was extinguished, and the white people were permitted to make purchases in the country, they pressed into it with great eagerness from many different parts. Most of the earliest settlers, however, are said to have emigrated from the back parts of the State of Georgia; and amongst them were many of the Baptist order. By them a number of churches were soon gathered. The Association at its commencement contained seven churches; the next year after it was constituted, it received five new churches, and the year following ten; it contains twenty-four churches, and upwards of two thousand members. Upwards of a thousand of them were added in 1812.

The Union church on War Trace in Bedford county, formerly belonged to the Cumberland Association. One or more of the churches in this body are in the Missisippi Territory. The others are principally in the counties of Franklin, Madison, Bedford, Warren, and White.

The Associations in West Tennessee have devised and adopted the following "Abstract of Principles," by which the reader will discover the doctrinal sentiments which prevail amongst them.

1st. We believe in one only true and living God, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.—2d. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice.—3d. We believe in the doctrine of election,

and that God chose his people in Christ before the foundation of the world.—4th. We believe in the doctrine of original sin.—5th. We believe in man's impotency to recover himself from the fallen state he is in by nature, by his own free will and ability.—6th. We believe that sinners are justified in the sight of God, only by the imputed righteousness of Christ.—7th. We believe that God's elect shall be called, converted, regenerated, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit.—8th. We believe the saints shall persevere in grace, and never fall finally away. —9th. We believe that baptism and the Lord's supper are ordinances of Jesus Christ, and that true believers are the subjects; and we believe that the true mode of baptism is by immersion.—10th. We believe in the resurrection of the dead, and general judgment.—11th. We believe the punishment of the wicked and the joys of the righteous will be eternal.—12th. We believe that no ministers have a right to the administration of the ordinances, only such as are regularly baptized, called, and come under the imposition of hands by the presbytery, &c.

Most of these accounts of Tennessee were made out in 1811. Since that time great additions have been made to the churches in this State, particularly in West Tennessee. Our brethren in these parts have been favoured with a number of great and precious revivals. While the great work was going on in Kentucky, in 1800 and onward, this country was visited with a part of the copious shower of grace. We have seen that great numbers were added to the churches here in 1812. In this year, Mr. Whitsett, near Nashville, baptized about 350, and among the number were five students of Cumberland college, in that town.

CHAP. XV.

KENTUCKY.

THIS State lies west of Virginia, which it joins, and to which it formerly belonged. It was admitted into the Union as an independent State in 1792. Kentucky was well known to the Indian traders long before its settlement. James Macbride, with some others, explored it as early as 1754. Col. Daniel Boon visited it in 1769; and four years after, he and his family, with five other families, who were joined by forty men from Powel's Valley, began the settlement of this fertile region. I do not learn that any of these first settlers were Baptists; but they soon after began to flock to this western wilderness.

The first settlers of Kentucky, and indeed of all the western States, were for a long time much harassed by the aboriginal proprietors of the soil, and against the united opposition of all the western Indians their settlements were made. The Indians were always jealous of the encroachments of the white people on the territories which the God of nature had given them; and in this case their resentment was the more enraged, because these settlements were made in violation of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, which expressly stipulated that this tract of country should be reserved for the western nations to hunt upon, &c. With these provocations to revenge, the red men of the wilderness were most troublesome neighbours to the first adventurers into the western country. Many lost their lives either on their way hither, or after they had settled. Excited by a thirst for blood and the hope of plunder, and encouraged by the traders from Detroit and Niagara, these barbarous people continued almost without intermission to harass the frontier settlers, until Wayne's Treaty in 1795. From that period until lately, they have been peaceably disposed, and very few depredations have been committed.

A number of Baptist ministers visited Kentucky about 1779; and among them were John Taylor, who

is yet living in it, and Lewis Lunsford, who died in Virginia, who was at that time called *The Wonderful Boy.* The object of these ministers, says Mr. Taylor, was more to look than to preach. They found a few of their brethren in the country; but they were in an uncomfortable state in every respect, being very cold as to their religious enjoyments, and much exposed to danger on every side. These ministers had a few meetings at the stations; they found the country destitute of almost every thing except grass for their horses, and meat from the woods, which was procured at the risk of their lives. They could do but little more than feast their eyes with the luxuriant soil, which the Indians had determined they should not cultivate. They, I believe, all returned to Virginia; but some of them afterwards went out and settled in the country.

About 1781, some Baptist preachers and many Baptist members began to settle in Kentucky. From that period the emigration became very rapid, so that by the year 1786, the following ministers, viz. Lewis Craig, Joseph Bledsoe, George S. Smith, Richard Cave, James Smith, James Rucker, Robert Elkin, John Taylor, William Taylor, John Tanner, John Bailey, Joseph Craig, Ambrose Dudley, and probably some others, had taken up their residence in different parts of the Kentucky woods, some on the north and others on the south side of the Kentucky river.

A flood of Baptist emigrants, mostly from Virginia, poured into this country at the close of the American war, and by them a considerable number of churches were soon established and as early as 1785, three Associations were organized, which were called Elkhorn, Salem, and the Separate or South Kentucky Association.

The emigration from Virginia to this western region was a hazardous business, and was conducted in a somewhat singular manner. They had a vast tract of wilderness to go through, in which they were constantly exposed to the assaults of the Indians. Their safety consisted in travelling in as large companies as they could collect. There were, on the frontiers of the old settlements, a number of places of rendezvous, which were called stations. Here the first families which ar-

rived would tarry until others came up, and after a sufficient number had collected, the whole would move off like a caravan through the wilderness. I have been informed, if I mistake not, that some of the companies amounted to three hundred men, women and children. In some instances the Baptist emigrants would form themselves into a church before they set out, and in that capacity they settled in Kentucky. While on the way, as one of their ministers humorously observes, they might, like the children of Israel, be styled the church in the wilderness. By this rapid emigration, Kentucky soon abounded with Baptists; and they have been from the first, and I conclude now are, the most numerous denomination in the State.

In 1790, according to Asplund's Register, there were in Kentucky forty-two churches, forty ordained and twenty-one unordained ministers, and a little more than three thousand members. Since that time, the number has greatly increased, so that there are now over two hundred and fifty churches, and somewhere between fifteen and twenty thousand members. The whole statement will be given, so far as it can be ascertained in the general table. There are now eleven Associations in this State in professed fellowship with each other, besides three other establishments of the kind, which for different reasons are not in fellowship with the main body of their brethren. A brief account of these respective Associations, will form the substance of the history of the Baptists in Kentucky.

ELKHORN ASSOCIATION.

This body, at its constitution, contained only the three churches of Tate's Creek, Clear Creek, and South Elkhorn; all of which were formed in 1785, the same year in which they associated. Some churches were gathered the same year, and a number shortly after, which united with this establishment; so that in seven years from its constitution, it had increased to twenty-three churches and 1700 members. The bounds of this Association were for a number of years very extensive, as it comprehended all the churches north of the

Kentucky River, and some of those which were south of it; the church at Columbia, in the North-Western Territory, now the State of Ohio, and a church in the Cumberland settlements in the State of Tennessee. It has also contained from the first a number of very large and flourishing churches, which have sent forth many preachers, and many surrounding branches. The churches of South Elkhorn, Clear Creek, Bryan's Station, and the Great Crossing, are among those which have been the most distinguished for numbers and prosperity. During the great revival, these four churches together, received in one year the addition of 1378 members. This Association has, at different times, comprehended a number of laborious and successful ministers. A number of the preachers who emigrated from Virginia were men of the above description. And in 1788, when there were not more than twenty churches in the State, and but twelve in the Elkhorn Association, Mr. John Gano, a man famous both for counsel and war, moved from the city of New-York, and became the pastor of the Town Fork church, in the neighbourhood of Lexington, belonging to this body. Possessed of these advantages, this Association was much resorted to in difficult cases for counsel and assistance. Under these prosperous circumstances, it continued to progress with great harmony and order for about twenty years, receiving yearly additions of churches gathered within its extensive boundaries. In the happy days of the great revival, many of the churches in this body experienced refreshing seasons of an uncommon nature, and shared largely in that powerful work, which prevailed in such a rapid and astonishing manner in different parts of the State. At its annual meeting in 1801, it received the addition of 3011 members. In 1802, twelve churches more were added, which made its whole number of members 5310. But these joyful scenes were of short duration: very gloomy and perilous times have succeeded; and the course of this body, from the close of this remarkable enlargement to the present time, has been generally difficult and unprosperous. It has been often and almost annually diminished, by dismissing churches to unite with the neighbouring Associations.

But as their brethren were dismissed in harmony, and still continued in fellowship, though these things have diminished their number, yet they did not constitute their trials: these arose from other quarters and the zeal produced by the great revival had hardly abated before they began; and the intervals of tranquillity have been but short from that to the present time.

About the year 1802, the Rev. Augustin Easton, a preacher of considerable eminence, and the pastor of a respectable church at Cooper's Run, in the county of Bourbon, and His Excellency James Gerrard, a member of the same church, formerly a preacher in the Elkhorn Association, but then Governor of the State of Kentucky, began to disclose some speculations of an Arian or Socinian cast, and led their brethren to suspect that they were dangerously inclined, if not fully established in these sentiments. For some time, the minds of many were much agitated by these new subjects of speculation; and the eminence and ability of the men by whom they were propagated, excited fearful apprehensions of their extensive prevalence. The majority of the church at Cooper's Run, of which Mr. Easton was pastor, and to which the Governor belonged, had already espoused their sentiments, and three other smaller neighbouring churches had done the same. Anxious to make every proper exertion to reclaim their brethren, and prevent the progress of what they supposed a growing heresy, the Association held an occasional session in April, 1803, and appointed the five following ministering brethren, viz. David Barrow, John Price, Ambrose Dudley, Joseph Redding, and Carter Tarrant, a committee to visit these four churches, and endeavour to convince them of their error. But the attempt proving unsuccessful, they were dropped from the Association, and no extensive effects were produced by this new scheme of doctrine.

About two years after this difficulty had subsided, another was introduced into the Association on the subject of slavery, which arose to a very serious and distressing affair. For several years, there had been a number of preachers and members of churches in this and the neighbouring Associations, who were in principle and practice opposed to the holding of slaves, in the man-

ner in which such multitudes are held by the Baptists in this and many other States; but they had hitherto made the circumstance a matter of burden and forbearance. But a resolution of the Association, at its annual session in August, 1805, expressing their disapprobation of ministers, churches, or Associations meddling with the subject of emancipation from slavery, gave great offence to the emancipators: a number immediately left the assembly; and being previously matured for a separation, some slight attempts, which were afterwards made for a reconciliation, served only to extend the breach, and an open and painful rupture ensued.

The subject of emancipation was about the same time agitated in the Bracken and North District Associations, where it produced similar divisions. The emancipators, being thus separated from the communion of their slave-holding brethren in three Associations, collected from different parts, and in 1807 formed an Association of their own, and Messrs. Barrow and Tarrant, two members of the committee in the Arian affair, were the principal leaders in this new separation.

The difficulties of this unhappy community, which seemed destined to suffer internal trouble and commotion, followed each other in quick succession. At the same time that the controversy about emancipation was agitated, a dispute had begun between two individuals, which, after going through a number of trials in different forms, was introduced into the Association in 1806, where it was improperly and unsuccessfully tampered with about four years, when it divided into two contending parties this once flourishing and harmonious body. The unpleasant dispute which has been the cause of so much evil, was at first very small and inconsiderable, and originated between Elder Jacob Creath and Mr. Thomas Lewis, in a bargain respecting the exchange of two poor slaves. Mr. Creath was the pastor, and Mr. Lewis one of the principal members of the Town Fork church, in the neighbourhood of Lexington. This church was under the pastoral care of Mr. Gano, a number of years after his removal to Kentucky. But this eminent servant of the Lord, and skilful arbitrator in religious dis-

putes, had been taken from the evil to come before this painful contest commenced.

As it may appear strange that a personal disagreement should be the cause of such extensive divisions, the reader ought to be informed, that the opponents of Mr. Creath soon lost sight of the first subject of dispute, in the midst of a number of grievous allegations of various kinds, which at every stage of the difficulty were brought against him. Amongst other things, a pamphlet, entitled "A Portrait of Jacob Creath," containing fourteen charges, some of them of a very weighty and a number of a frivolous nature, was published by Elder Elijah Craig, one of the oldest, but we cannot say best, ministers in the Association. In consequence of this pamphlet, the church in which the difficulty begun, proceeded to call a committee or council from sixteen of the neighbouring churches, to investigate the charges exhibited against their pastor. Forty-two delegates assembled, and after four days' investigation of the business, this numerous convention voted Mr. Creath an unanimous acquittal of all the charges, which Mr. Craig in his Portrait had exhibited against him. But notwithstanding this, an influential minority of the Association still continued dissatisfied with Mr. Creath, and by this time they had also conceived many grievances against their brethren, who had acted in the affair. The controversy now became a subject of general concern, and was altercated by the Association when collected, by most of the churches of which it was composed when at home, and by a number of families of very considerable influence. The prospect of an accommodation appeared still farther removed, and the affair became more embarrassing at every stage. The Association had imprudently intermeddled with a dispute, which it could not consistently decide, and after a lengthy and painful attention to it, its division appeared inevitable. Mr. Creath had sustained a number of trials in different forms for nearly the same things, in all of which he had been acquitted, and many were desirous that these decisions should terminate the dispute. The Association progressed as usual; but the minor party still continued

their dissatisfaction, and in 1809 they declined attending its annual session. Mr. Lewis, with whom the contest began, died about this time, but this event had no apparent effect on the minds of his advocates. They were now prepared for the unhappy result, which had long been expected; but being unwilling to appear as a seceding faction, they alleged that the majority had departed from the original constitution of the Association; and at a meeting of consultation for the purpose, they adopted the singular resolution of meeting in a different place at the same time with them, and to claim the name and prerogatives of the Elkhorn Association. Such was the conduct of a number of aged ministers, who had always before been highly esteemed for their wisdom and prudence; but they afterwards concluded to give up the name of Elkhorn, which they had absurdly assumed, and call their new establishment the Licking Association.

These measures were peculiarly distressing to the friends of Zion throughout an extensive circle. The ministers, who promoted them, were John Price, Ambrose Dudley, Joseph Redding, Lewis Corben, Absalom Bainbridge, and some others, whose influence was not so great. These ministers were among the oldest and most respectable in the State; they had long borne the burden and heat of the day, and their names were every where mentioned with respect. Considering their age and experience, none could suppose they would contend for trifles, and yet it was difficult for any to discover sufficient reason for their dividing measures. The most active among them was John Price, a man of an unpleasant temper, of great asperity of manners, and whose zeal, on all occasions, has partaken too much of the nature of party spirit. Mr. Creath, against whom their united efforts were directed, is in the meridian of life, of popular talents, but not the most amiable in his manners, nor conciliating in his address. He evidently in many cases displayed too much of the air of triumph towards his aggrieved brethren. While I was in Kentucky in the winter of 1809—10, these disputes were warm, and engaged the attention of almost every individual minister and member throughout an extensive circle. This cir-

cumstance made my visit peculiarly unpleasant. I saw much to admire in my brethren on both sides, but I could not approve their treatment of each other. I was grieved to see a number of aged ministers, whom I had been taught to respect a thousand miles off, and who now appeared to be men of wisdom and men of God, so deeply engaged in a frivolous dispute. The major party appeared more bent on conquest than reconciliation. On the whole, I was led to think there must be bad leaven somewhere, to produce such a sour fermentation.

In the end, the Association was divided in a most painful manner, and a number of churches which took different sides were torn to pieces. All attempts at reconciliation have proved ineffectual, and nothing but the obliterating hand of time seems capable of healing the breach. The Elkhorn Association has in a good degree recovered from the distressing shock, and the new one appears to be rising to a degree of consistency and respect.

BRACKEN ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1798. Most of the churches, of which it was at first composed, were dismissed from the Elkhorn Association. The church at Washington was constituted in 1785. It is not only the largest and the oldest in this Association, but is also one of the oldest in Kentucky. It was for some time under the care of Mr. William Wood, who lost his fortune and character by land speculation. It was principally by the solicitation of Mr. Wood, and by his encouraging proposals of worldly advantage, that Mr. John Gano was influenced to leave the city of New-York, and remove to the wilds of Kentucky. He landed June, 1787, at Lymestone on the Ohio River; and at Washington, which is only four miles from it, he tarried two years before he removed to the place of his final settlement. The Washington church united with the Elkhorn Association soon after that body was formed, in which connexion it continued till dismissed to form the Bracken. This Association was small at its beginning, and has never had any great increase; and in 1805, its harmony suffer-

ed a temporary interruption, by the dispute which then prevailed in many parts of Kentucky respecting the emancipation of slaves. This controversy issued in the final separation of a number of ministers and churches from the Association, who united with the emancipating party. The churches are in the counties of Mason, Bracken, and Fleming, in the north-east part of the State.

NORTHBEND ASSOCIATION.

THIS Association is also on the north side of the State, to the west and south-west of the Bracken. It was formed, in 1802, of churches which were mostly dismissed for the purpose from the Elkhorn Association, and it received its name from that of a distinguished place in the Ohio River, about twenty miles below the town of Cincinnati. It is a small establishment, which has travelled from its beginning in harmony and love. The churches are in the counties of Campbell, Pendleton, and Boone, along the Licking and Ohio Rivers. The first beginning of that powerful and extensive work, which has been generally denominated the great revival, began in 1799, in what are now the bounds of this Association, and in 1810 and 1811, a refreshing season was again granted to some of the churches in this connexion, and to the one at Bulletsburg 130 were added in the course of a few months. This church is the largest and most distinguished in this Association. It now (1812) contains 270 members, and is under the care of Absalom Graves. The late William Cave, who was a very distinguished character, was a member of this body. Mr. John Taylor, who preached to this church a number of years, gives it a very pleasing character for skilful discipline, and also for harmony and brotherly love. From it have proceeded a number of other churches, the names of which I am not able to give.

SEPARATE OR SOUTH KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION.

THIS name was given to an Association, which was formed in 1785, on the south side of Kentucky River, and which remained on its first foundation about sixteen years. Robert Elkin, Joseph Bledsoe, and James Smith,

were some of the principal instruments of gathering the churches of which it was composed. The preachers as well as the first members, emigrated principally from Virginia, and were amongst the earliest Baptist adventurers to the attracting wilderness of Kentucky. The Baptists in Virginia, at the time they began to send forth such populous colonies of their brethren to the western country, were divided into Regulars and Separates, although the Separates were much the most numerous. The Regulars were professedly and some of them very highly Calvinistick; but the Separates were far from being unanimous in their doctrinal sentiments. A majority of them, however, were Calvinists, and of the rest a part were much inclined to the Arminian side of the controversy; and some of the most distinguished among them, in opposing the high strains of Calvinism, which were incessantly and in many instances dogmatically sounded by their orthodox brethren, had gone nearly the full length of the doctrine of Arminius. Others, with different modifications of the objectionable articles of both systems, were endeavouring to pursue a middle course. Such was the state of the Virginia Baptists, with regard to doctrine, at the period under consideration, and some of all these different classes were amongst the early emigrants to the fertile regions of the west; but a majority of them were Separates in their native State. But the same people who had travelled together before their removal, so far at least as it respected their associational connexion, pursued a different course when settled in Kentucky. The Calvinistick Separates united with the few Regular Baptists amongst them, and established the Elkhorn Association, which, at its commencement, adopted the Philadelphia confession of faith; while those, who inclined to the Arminian system, as well as those who adopted some of the Calvinistick creed in a qualified sense, united with the Association whose history we now have under consideration.

Thus the names of Regular and Separate were transported beyond the mountains, and two separate interests were established in the neighbourhood of each other.

This Association, like the rest in the country, was small in its beginning, but its course was generally prosperous,

and no special event occurred until 1789, four years from its commencement, when there was an unsuccessful attempt to abolish the names of Regular and Separate, and effect an union and correspondence between this and the Elkhorn Association. This measure was attempted in consequence of recommendations of the United Baptists in Virginia, whose advice the Kentucky brethren were generally inclined to receive, and whose examples they generally imitated. The Regulars and Separates in North and South Carolina had united before, and in 1787, a happy reconciliation was effected between these two parties in Virginia, both of which had at that time become very numerous. And having found that a reconciliation was practicable and pleasant, the United Baptists in Virginia sent letters to the Elkhorn and Separate Associations, informing them of the successful steps they had taken, and recommending the same to them, with earnest desires that their endeavours might prove successful. But the set time for this desirable event was not yet come. The union was ardently desired by many individuals of both parties, and the bodies at large appeared favourably disposed towards the attempt; but they knew not by what means to accomplish it, nor could they agree on the terms on which they should unite. The Separates were afraid of being bound and hampered by Articles and Confessions, and the Regulars were unwilling to unite with them, without something of the kind. A general convention of delegates met on the business, and overtures were made on both sides; but both parties being too tenacious of their favourite maxims to make sufficient abatements, their endeavours at that time proved unsuccessful.

A similar attempt was made in 1793, which, like the other, terminated without accomplishing the desirable object. In this year, five churches being dissatisfied with the Separate Association, respecting their proceedings in this affair, and also in some other matters, withdrew, and formed the Tate's Creek Association.

But in the time of the great revival, the out-pourings of the Divine Spirit, and its softening influence on the minds of the saints, prepared the way for that reconciliation and union, which all their weighty arguments and

assiduous endeavours had not been able to accomplish. This astonishing work, in the year 1800 and following, prevailed most powerfully amongst the Separates as well as the Regulars. The churches and members were now much intermixed. All were visited and refreshed by the copious and abundant rain of righteousness which was poured upon the land; and, regardless of names, they unitedly engaged in enjoying and forwarding the precious and powerful work. By this means, those little party asperities, which had unhappily prevailed, were much mollified and diminished; their cold and indifferent charity for each other was inflamed; and with most of them their notions of doctrine were found to be not so different as they had supposed. An union was now proposed in earnest, and soon effected with ease. Both Associations had become large, containing together between seven and eight thousand members. Committees were appointed by both bodies to confer on the subject of an union, who, after mature deliberation, agreed to the following terms:

"*Terms of Union between the Elkhorn and South-Kentucky or Separate Associations.*

"We the committees of the Elkhorn and South Kentucky Associations, do agree to unite on the following plan.

"1st. That the Scriptures of the Old and New-Testament are the infallible word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice. 2d. That there is one only true God, and in the Godhead or divine essence, there are Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 3d. That by nature we are fallen and depraved creatures. 4th. That salvation, regeneration, sanctification, and justification, are by the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ. 5th. That the saints will finally persevere through grace to glory. 6th. That believers' baptism by immersion is necessary to receiving the Lord's supper. 7th. That the salvation of the righteous, and punishment of the wicked will be eternal. 8th. That it is our duty to be tender and affectionate to each other, and study the happiness of the children of God in general; to be engaged singly to promote the honour of God. 9th. And that the preaching *Christ tasted death for*

every man, shall be no bar to communion. 10th. And that each may keep up their associational and church government as to them may seem best. 11th. That a free correspondence and communion be kept up between the churches thus united.

"Unanimously agreed to by the joint committee.

"AMBROSE DUDLEY, DANIEL RAMEY,
JOHN PRICE, THOMAS J. CHILTON,
JOSEPH REDDING, MOSES BLEDSOE,
DAVID BARROW, SAMUEL JOHNSON."
ROBERT ELKIN,

Matters being thus prepared, a general convention, composed of delegates from all the churches in both Associations, met October, 1801, at Howard's Creek meeting-house, in the county of Clark, when they unanimously acceded to the terms of union, which their committees had prepared, and agreed to lay aside the names of Regular and Separate, and to travel together in future in communion and fellowship as united brethren.

This was the last body of the Separate Baptists, which relinquished the appellation by which they had been distinguished for almost fifty years.

In 1802, the year after this union took place, the Association having become very extensive in its boundaries, found it convenient to make a division; and as nearly an equal number of the churches were situated on both sides of the Kentucky River, this river was fixed upon as the dividing line, and the two divisions were called the North and South District Associations. These names were assumed merely for the purpose of distinction, as there were no geographical or civil departments of the country to which they referred.

The North District Association has moved on in fellowship with the neighbouring Associations, and has also enjoyed internal harmony from its commencement to the present time, except that it sustained a temporary interruption, when David Barrow and some other brethren, openly espoused the side of the Emancipators. The Association is now one of the largest in Kentucky.

But the South District Association has experienced great trials and changes; and was most miserably torn asunder by religious discords, shortly after it was organ-

ized. It soon appeared that in the southern department of the old Separate community, there were a number who had gone far into doctrinal errors. Some were decided Arminians, and others had adopted Winchester's chimerical notion of universal restoration. But they had all acceded to the terms of union, &c. lately mentioned. But it soon appeared that they did it with much mental reservation. When these things came to be known in the Association, they produced much confusion and distress. Mr. John Bayley was one who had propagated the doctrine of universal restoration. It was plead that "though he had preached this doctrine, yet he had done it in such a manner as not to give offence to the most delicate ear." The Association soon became divided into two contending parties, and what was still worse, the greater part appeared on the side of error. At its session in 1803, some ministers publickly declared themselves no more of the Association, and withdrew. This is the mode of dissolving fellowship in Kentucky. Others followed their example; but after all, the erroneous party retained about two thirds of the Association. The minor seceding party formed themselves into an Association by the name of South District, or rather they claimed the right of being considered the original body, and the neighbouring Associations admitted them to correspondence as such. This Association is not large, but it comprises a number of very respectable churches, which are situated mostly in the counties of Mercer and Lincoln: some are scattered in Gerrard, Washington, and Nelson. Gabriel Slaughter, Esq. late Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, belongs to one of the churches in this connexion.

The other party also claimed the name and prerogatives of the South District Association, and if the majority ought to govern, this claim was well founded: but the other Associations have never admitted them to fellowship. This body is situated in a part of Kentucky which I did not visit. I have taken much pains to learn its history, and have written many letters for the purpose, but nothing has been communicated. The last account I had of it was in 1804, when, according to their

minutes, they had twenty-two churches, about thirty ministers, and upwards of eight hundred members. I conclude that many of these churches and members, like the followers of Elias Smith, would have done much better, with better leaders, or with less leading. It is highly probable, that the number of this body has greatly declined since 1804, and I know not but it has by this time become extinct.

TATE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION.

It has already been observed that this Association originated in 1793, when five churches withdrew from the old Separate party, and embodied by themselves. They united without any definite Articles of Faith, but in general assented to those of the Elkhorn Association. This Association received its name from that of a small water-course, which empties into Kentucky River from the south. The most remarkable circumstance in the history of this body is, that in the year 1801, it received by baptism 1148 members.

SALEM ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed of four churches in 1785. The first settlers in this region were from Virginia; but they were soon joined by a considerable company from the Redstone country, in the back part of Pennsylvania. Among this company was that worthy minister William Taylor, whose praise is in all the churches in this quarter. This part of Kentucky settled slowly for a number of years. The first settlers were often molested by the Indians, and Elder John Gerrard and a number of his brethren fell victims to their rage. The Salem Association was formed on Cox's Creek, a small distance below the Salt River, about fifty miles south of Frankfort, and not far from the place where Bairdstown now stands. Its ministers at first were William Taylor, Joseph Barnet, and John Whitaker; the names of the first four churches were Severn Valley, Cedar Creek, Cox's Creek, and Bear Grass. They did not all contain but about a hundred and thirty members. And so slow

was its progress, that fourteen years after, its number was a little less than five hundred. But the great revival, which began here about 1800, prevailed in a most astonishing manner. This Association in the course of three years received the addition of upwards of two thousand members, and became so large that it was necessary to divide it.

This Association, at its beginning, adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, and for a few years corresponded by letter with that body, as it did also with the Charleston Association in South-Carolina, and the Ketocton in Virginia. The churches of which it was composed were for a number of years principally in the county of Nelson; but by the subdivisions of that county, and the enlargement of the Association, they are now in the counties of Hardin, Brackenridge, Washington, Bullet, and Ohio.

William Taylor was a very diligent and successful labourer in this part of the vineyard, and was esteemed a father in this Association from its beginning till his death, in 1807. He was born in New-Jersey in 1744. While he was young his parents moved to Virginia, and settled near Winchester, where he was brought up. Having arrived at manhood, he went back to his native State, where he tarried a short time, married, and then returned to Virginia, and began to preach in the early part of his life. From Virginia, he went to the Redstone country, where he continued eight years, and then went down the Ohio River, and settled in Kentucky in 1784. Mr. Taylor was one of those ministers whose private life gave the most conclusive evidence of the sincerity of his publick ministrations; his gifts were not considered great, but they were employed with unwearied diligence, and to great advantage.

LONG RUN ASSOCIATION.

The remarkable increase of the Salem Association has been mentioned. In the progress of that great work by which it was so much enlarged, a number of churches were gathered north of the Salt River; and when its division was proposed, that river was fixed upon as the

dividing line. All the churches north of it were dismissed to form a new Association, which was organized in 1803, and was called Long Run, from a small water-course near to which its first session was held. This Association has experienced some refreshing seasons since it was formed, particularly in 1809 and 1810. It is now a large and very respectable body, and is situated mostly between the Salt and Kentucky Rivers, and extends westward as far as the Ohio River; and a few of its churches are over in the Indiana Territory.

GREEN RIVER ASSOCIATION.

THE terms Green River Settlements, and Green River Country, are generally applied by the people in Kentucky to all that part of the State which lies south of the Green River. The settlements here were begun about 1793, when the whole territory was comprehended in the county of Logan; but as early as 1809, it was divided into fourteen counties. What divisions have taken place since, I have not learnt.

The Association, whose history we are about to relate, was formed in 1800, and contained at first nine churches, eight ministers, and about 350 members. This was about the beginning of the great revival, which had already extended to this region; and so rapidly did it prevail here, that this body at its next session contained upwards of a thousand members, and in 1804 it had increased to thirty-eight churches, which embraced 1876 communicants.

This Association had now become so extensive in its boundaries, that it was thought proper to divide it; but it being scattered over such a wide extent of country, they found it the most convenient to divide it into three, and accordingly the Russell's Creek and Stockton's Valley were formed from it. By this measure the original body was much reduced, and the two which were formed from it were smaller still.

The churches in the Russell's Creek Association are mostly in the counties of Green and Adair; those of the Stockton's Valley are mostly in Tennessee; those in Kentucky are in the counties of Cumberland and Barren. Both of these Associations remain small.

The Green River has again become large; partly by revivals, and partly by the following circumstance. There was an Association formed in the south-west part of this State, in 1806, which was called the Union. But its name was not altogether descriptive of its character; for not long since, it was divided and dissolved, and most of the churches united with the Association whose history we have under consideration.

Carter Tarrant, who has since been considerably famous amongst the Emancipators in the northern counties in Kentucky, was one of the most active and successful ministers in raising up the churches in this body, and organizing them into an Association. Robert Stockton, a native of Culpepper county, Virginia, who was highly esteemed in his native State, from which he removed to Kentucky about 1800, has, from the beginning of this Association, been its Moderator, and is esteemed a father among the churches. The late John Hall, Esq. one of the Judges for Barren county, who finished his earthly course in a most joyful manner in 1809, was a member of this Association; and his son, Michael W. Hall, who succeeds his father on the bench, now serves it as Clerk.

EMANCIPATING SOCIETY.

This society is composed of ministers and churches, who have separated from their former connexion on account of slavery, and who differ in nothing except this article from the main body of the Calvinistick Baptists. They denominate themselves "*Friends to Humanity*;" but they are generally known by the name of "*Emancipators*," which name they are by no means unwilling to receive. The people, who composed this body, belonged formerly to the Elkhorn, the North District, and Bracken Associations, from which they separated in the year 1805; some of their own choice, and others by the expulsory measures of the respective churches and Associations to which they belonged.

The people whose history we now have in view, have taken a decided stand against slavery, in every branch of it, both in principle and practice, as being a sinful and abominable system, fraught with peculiar evils and mis-

eries, which every good man ought to abandon and bear his testimony against. These are, in substance, their sentiments respecting slavery; and their desires and endeavours are, to effect, as soon as it can be done, and in the most prudent and advantageous manner both to the slaves and their owners, the general and complete emancipation of this numerous race of enslaved, ignorant, and degraded beings, who are now, by the laws and customs of the land, exposed to hereditary and perpetual bondage. And with sentiments so noble and humane, one would think they must certainly meet the approbation of every benevolent man. But truth may be unskilfully defended, and the noblest sentiments may become suspicious, by the unseasonable and intemperate zeal with which they are propagated.

To declaim against slavery and slave-holders, in the hearing of a multitude of ignorant negroes, who will pervert the most proper reasonings to improper purposes, is certainly an imprudent conduct. Of this, the Emancipators were continually accused, and not without some grounds; and the perversion of their discourses by the negroes was laid to their charge as a peculiar evil. It is altogether probable that in this thing the Emancipators were much to blame. Some of them, however, ought to be excused from these charges. They have not dwelt upon slavery in their publick discourses, but their principal object has been to devise plans in a prudent way for the execution of their noble purposes. The advocates for slavery oppose the Emancipators with such arguments as these :—What can a few individuals do in this business? Government has sanctioned the holding of slaves; and unless they interpose their influence, nothing effectual can be done towards setting them free. This may be true; but "what measure of great publick utility was ever executed by church or State, which was not first proposed by individuals? which was not first resisted by the great body, and perhaps defeated for a time?

According to Tarrant's History of the Emancipators, Elders Dodge and Carmen with their congregations, were the first who separated from the Baptists in Kentucky, on account of slavery. These men were settled

in Nelson county. The next minister who made much noise in Kentucky on this subject, was Elder John Sutton, a native of New-Jersey. In the course of a few years, Donold Holmes, David Barrow, Carter Tarrant, Jacob Grigg, George Smith, and a number of other ministers, some Europeans and some native Americans, moved into the State, and propagated the doctrine of the emancipation of slaves. Most, if not all these ministers, officiated as pastors of churches where slavery was tolerated; and the Emancipators generally, who were scattered throughout the State, travelled in fellowship and communion with their brethren who held slaves, until the year 1805. The occasion of their separating from them and uniting in a body by themselves, has been related in the history of the Elkhorn Association. The first meeting of the Emancipators as a body, was in August, 1807, when they convened in conference, to deliberate on the mode of their future proceedings. At this meeting, eleven ministers and nineteen private brethren entered their names as advocates for emancipating principles. Eleven queries were presented to this Conference, and most of their time appears to have been taken up in discussing and resolving them. One query was, Can any person be admitted a member of this meeting, whose practice appears friendly to perpetual slavery? Answer. We think not. Another was, Is there any case in which persons holding slaves may be admitted to membership into a church of Christ? Answer. No; except in the following, viz.—1st. In the case of a person holding young slaves, and recording a deed of their emancipation at such an age as the church to which they offer may agree to. 2d. In the case of persons who have purchased in their ignorance, and are willing that the church shall say when the slaves or slave shall be free. 3d. In the case of women, whose husbands are opposed to emancipation. 4th. In the case of a widow, who has it not in her power to liberate them. 5th. In the case of idiots, old age, or any debility of body that prevents such slave from procuring a sufficient support; and some other cases, which we would wish the churches to be at liberty to judge of, agreeably to the principles of humanity. The 5th query was, Shall members in union with us be

at liberty in any case to purchase slaves? Answer. No; except it be with a view to ransom them from perpetual slavery, in such a way as the church may approve of. The last query which we shall notice, was, Have our ideas of slavery occasioned any alteration in our views of the doctrine of the gospel? Answer. No.

The September following, these people met, and reduced their fraternity into an organized body, under the name of "*The Baptized Licking-Locust Association, Friends to Humanity.*" The Association received its name from that of a church called Licking-Locust, which is in the north part of the State, near the Ohio River, and is considered a mother establishment to the emancipating interest in Kentucky.

At the next meeting of the Emancipators, they resolved, "That the present mode of Associations or confederation of churches was unscriptural, and ought to be laid aside." They then proceeded to form themselves into an *Abolition Society.* This was innovation without improvement. It would be as difficult to find Abolition Societies in the Scriptures, as Associations. The reasons for this change are not stated in the Minutes; it is probable, however, that they had become disgusted with Associations, on account of the rough manner in which many had been handled by them.

About this time David Barrow published a pamphlet with this title-page, "*Involuntary, Unmerited, Perpetual, Absolute, Hereditary Slavery, examined,* on the principles of Nature, Reason, Justice, Policy, and Scripture." This piece is written in a grave and manly style, and with those nice discriminations, those candid and weighty reasons, which certainly deserve the attention of all who are concerned in slavery, and is worth the perusal of those who are desirous of making inquiries on the subject. Mr. Barrow is doubtless the most distinguished minister amongst the Emancipators. The pamphlet above mentioned shews him to be a man by no means deficient in abilities, either natural or acquired. He is a native of Virginia, where he commenced his ministry in 1771; in the early part of which he suffered much by the insolence and persecuting rage of his rude country-

men.* He also early imbibed his emancipating principles, and in consequence of which freed a considerable number of slaves. Having long been distinguished in his native State for piety and abilities, he removed to Kentucky in 1798, and settled in Montgomery county. In Virginia and Kentucky, until the stir about emancipation, Mr. Barrow travelled in fellowship with his brethren, who were the holders of slaves. When this dispute came on, they appear to have fixed on him as the object of their peculiar resentment, and carried their opposition to him to such an extreme, that the North-District Association to which he belonged, and which professes to be nothing more than "*An Advisory Council,*" put forth its *horns*, and publickly expelled their brother from his seat "for preaching emancipation, and sent a committee to take him under dealings in the church at Mount Sterling, of which he was a member." How ardent and blind must have been that zeal, which hurried a large and respectable body into such overbearing and inconsistent measures! The reader will discover from this circumstance the spirit with which the emancipating dispute was conducted. But for the honour of this Association, we are happy to be able to state, that at their next session they "voted to reconsider and revoke all the acts, which they had passed respecting Mr. Barrow." But he had now united with the Emancipators, and chose not to return.

The zeal of the Emancipators has in some measure abated, and of course they are less opposed; and it is hardly probable that any lasting effects will be produced by their means. Their leading maxims are approved of

* In 1778, Mr. Barrow received an invitation to preach at the house of a gentleman, who lived on Nansemond River near the mouth of James River. A ministering brother accompanied him. They were informed on their arrival, that they might expect rough usage, and so it happened. A gang of well-dressed men came up to the stage, which had been erected under some trees, as soon as the hymn was given out, and sung one of their obscene songs. They then undertook to plunge both of the preachers. Mr. Barrow they plunged twice, pressed him into the mud, held him long under the water, and came near drowning him. In the midst of their mocking, they asked him if he believed? and throughout treated him with the most barbarous insolence and outrage. His companion they plunged but once. The whole assembly was shocked, the women shrieked, but no one durst interfere; for about twenty stout fellows were engaged in this horrid measure. They insulted and abused the gentleman who invited them to preach, and every one who spoke a word in their favour. Before these persecuted men could change their clothes, they were dragged from the house, and driven off by these outrageous churchmen. But three or four of them died in a few weeks, in a distracted manner, and one of them wished himself in hell before he had joined the company, &c.

by many who have not united with them, but who still hold slaves with many scruples respecting its propriety. But there is such a strong current against the emancipation of slaves, and custom, covetousness, indolence, and ambition, find so many arguments in favour of slavery, that there seems but little prospect, that any material change will at present be effected, in the condition of this numerous race of enslaved and degraded beings.*

From the preceding accounts, we see that the Baptists have become numerous in Kentucky. The Lord has truly done great things for this State; revivals have followed each other in quick succession, and many thousands have hopefully been born into the kingdom of God. The Baptist churches in Kentucky have, in many cases, been built up, and in others greatly enlarged by emigrants from other parts. They have also been greatly diminished, by multitudes removing to remoter regions. As religion is left wholly free from civil control, our brethren in this State have met with no difficulties, except what have arisen from among themselves, and these, we are sorry to say, have been considerably numerous. The churches were made up of people from different parts; their notions of gospel doctrine were essentially alike, but in smaller matters they could not always agree. The Kentuckians, whether saints or sinners, are rather inclined to a fretful impatience and undue resent-

* In Mr. Barrow's piece against slavery, we find the following note: "To see a man (a Christian) in the most serious period of all his life—making his last will and testament—and in the most solemn manner addressing the Judge of all the earth—*In the name of God, Amen*—Hearken to him—he certainly must be in earnest!—He is closing all his concerns here below!—He will very shortly appear before the Judge, where kings and slaves have equal thrones!—He proceeds:

Item. I give and bequeath to my son ——, a negro man named ——, a negro woman named ——, with five of her youngest children.

Item. I give and bequeath to my daughter ——, a negro man named ——, also a negro woman named ——, with her three children.

Item. All my other slaves, whether men, women or children, with all my stock of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, I direct to be sold to the highest bidder, and the monies arising therefrom (after paying my just debts) to be equally divided between my two above-named children!!!

The above specimen is not exaggerated; the like of it often turns up. And what can a real lover of the rights of man say in vindication thereof?

Suppose for a moment, that the testator, or if the owner, dies intestate, (which is often the case) was ever so humane a person, who can vouch for their heirs and successors? This consideration, if nothing else, ought to make all slave-holders take heed what they do, "for they must give an account of themselves to God."

ment of opposition, in matters of no great moment. From this spirit have produced painful disputes about trifling concerns. Many of the ministers, who settled in this country from other parts, had acquired considerable fame before their removal; and it is painful to relate, that in some cases they have discovered a censurable ambition for applause and pre-eminence. But notwithstanding these things, there is in Kentucky a very large body of our brethren, who travel together in harmony and love, and who adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

The churches do but little for their preachers; very few receive to the amount of a hundred dollars a year for their ministerial services; but few of them however are very poor. They have from necessity found the means of supporting themselves. Many of those who settled early in the country have become wealthy.

Some Account of the great Revival in Kentucky and other Parts.

As this peculiar work prevailed to a greater extent in Kentucky than elsewhere, it seems proper under this head to give some account of it.

From 1799 to 1803, there were, in most parts of the United States, remarkable out-pourings of the Divine Spirit, among different denominations; multitudes became the subjects of religious concern, and were made to rejoice in the salvation of God. The revival among the Baptists in the southern and western States, has already been frequently referred to, and accounts of the astonishing additions to their churches have been given. This great revival in Kentucky began in Boone county on the Ohio River, and in its progress extended up the Ohio, Licking, and Kentucky Rivers, branching out into the settlements adjoining them. It spread fast in different directions, and in a short time almost every part of the State was affected by its influence. It was computed that about ten thousand were baptized and added to the Baptist churches in the course of two or three years. This great work progressed among the Baptists in a much more regular manner than people abroad have generally supposed. They were indeed zealously affect-

ed, and much engaged. Many of their ministers baptized in a number of neighbouring churches from two to four hundred each. And two of them baptized about five hundred a-piece in the course of the work. But throughout the whole, they preserved a good degree of decorum and order. Those camp-meetings, those great parades, and sacramental seasons, those extraordinary exercises of falling down, rolling, shouting, jerking, dancing, barking, &c. were but little known among the Baptists in Kentucky, nor encouraged by them. They, it is true, prevailed among some of them in the Green River country; but generally speaking, they were among the Presbyterians and Methodists, and in the end by a seceding party from them both, which denominated themselves Christians, but which were generally distinguished by their opposers by the name of New-Lights and Schismatics. These strange expressions of zeal, which have made so much noise abroad, came in at the close of the revival, and were, in the judgment of many, the chaff of the work. There was a precious ingathering of souls among the Presbyterians and Methodists, at which they rejoiced; but when the work arose to an enthusiastick height, many different opinions were expressed respecting it. The Methodists had no scruples of its being genuine; but among the Presbyterians some doubted—some opposed—but a considerable number overleaped all the bounds of formality, fanned the flame as fire from heaven, bid up camp-meetings, and sacramental seasons, and finally run religious frenzy into its wildest shapes. Soon a number of these ministers separated from the rest, formed a new Presbytery, called the Springfield, upon New-Light principles, soon dissolved that, and five or six of them in a few years became Shaking Quakers.*

* The Springfield Presbytery was formed by five ministers, who separated from the Kentucky Synod, and renounced the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian church. They made innovations upon almost every part of Presbyterianism, but yet retained something of its form. But at length they resolved to renounce every thing belonging to it, and made its LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, as follows:

"*The Presbytery of Springfield*, sitting at Cane Ridge, in the county of Bourbon, being, through a gracious Providence, in more than ordinary bodily health, growing in strength and size daily; and in perfect soundness and composure of mind; but knowing that it is appointed for all delegated bodies once to die, and considering that the life of every such body is very uncertain, do make, and ordain this our last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, viz.

The great camp-meetings and sacramental feasts, described in a book, called "Surprising Accounts," &c. were promoted mostly by these zealous Presbyterians. The Methodists were a party concerned, but very few Baptists attended them, except as spectators. At these great meetings, astonishing crowds assembled; they encamped upon the ground, and kept together three or four days, and sometimes a week. In the course of the meeting the Lord's supper was administered, and all Christians of every denomination were invited to partake of it. The Methodists and Presbyterians communed together, but the Baptists could not consistently unite with them. These meetings were sometimes bid up a month before-

"*Imprimis.* We *will*, that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the body of Christ at large; for there is but one body, and one spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling.

"*Item.* We *will*, that our name of distinction, with its *Reverend* title, be forgotten; that there be but one Lord over God's heritage, and his name one.

"*Item.* We *will*, that our power of making laws for the government of the church, and executing them by delegated authority, forever cease; that the people may have free course to the Bible, and adopt *the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.*

"*Item.* We *will*, that candidates for the gospel ministry henceforth study the Holy Scriptures with fervent prayer, and obtain license from God to preach the simple gospel, &c.

"*Item.* We *will*, that the church of Christ assume her native right of internal government, &c.

"*Item.* We *will*, that each particular church, as a body, actuated by the same spirit, choose her own preacher, and support him by a free-will offering, &c.

"*Item.* We *will*, that the people henceforth take the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven; and as many as are offended with other books, which stand in competition with it, may cast them into the fire if they choose; for it is better to enter into life having one book, than having many to be cast into hell.

"*Item.* We *will*, that preachers and people cultivate a spirit of mutual forbearance; pray more, and dispute less, &c.

The three next items regard the Synod of Kentucky.

"*Item.* Finally, we *will*, that all our *sister bodies* read their Bibles carefully, that they may see their fate there determined, and prepare for death before it is too late.

"*Springfield Presbytery,* } (L. S.)
June 28th, 1804. }

"ROBERT MARSHALL, B. W. STONE,
JOHN DUNLAVY, JOHN THOMPSON,
RICHARD M'NEMAR, DAVID PURVIANCE, } *Witnesses.*"

Three, at least, of these witnesses afterwards joined the Shakers, who having heard of the dancing, and so on, among the Kentucky people, sent three of their apostles into the country from New-Lebanon, in New-York. They found matters just as they would have them, and a great number fell in with their principles. Marshall continued his New-Light career, became the head of a large party who were called Marshallites. Many of them have lately been immersed, but I do not learn as they have any connexion with the Baptists. And indeed they can be no great acquisition to the Baptist cause, unless they are much reformed both in principle and practice.

hand; great preparations were made for them, and all went expecting to hear much crying out, see much falling down, &c. In these meetings there assembled, in the opinion of spectators, from four to ten or twelve thousand, and at one of them eight hundred fell down under religious impressions, and five hundred communicated. The falling down exercise needs no description, as it is presumed every reader will understand what is meant by it. There was also in these meetings, what was called the *rolling exercise*, which consisted in a person's being cast down in a violent manner, turned over swiftly like a log, &c. These *rolling* disciples often met with mud in their way, and got up from their devotions in a sorrowful plight. Dancing was a very common practice; many pleaded they could not help it, and others justified themselves from David's dancing before the ark, and other passages of scripture. The most singular exercise of all was the *jerks*. "Nothing in nature could better represent this strange and unaccountable operation, than for one to goad another, alternately on every side, with a piece of red-hot iron. The exercise commonly began in the head, which would fly backward and forward, and from side to side, with a quick jolt, which the person would naturally labour to suppress, but in vain; and the more any one laboured to stay himself, and be sober, the more he staggered, and the more rapidly his twitches increased. He must necessarily go as he was stimulated, whether with a violent dash on the ground, and bounce from place to place like a foot-ball; or hop round, with head, limbs, and trunk, twitching and jolting in every direction, as if they must inevitably fly asunder. And how such could escape without injury, was no small wonder to spectators. By this strange operation, the human frame was commonly so transformed and disfigured, as to lose every trace of its natural appearance. Sometimes the head would be twitched right and left, to a half round, with such velocity that not a feature could be discovered, but the face appear as much behind as before; and in the quick progressive jerk, it would seem as if the person was transmuted into some other species of creature. Head dresses were of but little account among the female jerkers. Even handkerchiefs

bound tight round the head, would be flirted off almost with the first twitch, and the hair put into the utmost confusion," &c.*

There was something altogether unaccountable in this jerking exercise. At first it was experienced only by those under religious concern; but in the end it became a nervous affection, which was sympathetically communicated from one to another. A Presbyterian minister heard that a congregation of his brethren, which he highly esteemed, had got to jerking. He went to persuade them out of the frantick exercise, but in conversing with them he got the jerks himself. On his return home, his people assembled to hear the result of his visit. While he was describing how people appeared with the jerks, he was suddenly taken with them, and the whole assembly soon caught the distemper.

Wicked men were often taken with these strange exercises, and many would *curse the jerks*, while they were under their singular operation. Some were taken at the tavern with a glass of liquor in their hands, which they would suddenly toss over their heads, or to a distant part of the room. Others were taken with them at the card-table, and at other places of dissipation, and would, by a violent and unaffected jerk, throw a handful of cards all over the room.

These accounts were taken from people of unquestionable veracity, and no doubt can be entertained of their correctness. These jerking exercises were rather a curse than a blessing. None were benefited by them. They left sinners without reformation, and Christians without advantage. Some had periodical fits of them seven or eight years after they were first taken; and I know not as they have got over jerking yet.

There was among these enthusiastick people one more exercise of a most degrading nature, called the *barks*, which frequently accompanied the jerks. Many persons of considerable distinction, in spite of all the efforts of nature, as it was said, were "forced to personate that animal, whose name, appropriated to a human creature, is counted the most vulgar stigma. These people would take the position of a canine beast, move about on all-

* Kentucky Revival, p. 61, 62.

fours, growl, snap the teeth, and bark in so personating a manner, as to set the eyes and ears of the spectator at variance." Some might be forced to these degrading exercises, but it is certain that many turned dogs in a voluntary manner. A minister in the lower parts of Kentucky informed me, that it was common to hear people barking like a flock of spaniels on their way to meeting. There they would start up suddenly in a fit of barking, rush out, roam around, and in a short time come barking and foaming back. But enough has been said of these frantick scenes. The above accounts are not fabulous tales, but they are real and melancholy facts. In the upper counties in Kentucky, where the revival was the greatest among the Baptists, they were not at all affected with these delirious exercises. In the Green River country and in East-Tennessee, they prevailed considerably amongst them. With the Methodists they prevailed generally. The Presbyterians were divided respecting them; some opposed, while others encouraged them. Some of these exercises seemed really forced upon the subjects of them by some invisible power, whether good or bad the reader must judge for himself; but dancing, barking, rolling, shouting, and so on, were undoubtedly, for the most part, works of choice and imitation, which were hypocritically played off by a set of deluded, mistaken people. Where these fantastick exercises were opposed, they were the least prevalent. Those ministers who encouraged them, had enough of them to attend to.

In West-Tennessee the Baptists were not troubled with these works of delusion, but they prevailed here among the Presbyterians and Methodists; and some, who came from other parts, attempted to introduce them in the Baptist meetings. A Baptist minister by the name of Mr. Connico, was once preaching where one of the jerkers began his motions. The preacher made a pause, and with a loud and solemn tone, said, "In the name of the Lord, I command all unclean spirits to leave this place." The jerker immediately became still, and the report was spread abroad, that Mr. Connico cast out devils.

On the whole, it appears there was in Kentucky in 1799, and for two or three succeeding years, a precious work of grace. Towards the close of it, a set of men

arose, who attempted to carry the work farther than the Lord had done; and among them were exhibited those astonishing scenes of fanaticism we have described. Some of the promoters of these scenes became convinced of their delusion, and returned to a sober course of piety; but many went off into errors of different kinds, and not a few of them became Shaking Quakers. Richard M'Nemar, formerly a Presbyterian minister of great celebrity, was one of the principal promoters of these extraordinary exercises; he was also one of the first who embraced the principles of the Shakers. After he had joined the dancing fraternity, he reproached his brethren for stopping short of perfection. These exercises, he said, led on to Shakerism; and most people, who had seen them, were of his mind.

CHAP. XVI.

OHIO AND THE WESTERN TERRITORIES.

OHIO has been pronounced the most delightful of any of the Western States. Its fame has travelled far, and adventurers from New-England, from Georgia, the Carolinas, and all the other States, and indeed from many parts of Europe, have populated its fertile plains with an astonishing and almost incredible rapidity. In 1790, the number of white inhabitants, French and English, was estimated at 3,500, but by the census of 1810, they had increased to 230,760. The holding of slaves has never been permitted in Ohio, and many of the Emancipators from the neighbouring States, where they abound, have had this circumstance particularly in view, in fixing on this State as a place of settlement. The Legislature has guarded against the introduction of slaves, and even the residence of black people in this retreat of freedom, by a strong and rigorous prohibition. And many of the leading members of the Baptist churches here, have taken a determined stand against every article of that policy, which subjects to degrading and perpetual servitude so many of the unhappy sons of Africa. This favourite maxim the Ohio brethren have often

pushed to an enthusiastic extreme,* and in many instances have doubtless been too uncharitable towards their brethren who have been surrounded by slaves from their infancy, who have been nurtured by the sweat of their wretched brows, and who have inherited them from their fathers, as a principal part of their fortune.

Though some of the first settlers in this State were Baptists, yet they have not, as in Kentucky, been the prevailing sect. The Methodists have been and probably are at present, the most numerous of any one denomination in Ohio. The late Governor Tiffin was a Methodist preacher, before his elevation to that dignified office. But the Baptist cause has prevailed considerably, and is now increasing with great rapidity throughout the State; churches are formed in almost every part of it, and many individuals and little bodies are settled where churches have not yet been established. In 1809, there were in this State about sixty churches, in which were about twenty-five hundred members. Since then, the number has probably greatly increased.

MIAMI ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed in 1797 of only four churches, in which there were not probably more than a hundred members. It is situated beween the Miami Rivers, in the south-west corner of the State. The church formerly called Columbia, now Duck Creek, is not only the oldest in this Association but in the State. It was raised up in the following manner. In the autumn of 1789, a number of families went down the Ohio River, and commenced a settlement at the mouth of the Little Miami River on Col. Symmes's Purchase, where the town of Columbia now stands. This was about six miles from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. In this company were Mr. Isaac Ferris from Connecticut, the

* The Miami Association will not correspond with any of the neighbouring Associations in Kentucky, on account of slavery, nor with the Red-Stone Association in Pennsylvania, because a few of the churches of this body are in Virginia, and hold slaves. And a church not long since withdrew from the Miami Association, because she corresponded with the Philadelphia Association, and this Association corresponded with that of Charleston, South-Carolina, where the abomination was discovered. This far-fetched argument was in their estimation sufficient to justify their withdrawment.

late Judge Goforth from New-York, Gen. John Gano from the same city, and Messrs. Benjamin and Elijah Stites originally from New-Jersey. Some others were in the company, whose names I have not learnt. This settlement was made in perilous times. The Indians made every exertion to cut them off and prevent their settlement: they tried by many stratagems to decoy them ashore on their passage down the river; and after they had settled, they were continually lurking to destroy them. They were obliged, for a number of years, to live mostly in forts and block-houses; but notwithstanding all their precautions, a number of the first settlers fell victims to the rage of their savage neighbours. A number of the company above mentioned were Baptist professors, but having no preacher among them, they set up a meeting among themselves, which they conducted by turns. In 1790, Stephen Gano, of Providence, Rhode-Island, took a journey into the western country to visit his father and family relations; he also visited this settlement, baptized three persons, and formed the little company into a church, which was the first, of any denomination, raised north of the Ohio River, in that extensive country, then called the North-Western Territory. This church soon received considerable accessions from emigrants to the Miami country, and as the fears of the Indians subsided, they extended their settlements farther out, and the Columbia church became the mother of most of the first churches, which arose in this region. Its seat is now removed from Columbia to a place called Duck Creek. Daniel Clark and John Smith were the first ministers who settled in this quarter. Mr. Clark is now the aged and respected pastor of the church at Turtle Creek, in the neighbourhood of Lebanon. Mr. Smith became pastor of the church at Columbia, and for a number of years was well esteemed and apparently useful. But riches and honours spoiled him for a preacher, and he relinquished the employment. He has also abandoned his religious profession, and remains a melancholy example either of successful hypocrisy or of woful apostacy. He was suspected of being concerned in the ill-fated expedition of Col. Aaron Burr, although nothing was proved against him. At that time he was a

Senator in Congress, where he was impeached and acquitted. He had become very remiss in the duties of his station before he arose to the senatorial rank; but this, with the Burr affair, seems to have completed his downfal. He had acquired a large estate, but Providence frowned upon him, and he lost it by various means; and he has now become a poor, apostate, wretched man, and lives somewhere among the Spaniards in West-Florida. The church is now supplied by Mr. William Jones, a native of Wales, but who removed hither from the back part of the State of New-York.

Of the other churches in this connexion, I have not gained sufficient information, to say much respecting them. They were formed in a gradual way, mostly of Baptist members, who emigrated from other parts.

Nothing very remarkable has occurred in the progress of the Miami Association; its circumstances have generally been prosperous, and in the time of the great revival, it experienced considerable enlargement. The church at Columbia received the addition of ninety members in one year. This Association has corresponded with the Philadelphia since 1800. Attempts have also been made to open a correspondence with some of the Associations in Kentucky, a number of which are sufficiently near; but the prevailing prejudices on the part of the Ohio brethren have hitherto prevented that profitable intercourse, which is usually maintained by neighbouring Associations.

A division of this Association took place by agreement in 1809, and a new Association was formed from it by the name of White Water, the history of which will be given in the account of the Indiana Territory.

SCIOTO ASSOCIATION.

This Association is in a central part of the State, and was formed in 1805. It contained at the time of its constitution only four churches, but it has since considerably increased. It is situated on both sides of the beautiful Scioto River, from which the Association takes its name, and a number of the churches are in the neighbourhood of Chilicothe. The church at Ames was constituted in 1800; it is composed of people mostly from

New-England, and was the first church which was gathered within the bounds of the Association. The German or High Dutch church at Pleasant Run, in the county of Fairfield, and near the town of New-Lancaster, is the most distinguished on some accounts of any one in this Association, and is remarkable for having emigrated from Virginia, to its present situation, in a church capacity. In 1801, six families, among whom were fifteen church members, removed from Virginia, and in the wilderness of Ohio began the settlement, which is now pleasant and flourishing. A number of others have since followed; some English people have also united with them; so that their church in 1809 contained upwards of seventy members. The German brethren, who took the lead in forming this church, came principally from Rockingham county, and the church, which they transported to Ohio, was constituted in Virginia about 1790. It came out from what was called the White-House church in the county of Shenandoah. The members of this church, in Kentucky, would be called rigid Emancipators; they were constituted on their present principles in Virginia, and carried their opposition to slavery so far as to resolve, that they would hold no slaves themselves, nor have any communion or visible fellowship with their brethren who did. On account of these principles, they were subjected to many inconveniences in their native State, which led them to seek an asylum in the wilderness, where they might enjoy unembarrassed and unreproached the free exercise of principles which they held most dear. They settled on a very fertile tract of land, and are an industrious and happy community. The church is supplied by three preachers, whose names are Lewis Sites, Samuel Comer, and Martin Cofman, who preach both in German and English. When the congregation is mostly made up of German people, they preach in the German language, and in the English when it is otherwise; and besides supplying their own church, these respectable preachers travel and labour much in the surrounding settlements, and with the young and destitute churches. This account of the German church was made out when I visited it in 1809. What alterations have taken place in it since, I have not heard.

BEAVER ASSOCIATION.

In 1808, the churches of Providence, Hopewell, Chenango, New-Lisbon, Warren, and Little Beaver, most of which were of recent origin, were dismissed from the Red-Stone Association, and were shortly afterwards formed into the one we now have in view, which received its name from a creek, which empties into the Ohio River from the north, about thirty miles below Pittsburg. The churches in this Association are partly in Ohio and partly in Pennsylvania. Some of them were raised up by David Phillips, Henry Frazer, and some other ministers belonging to the Redstone Association; but the most extensive and successful labourer in this part of the vineyard, is Mr. Thomas G. Jones, a native of Wales, who settled here a few years since. Mr. Jones has been employed as a Missionary a part of the time by the Philadelphia Missionary Board; and by a divine blessing on his labours, many have been turned to the Lord, and a number of flourishing churches established.

This account of the Beaver Association I received from Mr. David Phillips, near Pittsburg, in 1809. I have written a number of letters for further information, but none has been communicated.

Besides the churches in these Associations, there are many others in this State, which, on account of their scattered and remote situations, do not belong to any associate connexion.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTISTS IN THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Besides the three States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, there were, before the State of Orleans was formed, beyond the Alleghany mountains, six territorial governments. Three of these, viz. the Indiana, the Illinois, and Michigan, together with the State of Ohio, are subdivisions of that extensive tract of country, formerly called the North-Western Territory.

The Missisippi Territory, which was formerly included in the State of Georgia, lies between that State and the river from which it received its name. The Louisiana and Orleans Territories, the last of which has lately

been admitted the eighteenth State in the Union, comprehend that extensive tract known by the name of the Louisiana Country, which was lately purchased by the United States, of France, about which politicians, many of whom knew not whether it was on the Western or Eastern Continent, have had so much talk and disputation.

All these territories are rapidly settling by emigrants from almost every part of the United States; in most of them Baptist churches have been established, and throughout all of them Baptist families are more or less scattered; but I have found it difficult to gain sufficient information of these remote and wide-spread regions, to be able to give much account of our brethren in them: the following statements, however, I believe may be depended upon as correct.

The Indiana Territory lies west of the State of Ohio, from which it is separated by a line running north and south. It is bounded south by the Ohio River, north by the Michigan Lake and Territory.

In this Territory there are three Associations, and a considerable number of churches which are not associated.

WHITE WATER ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed by a division of the Miami, in 1809. It commenced with nine churches, and has now increased to eleven. It is a small body, but is well supplied with preachers, who are well spoken of as men of ability and usefulness. A few of the churches in this connexion are in the State of Ohio, but most of them are in the Indiana Territory.

WABASH ASSOCIATION.

This was also formed in 1809, of five churches, in all which there were but a little more than eighty members; but in about two years many new churches were added to it, and its number of members amounted to over eight hundred. But many of them have probably been scattered by the troubles of the present Indian War. At the beginning of this Association it contained only two ministers, whose names were Alexander Deven and Isaac M'Coy. Its churches are on the Wabash River, and some of them near the town of Vincennes.

SILVER CREEK ASSOCIATION.

THIS Association was formed in 1811, of nine small churches, which formerly belonged to the Long Run Association in Kentucky. It is situated near the falls of the Ohio.

The Illinois Territory was formed but a few years since, by a division of the Indiana, and lies between that and the Missisippi River. About 1807 or 1808, an Association, the name of which I have not learnt, was formed of churches, which were situated on the Missisippi, some in this Territory, and a few over in the Louisiana country. In 1809, it had increased to ten churches, eight or ten ministers, and about two hundred members. On what part of the Missisippi River these churches were situated, I have not been informed; but they must have been somewhere between the mouths of the Ohio and Missouri. This Association travelled in union but a short time. Disputes about slavery were introduced in it, and effected its division in 1809. Three churches maintained the holding of slaves, and the rest opposed it. Disputes rose so high, that they could no longer travel in fellowship; they, however, agreed to part in peace, and accordingly the Association was dissolved. What has been the progress of the Baptist cause in this region since that period, I have not learned.

There are many Baptists scattered throughout the Louisiana country, but I conclude there are not many churches.

In Kentucky, I saw a Baptist family, which was about moving a considerable distance up the Missouri, where, they were informed, were many of their brethren, and it is probable a church or churches have been established there before this time. But these people must all be in an uncomfortable situation, on account of the barbarous depredations of the Indians.

MISSISIPPI ASSOCIATION.

THIS Association, I conclude, was formed about 1807. It now contains about twelve churches, many of which are situated at no great distance from the Natchez, and some of the members of one of the churches reside in that town.

The Baptists by whom these churches were planted, emigrated mostly from Georgia and South-Carolina.

There are a very few Baptists in the city of New-Orleans. Mr. Edmund J. Reis, from Nova-Scotia, lately spent about six months in preaching there. Most of the inhabitants of this city speak the French language, in which Mr. Reis was brought up, as he was born in Paris, and lived there until he was fifteen years of age. His preaching here was well attended; and since he left the city, we are informed that a religious stir of considerable extent has taken place.

Thus we have endeavoured to describe the progress and circumstances of the Baptists throughout the great American Continent. We see that their progress has been great, and that they have extended their communion over a vast extent of country from Nova-Scotia to New-Orleans. A number of miscellaneous articles remain yet to be given; but before we proceed to them, we shall insert a number of biographical sketches, which will be arranged in alphabetical order.

CHAP. XVII.

Biographical Accounts of a Number of Characters, whose History could not be with convenience inserted elsewhere.

JOHN ASPLUND.——This singular man is, on account of his extensive travels, very generally known throughout the United States. According to information received from Mr. John Leland, he was born in the interiour of Sweden. He was bred to the mercantile business, went to England about the beginning of the American war, where he acted some time as clerk in a store. He was either pressed or entered voluntarily into the British naval service, which he deserted on the American coast, and made his way into North-Carolina. There, about 1782, he embraced religion, and was baptized by David Walsh. Soon after, he joined the South-Hampton church in Virginia, then under the care of David Barrow. About 1785, he went back to his native country, visited England, Denmark, Finland, Lapland, Germany, and returned to Virginia. Not long after his return, he began to make preparations for his Register of the Baptist churches in America, which he published in a small quarto pamphlet in 1791. This work cost him about seven thousand miles travel, chiefly on foot, which mode of travelling he seems to have preferred. After this, Mr. Asplund travelled ten thousand miles more, and published a second Register in 1794. By this time he had become personally acquainted with seven hundred ministers of the Baptist denomination. Mr. Asplund was a preacher of no great gifts, but was generally respected for a number of years. But at length he got entangled with land speculation, for which he was altogether unqualified. Some other things of an unfavourable nature exposed him to the censures of his brethren. The latter part of his life was spent on the eastern shore of Maryland, and there he was drowned from a canoe, in Fishing Creek, in 1807. He left a wife and one child. The Baptist churches in America have reason to respect the memory of this diligent inquirer into their number, origin, character, &c. His Register has been of peculiar service in the preparation of this work.

ISAAC BACKUS, A. M.——It is much to be lamented, that he who took such unwearied pains to record the lives of others, has found no one among all his friends to write his own. Mr. Backus was one of the most useful ministers, that has ever appeared among the American Baptists. For about fifty years he was a laborious servant of their churches, and a considerable part of about thirty of the last of them, was devoted to historical pursuits. This excellent man still lives in the memory of thousands of his brethren; but scarcely any biographical sketches of his life are preserved, except what are found in his own writings. The author of this work never saw him but once, of course he knows but little about him, except from report. He has solicited those, who were well acquainted with this renowned father for many years, to draw a characteristick portrait, which should set in a proper light his distinguished merit. But as no one has been found to pay this tribute of respect, all that can be now done is to collect a few incidents of his life from his publick writings and his voluminous journals and diaries.

Mr. Backus was born at Norwich, Connecticut, Jan. 9, 1724. His parents were pious and respectable members of the Pedobaptist church in that town, by whom he was brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His mother was a descendant of the family of Winslows, who came over to Plymouth in 1620; his father sprung from one of the first Planters in Norwich. In the *New-Light Stir*, in Whitefield's time, some of Mr. Backus's connexions united with the Separates, for which they were harassed and persecuted by the ruling party. His mother, when a widow, and some more of his relatives, were cast into prison for adopting religious principles contrary to law. It was in the midst of the *New-Light Stir*, that the subject of this memoir was brought to the knowledge of the truth, in the 18th year of his age. He united with a Pedobaptist church in his native town, and began in the ministry in 1746. About two years after, he was ordained pastor of a church in Middleborough of the same persuasion. In this town, he spent sixty years of his useful life. In 1749, he was married to Susanna Mason of Rehoboth, with whom he lived in the greatest harmony about fifty-one years.

She, according to his own words, "was the greatest earthly blessing which God ever gave him." As yet Mr. Backus was a Pedobaptist of the Separate order, and the church, of which he was pastor, was of the same character. They experienced blessings from the Lord, but persecutions from men. The publicans of the parish soon began to distress them for the support of their worship. Mr. Backus, among the rest, was taxed, seized, and imprisoned a short time, and then released without paying the tax, or coming to any compromise. Disputes respecting baptism were agitated in this church about this time, which were continued a number of years, and some of the members were constrained from time to time to go into the water. In 1751, Mr. B. was himself baptized, with six of his members, by Elder Pierce, of Warwick, Rhode-Island. From this period until 1756, this church practised open communion, but in that year those who had become Baptists came out and formed a church upon the gospel plan, and Mr. Backus became its pastor. This was the nineteenth Baptist church in the three States of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Vermont. From this date to the death of this venerable man was a period of about fifty years. Nothing remarkable appears to have occurred in the discharge of his pastoral duties; but the part which he took in the general welfare of the Baptist churches, furnishes a number of incidents which ought to be recorded.

Mr. Backus early imbibed a settled aversion to civil coercion in religious concerns; he was taught its iniquity both by experience and observation; and few men have exerted themselves more than he in the support of the equal rights of Christians. In 1772, he was chosen an agent for the Baptist churches in Massachusetts, in the room of Mr. Davis, formerly pastor of the second church in Boston, then lately deceased. This agency was merely in civil affairs, and was executed by him, who was entrusted it, with much ability, and to some effect. Our brethren in this government were then so continually harassed for the support of the established clergy, that they found it necessary to have some one upon the watch, to advise on sudden emergencies, and to afford

assistance to those who were in trouble. Their great object was to obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in the land, which the predominant party were determined to prevent. About a year before Mr. Backus accepted the agency of the churches, he was requested to write their history, which he accordingly set about, and published his first volume in 1777.

When the disputes came on, which terminated in the Revolutionary War and the Independence of the United States, the Baptists united with the rest of the American people in resisting the arbitrary claims of Great-Britain; but it seemed to them unreasonable that they should be called upon to contend for civil liberty, if after it was gained, they should still be exposed to oppression in religious concerns. When, therefore, the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, the Warren Association, viewing *it* as the highest civil resort, agreed to send Mr. Backus as their agent to that convention, "there to follow the best advice he could obtain, to procure some influence from thence in their favour." When he arrived in Philadelphia, the Association there appointed a large committee, of whom Dr. Samuel Jones was one, to assist their New-England brethren. "But our endeavours," says Dr. Jones, "availed us nothing. One of them told us, that if we meant to effect a change in their measures respecting religion, we might as well attempt to change the course of the sun in the heavens."*

Mr. Backus, failing of success at Philadelphia, on his return met the Baptist committee at Boston, by whose advice a memorial of their grievances was drawn up, and laid before the next Congress at Cambridge, near Boston, to which the following answer was returned:

"*In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, Dec.* 9, 1774.

"On reading the memorial of the Rev. Isaac Backus, agent to the Baptist churches in this government:

"*Resolved*, That the establishment of civil and religious liberty, to each denomination in the province, is

* Century Sermon, &c. p. 14. Whether this strong expression was made seriously by a Massachusetts member, or ironically by one from some other State, I am not sure. But it is certain from Mr. Backus's account, that the Massachusetts Delegates were peculiarly insensible to the complaints of the oppressed Baptists.

the sincere wish of this Congress; but being by no means vested with powers of civil government, whereby they can redress the grievances of any person whatever; they therefore recommend to the Baptist churches, that when a General Assembly shall be convened in this colony, they lay the real grievances of said churches before the same, when and where their petition will most certainly meet with all that attention due to the memorial of a denomination of Christians, so well disposed to the publick weal of their country.

"*By order of the Congress,*
"JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

"*A true extract from the Minutes,*
"JOHN LINCOLN, *Secretary.*"

Such an Assembly as is here mentioned, convened at Watertown, July 1775, to which our brethren presented another memorial, in which they said, "Our real grievances are, that we, as well as our fathers, have from time to time been taxed on religious accounts where we were not represented; and when we have sued for our rights, our causes have been tried by interested judges. That the Representatives in former Assemblies, as well as the present, were elected by virtue only of civil and worldly qualifications, is a truth so evident, that we presume it need not be proved to this Assembly; and for a civil Legislature to impose religious taxes, is, we conceive, a power which their constituents never had to give, and is, therefore, going entirely out of their jurisdiction. Under the legal dispensation, where God himself prescribed the exact proportion of what the people were to give, yet none but persons of the worst characters ever attempted to *take it by force.* How daring then must it be for any to do it for Christ's ministers, who says, *My kingdom is not of this world!* We beseech this honorable Assembly to take these matters into their wise and serious consideration before Him, who has said, *With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.* Is not all America now appealing to Heaven, against the injustice of being taxed where we are not represented, and against being judged by men, who are interested in getting

away our money? And will Heaven approve of your *doing the same thing* to your fellow servants! No, surely. We have no desire of representing this government as the worst of any who have imposed religious taxes; we fully believe the contrary. Yet, as we are persuaded that an entire freedom from being taxed by civil rulers to religious worship, is not a mere favour, from any man or men in the world, but a right and property granted us by God, who commands us to *stand fast in it*, we have not only the same reason to refuse an acknowledgment of such a taxing power here, as America has the abovesaid power, but also, according to our present light, we should wrong our consciences in allowing that power to men, which we believe belongs only to God."

This memorial was read in the Assembly, and after laying a week on the table, was read again, debated upon, and referred to a committee, who reported favourably. A bill was finally brought in, in favour of the petitions, read once, and a time set for its second reading; but their other business crowded in, and nothing more was done about it. In this manner have the Baptists always been shuffled out of their rights. After this, they made a number of attempts to get some security for their freedom from religious oppression, but none was ever formally given them. They had many fair promises, which were never fulfilled; and when the State Constitution was formed, the Bill of Rights was made to look one way, but priests and constables have gone another. The first article of the Bill of Rights declares "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights," &c. The second declares, "No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his *person*, *liberty* or *estate*, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience," &c.

But notwithstanding all these declarations, many have been molested and restrained in their *persons*, *liberties*, and *estates*, on religious accounts.

These things we have thought proper to insert in Mr. Backus's biography. He was undoubtedly the draughtsman of some of the memorials of his brethren, and he was certainly the able and undaunted expositor of them

all. His whole soul was engaged in the prosecution of his agency; insomuch that he became the champion of non-conformity in England, and was, on that account, much vilified and abused by the established party.

When he waited on the Congress at Philadelphia, he was accused of going there on purpose to attempt to break the union of the colonies. The news-papers abounded with pieces against him, some of which he answered, and others he treated as beneath his notice. In one, he was threatened with a halter and the gallows; but he had been too long inured to the war, to be terrified by such impotent threats.

In 1789, Mr. Backus took a journey into Virginia and North-Carolina, in which he was gone about six months, preached a hundred and twenty-six sermons, and travelled by land and water going and coming over three thousand miles. This journey was undertaken in consequence of a request from the southern brethren, for some one of the ministers of the Warren Association to come and assist them, in the great field of labour which was then opened before them.

These sketches give us some view of Mr. Backus's labours abroad; the following list of his writings will inform the reader how he employed his time at home. This list was made out by himself, and was found among his papers.

His first publication was a Discourse on the Internal Call to preach the Gospel, in 1754.

2d. A Sermon on Galatians, iv. 31. *So then, brethren, we are not children of the bond-woman, but of the free.* 1756.

3d. A Sermon on Acts xiii. 27. 1763.

4th. A Letter to Mr. Lord. 1764.

5th. A Sermon on Prayer. 1766.

6th. A Discourse on Faith. 1767.

7th. An Answer to Mr. Fish. 1768.

8th. A Sermon on his Mother's Death. 1769.

9th. A second edition of his Sermon on Galatians iv. 31, with an Answer to Mr. Frothingham. 1770.

10th. A Plea for Liberty of Conscience. 1770.

11th. Sovereign Grace vindicated. 1771.

12th. A Letter concerning Taxes to support Religious Worship. 1771.

13th. A Sermon at the ordination of Mr. Hunt. 1772.

14th. A Reply to Mr. Holly. 1772.

15th. A Reply to Mr. Fish. 1773.

16th. An Appeal to the Publick in Defence of Religious Liberty. 1773.

17th. A Letter on the Decrees. 1773.

18th. A History of the Baptists, 1 vol. 1777.

19th. Government and Liberty described. 1778.

20th. A Piece upon Baptism. 1779.

21st. True Policy requires Equal Religious Liberty. 1779.

22d. An Appeal to the People of Massachusetts against Arbitrary Power. 1780.
23d. Truth is great and will prevail. 1781.
24th. The Doctrine of Universal Salvation examined and refuted. 1782.
25th. A Door opened for Christian Liberty. 1783.
26th. A History of the Baptists, vol. II. 1784.
27th. Godliness excludes Slavery, in Answer to John Cleaveland. 1785.
28th. The Testimony of the Two Witnesses. 1786.
29th. An Address to New-England. 1787.
30th. An Answer to Remmele on the Atonement. 1787.
31st. A Piece on Discipline. 1787.
32d. An Answer to Wesley on Election and Perseverance. 1789.
33d. On the Support of Gospel Ministers. 1790.
34th. An Essay on the Kingdom of God. 1792.
35th. A History of the Baptists, vol. III. 1796.
36th. A second edition of his Sermon on the Death of his Mother; to which was added a Short Account of his Wife, who died in 1800. Published 1803.

Most of the pieces in the foregoing list were small; but a number of them, besides his History, were considerably large.

In 1800, our historian published in a small octavo volume, An Abridgment of his History of the Baptists; and in 1805, the year before his death, he published a discourse under the title of A Great Faith described. After this he wrote a Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ, which has not yet been published. Besides these publications, Mr. Backus wrote a number of Circular Letters, and inserted a large number of pieces in different publick prints. These news-paper communications were not upon the common political topicks, but were designed to expose ecclesiastical oppressions, and to defend his noble maxims of religious freedom.

This distinguished man finished his earthly course with great composure, November 20, 1806, in the 83d year of his age, and 60th of his ministry. He had been laid by from his publick labours a few months previous to his death, by a paralytick stroke, which deprived him of his speech and the use of his limbs. But his reason was continued to the last; and in his expiring moments, he manifested an entire resignation to the will of Heaven. He left behind him a number of children, all of whom are respectable members of society. He never received much from his people; but by the blessing of Providence, he had accumulated an estate of considerable value.

It is presumed that but a few Baptists of the present day are sufficiently sensible how much they are indebted to the labours of this departed champion of their cause.

"As a preacher, he was evangelical and plain. His discourses, though not ornamented with the rhetorick of language, were richly stored with Scripture truth." His historical works contain a vast fund of materials of the utmost importance towards a history of our denomination, which must have sunk into oblivion, had it not been for his unwearied care.

[The following description, &c. was furnished by Rev. Dr. Baldwin.]

Mr. Backus's personal appearance was very grave and venerable. He was not far from six feet in stature, and in the latter part of life considerably corpulent. He was naturally modest and diffident; which probably led him into a habit, which he continued to the day of his death, of shutting his eyes, when conversing or preaching on important subjects. His voice was clear and distinct, but rather sharp than pleasant. In both praying and preaching, he often appeared to be favoured with such a degree of divine unction, as to render it manifest to all that God was with him. Few men have more uniformly lived and acted up to their profession than Mr. Backus. It may be truly said of him, that *he was a burning and shining light*; and, though dead, he left behind him the *good name which is better than precious ointment.*

[This biography is taken almost verbatim from Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists, as are most of those which follow of the Virginia brethren.]

ELIJAH BAKER was born in 1742, in the county of Lunenburg, of honest and reputable, but not opulent parents. When grown to the years of maturity, he was much addicted to frolicks and sports of all sorts. Going to hear Mr. Jeremiah Walker preach, he became thoroughly convinced of the necessity of vital religion. His volatile disposition, nevertheless, kept him from seeking for it. However resolved when under preaching, all his resolutions would fail at the sound of a fiddle, or the cordial invitation of his pleasant, but carnal companions. He at last came to a determination to give his old companions one more frolick, and then forsake them forever. This resolution he kept, and was no more to be found among the sons

of carnal pleasure. He listened now, not to the musick of the violin, but to sublimer musick, the faithful preaching of the gospel. Thus, giving up the world, after many previous ineffectual efforts, his convictions soon became exceedingly sharp and pungent. Sometimes he was so convulsed as not to be able to stand. Heaven ultimately smiled; and Mr. Baker was constrained by the love of God, now shed abroad in his heart, to make a profession of grace, and was baptized, anno 1769, by Mr. Samuel Harris. Illiterate as he was, he immediately commenced publick speaking. When he first made a profession, he was remarked for being often cast down with doubts respecting the reality of his conversion. This, however, did not hinder him from making great exertions, first as an exhorter and singer, and then as a preacher. Having exhorted about twelve months, his first labours were laid out chiefly in the county of his nativity, and the adjacent ones, where he was happily instrumental in planting and watering several churches. After about three years, he gave up all worldly cares, and devoted his whole time to preaching and other ministerial duties. About 1773, he began to stretch his lines, and to travel more extensively. Coming down into the lower end of Henrico, he, in conjunction with one or two others, planted Boar Swamp church. Then, as his way would be opened, he extended his labours gradually downwards, and was the chief instrument in planting all the churches in the counties of James City, Charles City, York, &c. Then crossing over York river into Gloucester, preached in the lower end of that county with considerable success. There he formed acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Elliot, then a resident of Gloucester, but who had not long before moved from the eastern shore. Mr. Elliot, discovering a beauty in religion, felt his heart's desire that his brethren in the flesh might be saved. Accordingly in the spring of 1776, they set sail, and arrived on the eastern shore of Virginia, on Easter Sunday, and went immediately to church, where an established clergyman was that day to preach and administer the sacrament. After waiting for some time, and finding the minister did not come, Mr. Baker told the people that he would preach for them, if they would go down to the road.

The novelty of the scene excited their attention, and the people went. Mr. B. had no other pulpit than the end of a large tree; which having mounted, he began one of the most successful ministerial labours that has fallen to the lot of any man in Virginia. Many wondered; some mocked; and a few were seriously wrought upon. He continued his ministrations from house to house, for several days; and when he left them he appointed to return again at Whitsuntide. At his second visit, he was accompanied by his brother Leonard, who was at that time only an exhorter. When they arrived, they were informed that the minister of the parish had appointed to preach against the Baptists, and to prove them to be in an error. Mr. Baker and his company went to hear him; but his arguments proved ineffectual, and the people followed Baker. His brother continued with him about a week. They had meetings both day and night. The effects were not remarkable at first, but at every meeting there were good appearances. This encouraged Mr. Baker so much, that he resolved to remain there for some time: his brother left him labouring in the vineyard. His labours were greatly blessed. He became at once almost a resident; for, indeed, filled as he was with increasing solicitude for the prosperity of the gospel, he could not be found elsewhere than at the places where he had evidences that God called him. After he married, he settled in Northampton county.

In doing so much good, it fell to Mr. Baker's portion, as it generally happens, to give offence to the enemy of souls and his subordinate agents. They put him into Accomack prison, and kept him there many days. The most atrocious attempt upon this harmless man, was that of seizing him by a lawless power and carrying him on board of a vessel in the adjacent waters, where they left him, having contracted with the Captain to make him work his passage over the seas, and then leave him in some of the countries in Europe; alleging that *he was a disturber of the peace.* This took place on Saturday night. He was immediately put to work, and kept at it until late at night. The next day being the Lord's day, he asked and obtained leave of the Captain to sing and pray among the crew. The Captain attended, and was

convinced that he was a good man. Without delay, he set him on shore. In the mean time, his friends had dispatched a messenger to the Governor, to obtain authority to prevent his being carried forcibly away. This they obtained; but Mr. B. was discharged before his return.* He met with various kinds of persecution, which only served to confirm his faith, and inflame his zeal in his Redeemer's cause.

Mr. B. was a man of low parentage, small learning, and confined abilities. But with one talent he did more than many do with five. He is said to have planted ten churches on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake bay. At the last Salisbury Association, which he attended when nearly worn out with disease, at the close of the meeting, he addressed the audience in a most melting and powerful manner; then returning to Doctor Lemon's, soon died.

He had declined in health a considerable time before his death; and having a wish to see his brother Leonard, of Halifax, Virginia, to whom he was fondly attached, he wrote him a letter dated September 21, 1798, of which the following is an extract:

"——And now, brother, are you struggling through the trials of this life, leaning upon your Beloved? labouring, and waiting for the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall change our vile bodies and fashion them according to his glorious body? Or have you got into a lukewarm state, which I fear has been too prevailing amongst some!

"Dear brother, some of my complaints are such, that I do not expect to continue long in this world. However, I leave that to my dear Redeemer, who has the power of life and death in his own hands. But in all probability I shall never be able to come out as far as your house again: dear brother, I should be very glad to see you, if you could make it convenient to come over once more, while I live. I will pay all your expenses. And if our dear mother is yet alive, I can send out some relief

* This story respecting Mr. Baker, I find differently related. Some parts of the narrative, as some have given it, partake considerably of the marvellous; but the above relation is the most simple, and probably the most correct.

to her. As to religion, thanks be to God, there is some stir amongst us. I have baptized eight lately."

It seems his brother could not go immediately; but started in a few weeks, and arrived just time enough to see him die: which took place, November 6th, 1798.

As he died at Doctor Lemon's, it will be most suitable to quote the Doctor's own words respecting him. "In Mr. Baker, I found the Israelite indeed; the humble Christian; the preacher of the gospel in the simplicity of it; and the triumphant saint in his last moments. In his preaching he was generally plain and experimental, always very express on the doctrine of regeneration; never entering upon the doctrines by which he conceived he should give offence to one or another. In his last illness, I attended his bed-side day and night, for three weeks, and had many most agreeable conversations with him, on the glorious things of the kingdom of Christ. He retained his senses to the last minute, and seemed rather translated, than to suffer pain in his dissolution. Death was to him as familiar in his conversation, as if he talked of an absent friend from whom he expected a visit."

He was twice married. His first wife was Sarah Copeland, a lady of respectable connexions, by whom he had one son, now living. She died, and he then married a widow lady on the eastern shore, who had no child by him.

Robert Carter, Esq. once a member of the Virginia Executive Council, and on that account, commonly called Counsellor Carter, was baptized by Mr. Lunsford, shortly after he began to preach in these parts. He was one of the richest men in the State of Virginia, having, as some say, seven or eight hundred negroes, besides immense bodies of land, &c. After being baptized some years, he became conscientious about the lawfulness of hereditary slavery. In a letter to Mr. Rippon of London, he says, "the toleration of slavery indicates very great depravity of mind." In conformity to this sentiment, he gradually emancipated the whole that

he possessed.* This was a noble and disinterested sacrifice. For fourteen or fifteen years he continued an orderly Baptist. But being a man naturally of an unstable disposition, and falling in with certain Arminian writings, he fully embraced their doctrines. Had he stopped here, he might still have continued in the Baptist society, though not so happily as before. But, alas! there are so many wrong roads in religious pursuits, that when a man once gets wrong, it is impossible to foresee where he will stop. From the Arminian errors, Mr. Carter fell into the chimerical whims of Swedenborg. When he first heard of the books of that singular author, he made very light of them; but upon reading them, having a mind naturally fond of specious novelty, he fully embraced the whole of that absurd system, and was, of course, excluded from the Baptists. He was now as zealous for the New-Jerusalem church, as he had been formerly for the Baptists. He moved to Baltimore, in order to find a preacher and a society of his own sentiments, and expended large sums of money to have Swedenborg's writings republished. He continued orderly in his moral conduct, and died a few years since, after having lived to a considerable age.

JAMES CHILES appears to have been a Virginian. Before he embraced religion, having a sturdy set of limbs and a resolute spirit, he often employed them in bruising his countrymen's faces. Gambling was also with him a favourite employment. But God, who is rich in mercy, plucked him as a brand from the burning. He gave evidence to his friends that his heart was changed,

* "It is said that Mr. Robert Carter of Nominy, Virginia, has emancipated 442 slaves. This is a sacrifice on the altar of humanity of perhaps an *hundred thousand* dollars. If this be true, vote him a *triumph*, crown him with laurels, and let the million listen while he sings—

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,
"To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
"And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
"That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd.
"No: dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
"Just estimation priz'd above all price,
"I had *much rather* be MYSELF the slave,
"And wear the bonds, than fasten them on HIM."

Ripton's Register.

but from his oddities he was never converted. He was a member of the first Separate Baptist church north of James River. He was always wrapped up in visions, and pretended to be taught of God how any matter was to eventuate. It happened, however, with him, as with the Trojan prophetess, that if he had the gift of prophecy, his cotemporaries had not the gift of faith. But notwithstanding all his imperfections, his success as a preacher was great. He was the first instrument of planting the gospel upon Blue Run. He also broke the way into Albemarle, where many were converted by his means. In various other places, God set seals to his ministry. After a few years, he moved to South-Carolina, where he planted a large church. He retained his notions about visions to his last. Report says, that after meeting with misfortunes, and being reduced in his property and health, he went to the house of a woman, and told her that his God said, he must die there that day. She said, "I hope not, Mr. Chiles." "Yes," said he, "my God says so: but, however, I will return a while, and consult my God again!" He retired for the consultation, and returning said, "Yes, madam, my God says, I must die to-day." The woman again expressed doubts. She said, "You look too well, Mr. Chiles, to die so soon." He said, "I will try my God once more." After retiring for some time in prayer, he came back and said, "It is fixed; the decree is irrevocable; to-day I must die in your house." Having so said, he stretched himself upon the bed, and yielded up the ghost.

Joseph Cook.——Mr. Cook was born of pious parents in the city of Bath, Somersetshire, England, and called by divine grace in the early part of life, under the ministry of the late celebrated and much-esteemed Rev. George Whitefield, at the chapel of the late Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, at Bath. Mr. Whitefield was exceedingly kind to him, and often took him out with him in his carriage, to converse with him about divine things. As he very soon gave clear evidence, not only of a sound conversion, but also that he had ministerial gifts, Lady Huntingdon, who had a great regard for him, which continued

to her dying day; sent him, in the 19th year of his age, to her college at Trevecka, in Brecknockshire, South Wales. Here he applied himself closely to his studies, and made considerable improvement. He was much esteemed by his tutors and fellow-students, being of a good, obliging temper; but what most endeared him was his lively, spiritual turn of mind, and his readiness to help and comfort any who were in trouble of soul. His very first excursions in the villages, to exercise his gifts, the Lord owned, so that he preached with acceptance and success.

In September 1771, Lady Huntingdon received a sensible anonymous letter, requesting her to send a minister to Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, describing it as a licentious place, particularly at the watering season. She made known the contents of it to one of her senior students, Mr. William Aldridge, and gave him the liberty of choosing any student he pleased in the college to accompany and assist him in this important work. He fixed upon Mr. Cook, who cordially approved of the design. Preparations, therefore, were made for the journey, and after taking an affectionate leave of all at college, attended with many hearty prayers for their safety and prosperity, they proceeded to the place of action. Being utterly unknown to any person at Margate, they began to preach out of doors. Many attended, and not in vain. Several were savingly wrought upon, and turned from the error of their ways, while old professors were stirred up, who seemed to have been settled upon their lees; and now these itinerants preached not only at Margate, but at many other places in the Isle of Thanet.

About this time, many persons in Dover, not satisfied with Mr. Wesley's ministers and doctrine, having left his meeting, and assembled in a private room for exhortation and prayer, sent a very pressing invitation to Messrs. Aldridge and Cook, which they accepted. The former preached at Dover for the first time, in the market-place, on a Sabbath-day, but met with great opposition. A Presbyterian meeting-house, which had been shut up for a considerable time, was therefore procured by the persons who had given them the invi-

tation, in which Mr. Aldridge and his colleague ever afterwards preached, while they continued at Dover. It was now agreed on by all parties, that Messrs. Aldridge and Cook should supply Margate and Dover constantly, and change every week; accordingly, Mr. Cook came to Dover, and preached on the next Tuesday evening. His first text was Heb. ii. 3, "*How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation.*" Many attended, and were much struck at the sight of such a youth, who delivered his discourse extempore, which was a new thing to most of them. This sermon was, he believes, peculiarly blessed to Mr. Atwood, now one of the Baptist ministers, at Falkstone, in Kent, so that he was obliged to say, "Here is a man that has told me all things that ever I did: surely he is a servant of Christ." Mr. Cook continued to supply Dover, in his turn, for some time, and was remarkably useful in winning souls to Christ. Mr. Cook and Mr. Aldridge occasionally preached also at Deal; and at Falkstone their word was signally blessed to many, several of whom afterwards joined the Baptist interest, and one of them became a Deacon in Mr. Atwood's church.

Two years after, the students were called in from all parts of the country to the college in Wales, to form a mission for North-America, as very pleasing and encouraging letters had been received by Lady Huntingdon, desiring her to send faithful and zealous ministers thither. She therefore willingly entered into the plan, laying the whole of it before the students, with her earnest request that they would take the same into mature consideration, and especially make it matter of prayer; and that then, those who saw their way clear to go, would declare it. At length, Mr. Cook, with others, freely offered themselves for this service, came up to London, and related their views of this work before many thousands in the Tabernacle, Moorfields, and elsewhere; an account of which was printed. After taking a very affecting farewell, they embarked for America, with the Rev. Mr. Percy, who afterwards returned, and had a meeting-house, at Woolwich, in Kent. However, the ship was detained in the Downs by a contrary wind. Mr. Cook, being so near, wished to see his friends at Dover once

more. He went therefore unexpectedly, and preached a lecture, which was remarkably owned. Several of his fellow-students also went the next Sabbath to Dover to preach. A fair and brisk gale sprung up in the night; the ship sailed, and they were all left behind. Two of them remained in England, Mr. Henry Mead, a minister now belonging to the establishment, in London, and Mr. William White, since deceased. Mr. Cook, with the rest, were yet determined on the voyage, and prosecuted the plan. On their arrival in America, as they had all preached in England, and considered themselves authorized to do so on their general plan, they travelled about the country, and preached with much acceptance among serious Christians of different denominations, but particularly among the Baptists, whom they found in a lively state of religion at that time. Though these students, were commonly considered as belonging to the Episcopal church, then the established religion of the Southern colonies, and seemed fond to keep up this idea among the populace, yet they generally appeared pleased with the company and conversation of the Baptists; and the most of them gave it to be understood, that they had received convictions respecting the justice and propriety of the Baptists' distinguishing sentiments, which, by one or two of the students, was represented to have arisen from the introduction of a young man of Baptist principles into the Countess's Seminary at Wales, whose arguments had made so great an impression on the minds of the students, that her Ladyship thought proper to discard him. Mr. Cook, however, kept himself considerably reserved, and more at a distance from the Baptist churches than the rest. Messrs. Hill and Cosson, after fully professing Baptist sentiments, in their conversation among the Baptists, joined the Presbyterians. Mr. Roberts, who had professed the same in a letter to one of the Baptist ministers, united himself with a respectable congregation of Independents in Georgia; and, on some misunderstanding arising, left off preaching, took a commission in the army, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and died. Mr. Lewis Richards for a while suppressed his convictions, and engaged in a parish, as candidate for the rectorship, but some time after united

himself to the Baptist church at the High Hills of Santee, was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Furman, and is now pastor of the Baptist church in Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Cook had obtained the office of a parish, but on his marriage with a young lady, Miss Elizabeth Bulline, of Baptist parents, then dead, at the village of Dorchester, about eighteen miles from Charleston, he determined to settle there, and preach to a mixed people: in respect of religious profession, a great part of them were, and are Episcopalians; a number, the posterity of a Baptist church, which has become extinct, that once flourished under the ministry of the Rev. Isaac Chanler, a pious and eminent divine; and the remains of an Independent congregation, removed to Georgia, the same mentioned above, to which Mr. Roberts had united. With the latter, Mr. Cook formed his closest connexion, preaching ordinarily in the place of worship belonging to them. The dispute between Britain and the Colonies was now become very serious; the sword was drawn; blood had begun to deluge the field of battle, and a general concern for religious as well as civil liberty, possessed the breasts of the Americans. A temporary form of government, agreed on by South-Carolina, while a reconciliation to Britain on equitable principles was hoped for, had continued the partial establishment, and legal support of the Church of England. This convinced the Dissenters of the necessity of uniting and making vigorous exertions for obtaining the *equal* enjoyment of *all* the privileges proper to a free people. For they now saw, that the Episcopalians, who generally possessed the most conspicuous stations, with their usual appendages of wealth and influence, while they declaimed against the unconstitutional claims of Britain, and were very fond of receiving the assistance of their dissenting brethren in the national struggle, were determined to secure to themselves every exclusive and partial advantage in their power. An invitation was now given to ministers and churches of various denominations, but principally to the Baptists, among whom the business originated, to meet at the High Hills of Santee, at the seat of the Baptist church there, which is nearly the centre of the State, to consult their general interests. To this meeting,

which was held early in 1776, came Mr. Cook, with two other of the young gentlemen mentioned above, and continued there to the next Sabbath, after the business was concluded, which being the season for the administration of the Lord's supper in that church, divine worship was publickly attended on the two preceding days. On Saturday, Mr. Cook had an invitation to preach; and a little before service began, he took aside Mr. Hart, the minister of the Baptist church in Charleston, who had staid to assist at the solemnity, and Mr. Furman, the pastor of the church at Santee, who was then very young in the ministry, and has since succeeded Mr. Hart in Charleston, requesting their advice on a matter under which his mind laboured. They were informed by him, that he had, for a considerable time, felt strong convictions respecting the propriety of believers' baptism, and its necessity in order to a universal obedience of Christ, in a becoming manner. That he had endeavoured to silence his conscience, and avoid the means of conviction, during a great part of the time; but that of late he had felt such guilt and shame in reflecting on his past conduct, as compelled him to a serious consideration of the subject, with a full determination of heart to do whatever appeared to be the will of God; and that the result of this investigation was the most satisfactory evidence in favour of what he had so long thought his duty. This, with the forcible application to his mind, of Ananias's address to Paul, "And now, why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord," made him anxious to comply with his duty without delay, especially as a favourable opportunity then offered. "I have only to add, gentlemen," concluded he, "that I should be glad of your advice, whether to embrace the ordinance immediately, or defer it to be administered among the people where I live; and if I submit to it immediately, seeing my sentiments and intention have been hitherto unknown to the publick, whether it would be proper to make Ananias's address to St. Paul, just now mentioned, and from which I have felt so much conviction, the subject of the discourse I am about to deliver, and just in the light I now behold it, as it applies to myself? *This*,

I confess, is the dictate of my own mind, and I would not wish to act unadvisedly."

The ministers were both of opinion, that it would be best not to delay the administration, and that it was proper he should follow the dictate of his mind respecting the subject, and method of preaching proposed. He preached accordingly to the surprise and conviction of many, and was the next day baptized by the pastor of that church, the Rev. Mr. Furman, after satisfying the church respecting his acquaintance with experimental religion; and on farther consideration, having enjoyed his visits before, and being fully satisfied with his ministerial qualifications, they began to contemplate his ordination. He was accordingly ordained a few days after by Mr. Hart and Mr. Furman. A vacancy having taken place in the church of Euhaw, by the death of an excellent divine, the Rev. Francis Pelot, Mr. Cook soon received a call to take the pastoral care of it, which he accepted, and preached there without interruption for some time; but the invasion of the State taking place, and his exposed situation, near the sea-coast, having already subjected him to losses and distress, he removed to an interior part of the country, where he continued to the conclusion of the war, but suffered anew in the ravages of the State by the troops under Lord Cornwallis and other commanders; so that when he returned to the Euhaw, on the commencement of the peace, he was reduced to a state of poverty. Previous to his leaving Euhaw, he had lost his first wife, and married a second; some circumstances attending this marriage, gave displeasure to a number of his friends, and himself acknowledged he was chargeable with imprudence in the transaction, for which he was sorry.

Hitherto nothing very considerable had appeared in Mr. Cook's ministry in America, towards promoting the kingdom of Christ; but on his return to his church, having passed through some humbling scenes, and entering more fully into the gospel spirit, he laboured with much success. The church had been greatly reduced before he took charge of it, and at his return was almost become extinct; yet it pleased God, by his ministry to add a pleasing number to it in a few years. The account

of additions, by baptism, presented to the Association, for the five last years of his life, was 78; many of these are persons of real worth and respectability.

In the September of 1790, he wrote a letter to Mr. Rippon, of London, in which he gave a pleasing account of the believing Negro church at Savannah, and then added, "My sphere of action is great, having two congregations to regard, at a considerable distance from each other, exclusive of this where I reside; as, also, friendly visits to pay to sister churches, and societies of other denominations, who are destitute of ministers, frequently riding under a scorching sun, with a fever, twenty miles in a morning, and then preach afterwards. Our brethren in England, have scarcely an idea of what hardships we struggle with, who travel to propagate the gospel. I have been in a very poor state of health for two months, but it has not prevented an attention to the duties of my station. O, what a blessing is health! We cannot be too thankful for it."

This good man had now almost finished his course. The circumstances of his dissolution may be collected from a letter, written by one of his dear friends, of which the following is an extract:

To the Rev. Mr. Rippon, London.

Euhaw, South-Carolina, Oct. 4, 1790

Rev. Sir,

I could have wished a more agreeable event than the present had been the occasion of my address to you; but, when I consider I am fulfilling the promise made to the Rev. Mr. Cook, of this place, now with God, it seems to afford a kind of melancholy pleasure. About ten weeks before his decease, he returned in the middle of a sultry day, from preaching to a congregation, about twenty miles from hence, complaining of feverish symptoms, with a dry cough, a tightness of the breast, and great lassitude; notwithstanding which, he relaxed not his labours. In this state he continued, till two weeks before his exit, when he delivered his last sermon from Eph. i. 6. *To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.* He was then so weak, that I feared he would not be able to proceed, but he was greatly supported, and much engaged. He reminded the congregation of the truths he had taught, assured them he felt acquitted of the blood of all men, having fully declared the counsel of God in his ministry. He pathetically addressed himself to his hearers of every age, rank and station, confident, as he told them, that this was to be the last sermon they were ever to hear from him; and then concluded with a solemn farewell. The succeeding Sabbath he was to have preached on St. Helena Island.

On Thursday following, the symptoms began to be so alarming, that I feared he could not continue long. He desired me to read to him the 324th hymn in your Selection, entitled, The Christian remembering all the way the Lord has led him. Some time after, he assured me, he died in the firm belief of the doctrines he had preached, and requested I would write to his friends in England. He sent for Mr. Bealer, an amiable man, and Deacon of his church,

since dead, and consulted with him about the interests of the church, particularly about obtaining a successor to the pastoral office; and as the following Sabbath was the sacramental season, when he was assured the ordinance would be administered by his brethren in the ministry, who were to be present on the occasion, he said, "Next Sabbath, when you are feasting below, I shall be at the banquet above." He fixed on the place of his interment, and requested that the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Furman, of Charleston, should be desired to preach his funeral sermon from 2d Tim. i. 12. *For I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.* From this time he inclined to be silent, and seemed engaged in secret prayer. On Friday was rather easier; and on Saturday morning, he joined in prayer with the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Holcombe, of Philadelphia, who came to assist at an ordination. About noon he grew worse. Dr. Mosse, one of the members of his church, who attended him in the last stages of his illness, writes thus, in a letter to a friend, concerning the last day of Mr. Cook's life: "Mr. Cook appeared to me to have a heart fully resigned to the will of God; some time before his death, he told me, that his whole hope of eternal salvation was built on the sure foundation-stone, Jesus Christ; but I do not feel, said he, that great comfort and joy I have often experienced, and which I felt twelve or fourteen days ago, as noted in my diary." Visible tokens of dissolution inducing a friend to ask if he should pray with him, he gave assent, and, at the conclusion, audibly said, AMEN; after which, he spoke no more intelligibly, but continued struggling with the last enemy till half past three, Lord's day morning, Sept. 26, 1790; when he was released from all his labours, leaving a disconsolate widow under great affliction; an only child, a son by his first wife, about 15 years of age, in whom all his earthly hopes seemed to centre, as he possesses a love of religion, with a thirst for learning,* and a church, almost every member of which looked to him as a common father in Christ. His remains were interred the same evening, immediately after the administration of the sacrament, when a very tender and animated exhortation, to an audience dissolved in tears, was delivered at the grave by Dr. Holcombe, who succeeded him in the charge of the church. The funeral sermon, by Dr. Furman, was not delivered for a considerable time after, owing partly to the distance of 80 miles, and partly to several unavoidable hindrances. Mrs. Cook survived her husband but a few weeks, being taken off by a short and severe illness. Mr. Cook was of a middle stature, and slender make, but had acquired a degree of corpulency a few years before his death. His mental powers were good, and had received improvement by an acquaintance with the liberal arts and sciences, though his education had not been completed. His conversation was free and engaging. As a preacher he was zealous, orthodox, and experimental. He spoke with animation and much fervour; though his talent lay so much in the persuasive, that at the end of his sermon he frequently left the audience in tears. He was taken from his labours at a time when his character had arisen to considerable eminence, and a spacious field of usefulness was opening all around him, and at a time when he was greatly endeared to his people. He was a little in advance of 40 years at the time of his death.

This account of Mr. Cook is found in Rippon's Register, from which it has been copied, with little variation. Some expressions which regard affairs in America have been altered, to make the narrative conform to the present time. What changes have taken place in the persons and events described in England, I am not able to state, only that Mr. Percy, who went back to England, is I conclude the same person who is now an Episcopal minister in Charleston, South-Carolina.

* This son, Joseph B. Cook, was afterwards educated at Providence College, R. I. and is now a respectable minister in South-Carolina.

LEMUEL COVEL was, it is believed, a native of the State of New-York; he was sent out into the ministry by the church in Providence, Saratoga county, thirty or forty miles above Albany. He commenced his ministerial labours under great disadvantages, being both poor and illiterate; and most of his life was spent under the pressure of poverty and worldly embarrassments. But notwithstanding he was obliged to labour almost constantly for his support, such were the astonishing powers of his mind, that he became one of the most distinguished preachers in the Baptist connexion. His talents were far above mediocrity, his voice was clear and majestick, and his address was manly and engaging. The doctrine of salvation by the cross, was the grand theme on which he dwelt with peculiar pleasure; and his preaching was of the most solid, perspicuous, and interesting kind. He lived the religion he professed, and exemplified by his conduct the rules he laid down for others. As an itinerant preacher, his zeal and success were equalled by few; and perhaps exceeded by none among the American preachers. Missionary concerns lay near his heart; and in every thing pertaining to them, he seems to have been a kindred spirit to the famous Pearce of Birmingham. He travelled much among the churches in New-York and New-England, and had often explored new and destitute regions. A little while before his death, the church in Cheshire, with which John Leland is connected, had settled him as their pastor, had assumed the debts in which misfortunes had involved him, and his prospects for comfort and usefulness were never greater. As he was much inclined to travel, the church had settled him under the expectation, that he would be with them but a part of the time, and the Missionary Society of Boston most gladly afforded him their patronage what time he wished to itinerate. Dark and mysterious indeed was that providence, which cut off, in the meridian of life, and in the midst of usefulness, this worthy man. His constitution, naturally slender, had been much impaired by frequent attacks of disease, and by his too extensive labours of various kinds; and while travelling as a missionary in Upper Canada, in October,

1806, he, after a short illness, finished his earthly course. Elders Elkanah Holmes and David Irish were, at that time, engaged in the same field of missionary labours; the last of whom thus describes the mournful event of Mr. Covel's death.

"At this meeting, (that is, at Charlotteville) I heard that my dear brother Covel was dangerously ill. I therefore concluded to leave them, and go and see him, and then return again. The attention appeared so great in many places, that I could not believe it to be my duty to leave them yet. Accordingly, on Wednesday I set out, accompanied by two brethren. We were at this time 60 miles from the place where brother Covel was sick. We rode until we came within about 20 miles, when we heard he was dead and buried! Oh, how my poor heart felt! I was left among strangers almost 300 miles from home, and one of the most dear and intimate friends I ever had, taken away in such an unexpected time! But the Judge of all the earth has and will do right. Brother Covel had done his work, and went off in the triumphs of faith. We came to the place the next morning, and found Elder Holmes preaching his funeral sermon, and a solemn time it was. After sermon we attended to settling brother Covel's business, and the next day set out to return to Townsend, where we arrived the day following, and found the church met together; and when we informed them of the death of brother Covel, the whole assembly appeared to be most deeply affected. It appears that this church was mostly the fruit of his labours in his former visits. When he was with them last year, he assisted in their constitution. I think I may truly say, that there has never been any preacher in these parts more highly and more universally esteemed than he was; and a greater and more universal lamentation I never heard in any place for any man, than in Upper Canada for him. But alas! he is gone. May God grant, that like Samson, he may slay more at his death than he has done in all his life. Some of the church in Townsend, in their lamentation, would break their silence and cry out, "O, my father in the gospel!" "O that blessed minister of Christ, who was used as God's instrument to open my eyes—shall I never

see him again in this world!" We then joined and sang the third hymn of the second book of Dr. Watts, and concluded the opportunity in prayer to Almighty God, that he would sanctify this dispensation to the good of many precious souls."

Mr. Covel left a widow and five children to mourn his loss.

ELIJAH CRAIG was one of the first converts to the Baptist preaching in Virginia. When Mr. Samuel Harris came and preached an experience of grace in Pittsylvania, he found his heart could testify to the truth of it, having some time previously experienced a change, which he had not viewed as conversion, but only the encouragement of Heaven to go on to seek. He was now so strengthened, that, in conjunction with certain young converts in his neighbourhood, who were of the Regular Baptists, he undertook to exhort, &c. and to hold little meetings in the neighbourhood. His tobacco-house was their chapel. Being most of them labouring men, they used to labour all day, and hold meetings almost every night, at each other's houses, and on Sundays at the above-mentioned tobacco-house. By these little prayer and exhortation meetings, great numbers were awakened and several converted.

Mr. Craig was one of the constituents of the Upper Spottsylvania church; he was also one of those who were afterwards dismissed from it, to form the church on Blue Run, over which he was soon afterwards ordained pastor. He was certainly a great blessing to Blue Run church; for under his care they flourished. He was accounted a preacher of considerable talents for that day; which, united to his zeal, honoured him with the attention of his persecutors. They sent the sheriff and posse after him, when at his plough. He was taken and carried before three magistrates of Culpepper. They, without hearing arguments, pro or con, ordered him to jail. At court, he, with others, was arraigned. One of the lawyers told the Court, they had better discharge them; for that oppressing them, would rather advance than retard them.

He said, they were like a bed of camomile; the more they were trod, the more they would spread. The Court thought otherwise, and were determined to imprison them. Some of the Court were of opinion, that they ought to be confined in a close dungeon; but the majority were for giving them the bounds. After staying there one month, preaching to all who came, he gave bond for good behaviour, and came out. He was also confined in Orange jail, at another time. He was a preacher of usefulness for many years after he commenced; but finally falling too much into land speculations, his ministry was greatly hindered. In 1786, he moved to Kentucky, where, continuing his land speculations, that bewildering pursuit, which has ruined the reputation and usefulness of so many in Kentucky and elsewhere, he became obnoxious to the church, and was excommunicated 1791. How long he stayed out, is not known. He was, however, restored; and continued in the church until the year 1808, when he died.

He was naturally of a censorious temper; and always seemed better pleased to find out the faults than the virtues of mankind. This, however, so long as he was warm in religion, was checked by a superior principle; but after he declined in his religious exercises, and became a land speculator, he could seldom be pleased. As good a proof as any that can be named, of this peevish temper, may be gathered from two pamphlets, his only writings that have ever been published. In the one, he undertakes to prove that stationed preachers or pastors of churches, are precluded, by the Scriptures, from receiving any compensation for their services. In this pamphlet, he takes so many opportunities to condemn preachers for being money-seekers, that it would seem the main design of the publication was, to indulge a fault-finding temper. The maintaining of such a sentiment was censurable, because it is contrary to Scripture and reason; and it was certainly ridiculous to advance it in Kentucky, where preachers are so much and so generally neglected by the churches. A person, acquainted with the negligent spirit and parsimonious maxims of the Kentucky Baptists, in viewing the title-page of this pamphlet, would be led to think that the author intended ironically to re-

prove the churches, rather than to censure the avarice of their ministers. His other pamphlet was a personal philippic against Jacob Creath, on account of some private dispute between Creath and a Mr. Lewis; the former the pastor, and the latter one of the principal members of the Town-Fork church, in the neighbourhood of Lexington. Without saying any thing about the merits of the case, or the provocation given by Mr. Creath, candour compels us to say, that no provocation can justify the style of this pamphlet. It is written with a pen dipt in poison. The Baptists are a free people; and every one in these matters, says and does that which seemeth right in his own eyes: but it is to be hoped, that the present, nor any other generation, will ever witness another publication, written in the style or temper of the above pamphlet; and that, too, by one Baptist preacher against another.

Samuel Eccles was a native of Roscommon, in Ireland, and began professional life in the capacity of a merchant, in his own country; but proving unfortunate in trade, soon after his engaging in it, he went to France, and as a friend to liberty, took an active part in the revolutionary war, in which that country was then engaged. But the enormities practised there, under the name of liberty, both by the government and army, induced him, in a little time, to resign his commission, and come to America. He landed in South-Carolina; and here it pleased God, shortly after his arrival, to impress his mind with the importance and excellence of religion; and, from being a man of the world and a soldier, he became eminent for piety and devotion. Having made a serious profession of religion, his attention was turned to the ministry; and that he might be qualified to perform the duties of this important station to advantage, he availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the establishment of the Baptist Education Fund, belonging to the Charleston Association, and engaged in the course of classical and theological studies, which he pursued about four years, with close application, under the Rev. Mr. Roberts, near Stateburg. He had been for some time pastor of

a church in the upper part of this State; and though living at a distance, preached at stated times in Orangeburg, where he was solicited to settle; but having, about two months before his death, married a daughter of the late Rev. Timothy Durgan, of Jeffer's Creek, he had just changed his residence to that place, and was entered on an apparently extensive field of usefulness, when it pleased God, who is infinitely wise and sovereign in his counsels and dispensations, by a short but sharp illness, to remove him to the world of spirits, August 12, 1808. Mr. Eccles' age is not mentioned, but he was, probably, about 40 years old.

His natural and acquired abilities were respectable; his character fair; his disposition amiable, and his usefulness conspicuous. As a preacher he was zealous and active, and manifested an extensive acquaintance with the heart and conscience, which he addressed with great seriousness. In his preaching, he insisted much on the great peculiarities of the gospel, considered as a dispensation of free, sovereign, and glorious grace, extended through a Redeemer to guilty, dying men, and strongly enforced the necessity of experimental, practical godliness. One who knew him well and felt as a friend, in giving information of his death, writes, "He bore his last affliction with placid resignation and unrepining patience."

MORGAN EDWARDS, A.M.——The following biographical sketch of this truly eminent man, and distinguished promoter of the Baptist cause in America, was drawn by Dr. William Rogers of Philadelphia, in a sermon preached at his funeral, and by him communicated to Dr. Rippon, of London, who published it in the 12th No. of his Annual Register, from which it is now extracted. The sermon, which for some cause was not printed, was preached in the 1st Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1795, on 2 Cor. vi. 8. *By honour and dishonour; by evil report and good report; as deceivers and yet true.* The Doctor, after a general and pertinent illustration of his text, thus proceeds: "My highly esteemed friend

and father, the Rev. Mr. Morgan Edwards, requested, as you have already been informed, that these words should be preached from, as soon as convenient after his decease. I presume he found them descriptive of what he met with in the course of his ministry.

"*Honour*, Mr. Edwards certainly had, both in Europe and America. The College and Academy of Philadelphia, at a very early period, honoured him as a man of learning, and a popular preacher, with a diploma, constituting him *Master of Arts*; this was followed by a degree *ad eundem* in the year 1769, from the College of Rhode-Island, being the first commencement in that institution. In this seminary he held a *Fellowship*, and filled it with reputation, till he voluntarily resigned it in 1789; age and distance having rendered him incapable of attending the meetings of the Corporation any longer.

"He also met with *dishonour*; but he complained not much of this, as it was occasioned by his strong attachment to the Royal Family of Great Britain, in the beginning of the American war, which fixed on him the name of a *Tory*: this I should have omitted mentioning, had not the deceased expressly enjoined it upon me. For any person to have been so marked out in those days, was enough to bring on political opposition and destruction of property; all of which took place with respect to Mr. Edwards, though he never harboured the thought of doing the least injury to the United States, by abetting the cause of our enemies.

"A *good report* our departed brother also had. The numerous letters brought with him across the Atlantick, from the Rev. Dr. John Gill and others, *reported* handsome things of him; and so did, in return, the letters that went from America to the then parent country.

"*Evil reports* also fell to his share; but most of these were false reports, and therefore he gave credit for them as a species of persecution. And even the title of *deceiver* did not escape him. Often has he been told that he was an Arminian, though he professed to be a Calvinist; that he was a Universalist in disguise, &c. Yet he was *true* to his principles. These may be seen in our confession of faith, agreeing with that republished by the Baptist churches assembled at London, in the year

1689. He seldom meddled with the five polemical points; but when he did, he always avoided abusive language. The charge of Universalism brought against him was not altogether groundless; for though he was not a Universalist himself, he professed a great regard for many who were, and he would sometimes take their part against violent opposers, in order to inculcate moderation.

"Mr. Edwards was born in Trevethin parish, Monmouthshire, in the principality of Wales, on May 9th, 1722, old style; and had his grammar learning in the same parish, at a village called Trosnat; afterwards he was placed in the Baptist seminary at Bristol, in Old-England, at the time the president's chair was filled by the Rev. Mr. Foskett. He entered on the ministry in the sixteenth year of his age. After he had finished his academical studies, he went to Boston in Lincolnshire, where he continued seven years, preaching the gospel to a small congregation in that town. From Boston, he removed to Cork, in Ireland, where he was ordained, June 1, 1757, and resided nine years. From Cork he returned to Great-Britain, and preached about twelve months at Rye, in Sussex. While at Rye, the Rev. Dr. Gill,* and other London ministers, in pursuance of letters which they received from *this church*, (Philadelphia) urged him to pay you a visit. He complied, took his passage for America, arrived here May 23, 1761, and shortly afterwards became your pastor. He had the oversight of this church for many years; voluntarily resigned his office, when he found the cause, which was so near and dear to his heart, sinking under his hands; but continued preaching to the people, till they obtained another minister, *the person who now addresses you*, in the procuring of whom he was not inactive.

"After this, Mr. Edwards purchased a plantation in Newark, New-Castle county, State of Delaware, and

* It is said, that the church in Philadelphia, sent to Dr. Gill of London, to assist them in obtaining a pastor; but that they required so many accomplishments to be united in him, that the Dr. wrote them back, that he did not know as he could find a man in England who would answer their description; informing them, at the same time, that Mr. Morgan Edwards, who was then preaching in Rye, in the county of Sussex, came the nearest of any one who could be obtained.

moved thither with his family in the year 1772; he continued preaching the word of life and salvation in a number of vacant churches, till the commencement of the American war. He then desisted, and remained silent, till after the termination of our revolutionary troubles, and a consequent reconciliation with this church. He then occasionally read lectures in divinity in this city, and other parts of Pennsylvania; also in New-Jersey, Delaware, and New-England; but for very particular and affecting reasons* could never be prevailed upon to resume the sacred character of a minister.

"Our worthy friend departed this life, at Pencader, New-Castle county, Delaware State, on Wednesday the 28th of January, 1795, in the 73d year of his age; and was buried, agreeable to his own desire, in the aisle of this meeting-house, with his first wife and their children; her maiden name was Mary Nunn, originally of Cork, in Ireland, by whom he had several children, all of whom are dead, excepting two sons, William and Joshua; the first, if alive, is a military officer in the British service; the other is now present with us, paying this last publick tribute of filial affection to the memory of a fond and pious parent. Mr. Edwards's second wife was a Mrs. Singleton, of the State of Delaware, who is also dead, by whom he had no issue.

"Several of Mr. Edwards's pieces have appeared in print, viz. 1. A Farewell Discourse, delivered at the Baptist meeting-house in Rye, Feb. 8, 1761, on Acts xx. 25, 26. *And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone*

* The delicate circumstances in which Dr. Rogers was placed, at the time he delivered this discourse, was probably the reason why he was not more explicit on the subject here referred to. It is said that Mr. Edwards, in the midst of his troubles, was guilty, in a few instances at least, of using intemperately an antidote, too often resorted to in the time of trouble. And as he had always maintained the sentiment, that it was improper for a minister of the gospel, after what may be called a *capital* fall, ever again to resume his ministerial office, he, for the remainder of his days, carried his belief into practical operation. It is painful to have occasion to relate an affair, so much against the reputation of a man so good and great as Mr. Edwards, his slips and mistakes notwithstanding: but it is hoped the Baptists generally will profit by the unpleasant story; and that those ministers, (and some it must be acknowledged there are) who are so unhappy as to be left to similar falls, would imitate his example, instead of crowding themselves forward, with their bespattered garments, to the grief of their brethren, and to the injury of the cause which they endeavour to promote. A preacher, whose reputation is sullied, either by women or wine, (his greatest foes) is like a broken looking-glass, which may be mended, it is true, so as to do its former service; but it will always be a broken thing.

preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more: wherefore, I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. This passed through two editions, 8vo. 2d. A Sermon preached in the College of Philadelphia, at the ordination of the Rev. Samuel Jones, (now D.D.) with a narrative of the manner in which the ordination was conducted, 8vo. 3d. The Customs of Primitive Churches, or a set of Propositions relative to the Name, Materials, Constitution, Powers, Officers, Ordinances, &c. of a Church; to which are added, their proofs from Scripture, and historical narratives of the manner in which most of them have been reduced to practice, 4to. This book was intended for the Philadelphian Association, in hopes they would have improved on the plan, so that their joint productions might have introduced a full and unexceptionable treatise of church discipline. 4th. A New-Year's Gift; a Sermon preached in this house, Jan. 1, 1770, from these words, *This year thou shalt die*; which passed through four editions. What gave rise*

* "It has often been said, that when great men err, they err egregiously. So did Mr. Edwards in the instance to which his biographer here refers. Led by a mere foolish *impulse*, and not by Scripture, the good man persuaded himself, that he should die on a certain day, and accordingly *preached his own funeral sermon*; but the event did not answer to the prediction: "*he* could not die for his life." Wisdom was learnt from folly, and many said, *we have* the Scripture to walk by; *a more sure word* than voices, new revelations and impulses, *to which we do well to take heed, as to a light that shineth in a dark place.* This was a teaching lesson.——The late excellent Mr. George Whitefield was, in his earlier days, under a similar delusion. His wife was with child; he conjectured she would bring forth a son; she did—they called his name John; in all this there was no harm; but Mr. Whitefield believed that the child was not only to be continued to him, but to be a preacher of the everlasting gospel. "Satan was permitted," says he, "to give me some wrong impressions, whereby, as I now find, *I misapplied several texts of Scripture.*" About a week after the birth of the child, his father baptized him in the Tabernacle.—Thousands went away big with hopes, that the child would hereafter be employed in the work of the ministry, and Mr. Whitefield as much so as any of them; but little John died when he was about four months old, without being great in the sight of the Lord, as his father had promised himself. This mistake was over-ruled in mercy, and the great and good man himself thus concludes the narrative of this affair, (letter 547th, vol. 2d of his works:) "I hope what happened before his birth, and since at his death, has taught me such lessons, as, if duly improved, may render his mistaken parent more sober minded, more experienced in Satan's devices, and consequently more useful, in his future labours, to the church of God." How proper, that ministers and Christians should learn from these instances, to avoid all enthusiastick impulses, and be concerned to put God's meaning on God's word!"

Kilpton's Register.

I find that some of Mr. Edwards's friends are unwilling to admit that he intended the discourse above mentioned for his funeral sermon. But I have been assured by one of his most confidential friends, that the story is literally true; and that he did actually request one of the senior ministers in the Philadelphia

to this discourse will probably be recollected for many years to come. 5th. Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, both British and German, distinguished into First-day, Keithian, Seventh-day, Tunker, and Rogerene Baptists, 12mo. 1792. The motto of both volumes is, *Lo! a people that dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* 7th. A Treatise on the Millennium. 8th. A Treatise on the New Heaven and New Earth: this was re-printed in London. 9th. *Res Sacra*, a Translation from the Latin. The subject of this piece is an enumeration of all the acts of publick worship, which the New-Testament styles *offerings* and *sacrifices*; among which, giving money for religious uses is one; and therefore, according to Mr. Edwards's opinion, is to be done in the places of publick worship, and with equal devotion.

"Besides what he gave to his intimate friends as tokens of personal regard, he has left behind him 42 volumes of sermons, 12 sermons to a volume, all written in a large print hand; also about a dozen volumes in quarto, on special subjects, in some of which he was respondent, and therefore they may not contain his own real sentiments. These, with many other things, unite to shew that he was no idler.

"He used to recommend it to ministers to write their sermons at large, but not to read them in the pulpit; if he did, he advised the preacher to write a large, fair hand, and make himself so much master of his subject, that a glance might take in a whole page. Being a good classick, and a man of refinement, he was vexed with such discourses from the pulpit as deserved no attention, and much more to hear *barbarisms*; because, as he used to say, "They were arguments either of vanity or indolence, or both; for an American, with an English grammar in his hand, a learned friend at his elbow, and close application for six months, might make himself master of his mother tongue."

"The Baptist churches are much indebted to Mr. Edwards. They will long remember the time and tal-

Association, to preach a sermon at his interment. Although Mr. Edwards lived twenty-five years after this event, yet he did actually die, at the time, in a figurative sense. And it is reported of him, that he said to a friend, some time after this unpleasant affair happened, that he was mistaken in his impulses; for he thought it was the *man*, and not the *minister*, that should die.

ents he devoted to their best interests both in Europe and America. Very far was he from a selfish person. When the arrears of his salary, as pastor of this church, amounted to upwards of £372, and he was put in possession of a house, by the church, till the principal and interest should be paid, he resigned the house, and relinquished a great part of the debt, lest the church should be distressed.

"The College of Rhode-Island is also greatly beholden to him for his vigorous exertions at home and abroad, in raising money for that institution, and for his particular activity in procuring its charter. This he deemed the greatest service he ever did for the honour of the Baptist name. As one of its first sons, I cheerfully make this publick testimony of his laudable and well-timed zeal.

"In the first volume of his Materials, he proposed a plan for uniting all the Baptists on the continent in one body politick, by having the Association of Philadelphia (the centre) incorporated by charter, and by taking one delegate out of each Association into the corporation; but finding this impracticable at that time, he visited the churches from New-Hampshire to Georgia, gathering materials towards the history of the whole. Permit me to add, that this plan of union, as yet, has not succeeded.

"Mr. Edwards was the moving cause of having the minutes of the Philadelphia Association printed, which he could not bring to bear for some years; and therefore, at his own expense, he printed tables, exhibiting the original and annual state of the associating churches.

"There was nothing uncommon in Mr. Edwards's person; but he possessed an original genius. By his travels in England, Ireland and America, commixing with all sorts of people, and by close application to reading, he had attained a remarkable ease of behaviour in company, and was furnished with something pleasant or informing to say on all occasions. His Greek Testament was his favourite companion, of which he was a complete master; his Hebrew Bible next, but he was not so well versed in the Hebrew as in the Greek language; however, he knew so much of both as authori-

zed him to say, as he often did, that the Greek and Hebrew are the two eyes of a minister, and the translations are but commentaries; because they vary in sense as commentators do. He preferred the ancient British version above any other version that he had read; observing that the idioms of the Welsh fitted those of the Hebrew and Greek, like hand and glove.

"Our aged and respectable friend is gone the way of all the earth; but he lived to a good old age, and with the utmost composure closed his eyes on all the things of time. Though he is gone, this is not gone with him; it remains with us, that the Baptist interest was ever uppermost with him, and that he laboured more to promote it, than to promote his own; and this he did, because he believed it to be the interest of Christ above any in Christendom. His becoming a Baptist was the effect of previous examination and conviction, having been brought up in the Episcopal church, for which church he retained a particular regard during his whole life."

BENJAMIN FOSTER, D. D. late pastor of the first Baptist church in the city of New-York, descended from respectable parents of the Congregational church, and was born at Danvers, in the county of Essex, Massachusetts, June 12, 1750.

Agreeably to the custom of his native State, he received the early part of his education at the town school; and as he evinced, from his tender years, a remarkably devout and pious disposition, his parents devoted his whole time to academical pursuits in that seminary, in order to fit him for the University, where they intended to fix him, as soon as his age would admit of his removal from under their immediate care. At the age of eighteen, he was placed at Yale College, in Connecticut, at that time under the direction of the learned and pious President Dagget, where he soon distinguished himself, no less by his religious and exemplary life, than by his assiduity and success in classical literature.

About this time, several tracts relative to the proper subjects of baptism, and also to the scriptural mode of

administering that divine ordinance having made their appearance, the matter was considerably agitated in college, and fixed on as a proper subject for discussion. Mr. Foster was appointed to defend infant sprinkling. To prepare himself for the dispute, he used the utmost exertion: he endeavoured to view the question in every light in which he could possibly place it: he carefully searched the Holy Scriptures, and examined the history of the church from the times of the Apostles. The result however was very different from what had been expected; for when the day appointed for discussion arrived, he was so far from being prepared to defend infant sprinkling, that, to the great astonishment of the officers of the college, he avowed himself a decided convert to the doctrine, that *only* those who profess faith in Christ are the subjects, and that immersion *only* is the mode of Christian baptism; and of which he continued, ever after, a steady, zealous and powerful advocate.

His mind was impressed with serious concern at an early period, but he had nearly arrived at manhood before he obtained a satisfactory evidence of his having passed from death unto life. While a youth, his temptations to blaspheme, were often so strong, that, as he related to some pious friends, he has laid fast hold of his lips, to prevent himself from sinning against his Creator.

He graduated about the year 1772, soon after which he was baptized, and joined the church in Boston, of which Samuel Stillman, D. D. was pastor, under whose fostering care he applied himself to the study of divinity, and took upon himself the charge of the Baptist church in Leicester, Massachusetts, over which he was the same year regularly ordained as pastor. During his residence in that place, he published a tract, entitled, "The Washing of Regeneration, or the Divine Rite of Immersion," in answer to a treatise on the subject of baptism, written by the Rev. Mr. Fish. And soon after he published his "Primitive Baptism defended, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. John Cleaveland;" in both of which he discovered considerable erudition, great depth of argument, and much Christian charity. After having continued at Leicester for several years, his connexion with that church was dissolved, and he preached a short time in his native

town of Danvers; but as neither Danvers nor Leicester afforded him the use of such books as were necessary for a person of his studious turn, he accepted of an invitation to take upon him the pastoral care of a church in Newport, Rhode-Island, where he soon had the satisfaction to find, that his sphere of usefulness was considerably enlarged, and his means of study greatly improved.

On an invitation from the first Baptist church in New-York, he paid them a visit in 1788, and after having preached there for a short time, received an unanimous call to settle amongst them as their pastor. Upon his return to Newport, he consulted with his church, who, though highly pleased with the eminent services of their learned and faithful teacher, were unwilling to throw any obstacle in the way, which might impede his removal to a place, where his ministerial labours might still be more extensively useful. He therefore accepted the call to New-York; and having taken upon him the pastoral charge of that church in the autumn of the same year, continued in that station till the time of his death.

In September 1792, the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by the college of Rhode-Island, in consequence of a learned publication of his, entitled, "A Dissertation on the seventy weeks of Daniel; the particular and exact fulfilment of which prophecy is considered and proved."

From the time Dr. Foster set out as a gospel minister, he was uniformly assiduous in the discharge of all the duties of his office; nor did his zeal in the service of his Master abate, as he advanced in life; for during his last twelve or fourteen years, it was his constant practice to preach from four to six sermons every week. But the yellow fever, which committed so great havock in New-York, during the autumn of 1798, put a period to the usefulness of this worthy man. This dreadful malady had begun to prevail, and several of his friends had sunk under its malignity. In their last illness, Dr. Foster was frequent in his visits, when he prayed with them and administered the soothing consolations of religion. As he was one of those whom no appearance of danger could intimidate from persevering in what he considered to be the path of duty, he was not unwilling to visit those scenes

of affliction, from which, at that time, many of the best of men shrunk back with terror. He was, however, seized with the disorder, and after an illness of a very few days, expired, August 26, 1798, to the great and almost irreparable loss of his church, aged 49 years.

Dr. Foster, as a scholar, particularly in the Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean languages, has left few superiors. As a divine, he was strictly Calvinistick, and full on the doctrine of salvation by free grace. As a preacher, he was indefatigable. In private life, he was innocent as a child and harmless as a dove, fulfilling all the duties of life with the greatest punctuality. The following inscription on a handsome marble over his grave, in the Baptist burying-ground in New-York, written by an eminent Presbyterian clergyman of that city, is an encomium justly due to his memory: "As a scholar and divine he excelled; as a preacher he was eminent; as a Christian he shone conspicuously; in his piety he was fervent; the church was comforted by his life, and it now laments his death."

Dr. Foster was twice married, and in both instances was blest with a pious and excellent companion. His first wife, who was Elizabeth Green, daughter of Rev. Thomas Green of Leicester, died August 19, 1793; and his second was Martha, daughter of Mr. James Bingham of New-York, whom he survived but a very short time. She died July 27, 1798.

Daniel Fristoe was born at Chappawomsick, Stafford county, Virginia, December 7, 1739. He was bred an Episcopalian, but embraced the Baptist sentiments soon after they began to prevail in Virginia, and was baptized by his spiritual father, David Thomas. When young, he received a liberal English education, and though fond of fashionable amusements, was not addicted to the grosser vices of the times.

His conversion was brought about on this wise. When about 23 years of age, his curiosity led him to go a considerable distance to hear a Baptist preacher, whose name is not known. While at the meeting, his horse

strayed away, which obliged him to tarry all night at the place. In the course of the evening, many came in, who had lately been converted, and who, by entering freely into religious conversation, brought strange things to his ears, and awakened his attention to eternal things. He returned home with much seriousness and solicitude, and after labouring a while under great distress of mind, was brought into the liberty of the gospel. He now began exhorting, but was soon called by his brethren to the ministry. His course was short but rapid, and the success which attended his labours, appears to have been unusually great. About the year 1774, he was sent as a messenger from the Ketockton to the Philadelphia Association. Here he caught the small-pox, and after a short tour of preaching in New-Jersey, returned to Philadelphia, and began his journey homeward, but was laid by at Marcus-Hook, a small town, a few miles below the city, where he died in the 35th year of his age. His remains were carried back to Philadelphia, and buried in the Baptist ground.

The following extract from Mr. Fristoe's journal, which has been preserved by Mr. Edwards, contains the most interesting account of his ministry, which I have been able to obtain; for his biography has been almost altogether neglected.

"*Saturday, June* 15, 1771. This day I began to act as an ordained minister, and never before saw such manifest appearances of God's working and the devil's raging at one time and in one place. My first business was to examine candidates for baptism, who related what God did for their souls in such a manner as to affect many present: then the opposers grew very troublesome, particularly one James Nayler, who, after raging and railing for a while, fell down and began to tumble and beat the ground with both ends, like a fish when it drops off the hook on dry land, cursing and blaspheming God all the while; at last a gentleman offered ten shillings to any that would bind him and take him out of the place, which was soon earned by some stout fellows who stood by. Sixteen persons were adjudged fit subjects of baptism. The next day being Sunday, about 2000 people came together; many more offered for baptism, 13 of

whom were judged worthy. As we stood by the water, the people were weeping and crying in a most extraordinary manner; and others cursing and swearing, and acting like men possessed. In the midst of this, a tree tumbled down, being overloaded with people, who, Zaccheus-like, had climbed up to see baptism administered; the coming down of that tree occasioned the adjacent trees to fall also, being loaded in the same manner; but none was hurt. When the ordinance was administered, and I had laid hands on the parties baptized, we sang those charming words of Dr. Watts, "*Come, we who love the Lord,*" &c. The multitude sang and wept and smiled in tears, holding up their hands and countenances towards heaven, in such a manner as I had not seen before. In going home, I turned to look at the people, who remained by the water side, and saw some screaming on the ground, some wringing their hands, some in extacies of joy, some praying, others cursing and swearing, and exceedingly outrageous. *We have seen strange things today.*"

JOHN GANO was one of the most eminent ministers in his day; in point of talents he was exceeded by few, and as an itinerant he was inferior to none, who ever travelled the United States, unless it were the renowned Whitefield. He was born at Hopewell, in New-Jersey, July 22, 1727, was converted soon after he arrived at manhood, and was ordained in the place of his nativity, in 1754. His progenitors, on his father's side, were from France, on his mother's from England. His great-grand-father, Francis Gano, fled from Guernsey, in the time of a bloody persecution; one of his neighbours had been martyred in the day, and in the evening he was fixed on as the victim for the next day; information of which he received in the dead of night. In this perilous situation he made all haste to escape the sanguinary storm which hung over his head: he chartered a vessel, removed his family on board, and in the morning was out of sight of the harbour. On his arrival in America, he settled in New-Rochelle, a few miles above the city of New-York, where he lived to the age of a hundred and

three. Of the number or names of the family of this religious refugee, we know no more, than that he had one son named Stephen, who married Ann Walton, by whom he had many children, some of whom died young; those who lived to marry, were *Daniel*, Francis, James, John, Lewis, Isaac, and three daughters, Sarah, Catharine, and Susannah; the last of whom lived to the age of eighty-seven. Daniel married Sarah Britton of Staten-Island, near the city of New-York, by whom he had Daniel, Jane, Stephen, Susannah, *John*, Nathaniel, David, and Sarah. The two first were born on Staten-Island, the others at Hopewell, in New-Jersey. Some of these died young; but a number of them founded families, and their posterity is scattered in many parts of America; most of them, however, are in the middle and western States. The subject of this memoir had the happiness of being born of parents eminent for piety, by whom he was early taught the necessity of religion, and a correct view of the gospel system. His maternal grandmother was about seventy-six years a pious member of a Baptist church; she lived to the age of ninety-six. His mother was of the same persuasion, but his father was a Presbyterian. But every thing attending his making a religious profession among the Baptists, was conducted with prudence on his part, and with tenderness on that of his friends. He was at first much inclined to join the Presbyterians, but having some scruples on the subject of infant baptism, he determined to give it a thorough investigation. He not only read books, but had frequent conversation with Presbyterian friends; but the more he studied the Pedobaptist arguments the less he was inclined to believe them. The famous Mr. Tennant,* and some other Presbyterian ministers, were among the circle of his Pedobaptist friends. With Mr. Tennant he conversed often and freely; at the close of a lengthy discussion of the subject of baptism, that candid divine addressed him in the following manner, "Dear young man, if the devil cannot destroy your soul, he will endeavour to destroy your comfort and usefulness; and therefore do not be always doubting in this matter. If you cannot think as

* It is not known by the writer whether William or Gilbert is the minister intended, but it is probable it was the latter.

I do, think for yourself." After a suspense of some time, he became fully established in those principles, which he through life maintained with so much ability and moderation. Having resolved to be buried in baptism on a profession of his faith, he made his father acquainted with his design, who treated him with much indulgence and tenderness. He stated that what he did for him in his infancy, he then thought was right, and the discharge of an incumbent duty, but if he felt conscientious in his present undertaking, he had his full and free consent. He moreover proposed that when he should offer himself to the Baptist church, he would go with him and give his consent there, and answer any inquiries they might wish to make respecting his life, &c. and also that he would go and see him baptized. All these promises his catholick father fulfilled.

Soon after Mr. Gano was joined to the Hopewell church, his mind was led to the ministry, but with many anxieties and fears. He was so much absorbed in his thoughts of the great work, that he was often lost to every other object. One morning after he began ploughing in his field, this passage, *Warn the people, or their blood will I require at your hands*, came with such weight upon his mind, that he drove on until 11 o'clock, utterly insensible of his employment. When he came to himself he found he was wet through with the rain, his horses were excessively fatigued, and the labour he had performed was astonishingly great.

After becoming satisfied that preaching would be his employment, he applied himself with much assiduity to studies preparatory for it, which he continued, with some interruptions however, for two or three years. Before he had been approbated to preach, he took a journey into Virginia, with Messrs. Miller and Thomas, two eminent ministers of that day, who had been appointed by the Philadelphia Association to go and assist in settling some difficulties in two infant churches there, which had applied to them for help. Some account of this journey has been given in the first part of the history of the Baptists in Virginia. Before Mr. Gano had returned home, a report had reached Hopewell, that he had got to preaching in Virginia; and some of his brethren were tried

with him, for engaging in the ministry without the approbation of the church. A meeting was called on his arrival, and he was arraigned as being guilty of disorder. He wished them to exhibit their proofs. They informed him that they had none, only what travellers from Virginia had reported, but desired that he would give them a relation of the matter. He replied that it was the first time he had known the accused called on to give evidence against himself, but he was willing, notwithstanding, to give them an impartial relation of his conduct, which he did. The church then asked him what he thought of his proceedings, and whether he did not think he had been disorderly. He replied again, that he considered this question more extraordinary than the other. He had not only given evidence in his own case which would operate against him, but he was now called upon to adjudge himself guilty. This is a specimen of that ingenuity and presence of mind, which shone so conspicuously through all the transactions of this sagacious character. He at length informed the church that he did not mean to act disorderly, nor contrary to their wishes; that his conscience acquitted him for what he had done; that he had no disposition to repent his having sounded the gospel to perishing souls in Virginia, whose importunities to hear it he could not resist; that the case was extraordinary, and would not probably happen again; if it should, he should probably do again as he had already done. The church now appointed him a time to preach, which he did to their acceptance; and after a thorough examination of his gifts and call, he was regularly set apart for the ministry. Soon after this, he went to reside at Morristown; and calls for preaching pressed upon him so much, that his studies, in which he had considerably advanced, were in a great measure relinquished.

At the next meeting of the Philadelphia Association, that body was again petitioned to appoint some one to travel to the south. Messengers had also come on from Virginia, for the purpose of procuring a preacher to labour and administer ordinances among them. As no ordained minister could conveniently go, Mr. Gano was urged to accept ordination, and undertake the journey.

He pleaded against it his youth and inexperience; but the messengers from Virginia, and his brethren at home, united their importunities, and he engaged in the mission. He was ordained in May 1754, and set out in a short time after. In this journey he went as far as Charleston, South-Carolina, and travelled extensively throughout the southern States. Some extracts from his journal will give the reader some view of the turn of the man, and of the manner in which he prosecuted his mission. His journal, which was printed in his life, has but few dates, but it will be understood that the following scenes transpired in the summer and autumn of 1754.

In the back parts of Virginia, this zealous missionary, while conversing with some people where he lodged, in an affectionate manner, respecting their religious concerns, overheard one of the company say to another, "This man talks like one of the Jones's!" On inquiring who the Jones's were, he was informed that they were distracted people, who did nothing but pray and talk about Jesus Christ; and that they lived between twenty and thirty miles distant on his route. "I determined," said he, "to make it my next day's ride, and see *my own likeness.*" When he arrived at the house, he found there a plain obscure family, which had formerly lived in a very careless manner, but a number of them had lately been changed by grace, and were much engaged in devotional exercises. As he entered the house, he saw the father of the family lying before the fire, groaning with rheumatic pains. He inquired how he did? "O," said he, "I am in great distress." "I am glad of it," replied the stranger. The old gentleman, astonished at this singular reply, raised himself up, and inquired what he meant? "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth," answered Mr. Gano. From this they proceeded to religious conversation, and he soon found this pious family, whom the world accounted mad, had been taught the words of truth and soberness. They asked him many questions, and were much pleased to find one, who was acquainted with the things they had experienced.

From this place he proceeded on towards North-Carolina, having a young man with him, who chose to bear

him company on his way. "We arrived at a house just at dusk, the master of which gave us liberty to tarry. After we had conveyed our things into the house, he asked me if I was a *trader*; which I answered in the affirmative. He asked me if I found it to answer; to which I answered, "Not so well as I could wish." He replied, "Probably the goods did not suit." I told him, "No one had complained of that." He said I held them too high. I answered, "Any one might have them below their own price." He said he would trade on these terms; which, I said, I would cheerfully comply with. I then asked him, "If gold tried in the fire, yea, that which was better than the fine gold, wine and milk, durable riches and righteousness, without money and without price, would not suit him?" "O," said he, "I believe you are a minister." I told him I was, and had a right to proclaim free grace wherever I went. This laid the foundation for the evening's conversation; and I must acknowledge his kindness, though he was not very desirous of *trading*, after he discovered who I was."

Our itinerant continued southward until he arrived at Charleston, and there, and in its vicinity, he preached to good acceptance. His account of his first sermon for Mr. Hart, in Charleston, is as follows: "When I arose to speak, the sight of so brilliant an audience, among whom were twelve ministers, and one of whom was Mr. Whitefield, for a moment, brought the fear of man upon me; but blessed be the Lord, I was soon relieved from this embarrassment; the thought passed my mind, I had none to fear and obey, but the Lord."

On his return from Charleston to the northward, he visited an island where he was informed there never had been but two sermons preached. The people soon collected together, and he preached to them from these words, *Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you, and I will not be burdensome to you.*

When he arrived at Tar River, in North-Carolina, he found a report had gone forth, that some of the principal men in the county had agreed, that if he came within their reach, they would apprehend him as a *spy*; for by his name he was judged to be a Frenchman, and this was in the time of the French war. Some of these people

lived on the road he was to travel the next day. His friends urged him to take a different route; but he replied that God had so far conducted him on his way in safety, and he should trust him for the future. When he got near the place where the principal men who had threatened him lived, he was advised to go through it as secretly as possible; but that by no means accorded with his views: he replied, he should stop and refresh himself in the place. He stopped at one of the most publick houses, and asked the landlord if he thought the people would come out to hear a sermon on a week day. He informed him he thought they would; but observed, that on the next Monday, there was to be a general muster for that county. He therefore concluded to defer the meeting till that time, and requested the landlord to inform the Colonel of the regiment, (who, he had learnt, was one of those who had threatened him) of his name, &c. and desire of him the favour of preaching a short sermon before military duty. The landlord promised to comply with his request. "On Monday I had twenty miles to ride to the muster, and by 10 o'clock there was a numerous crowd of men and women; they had erected a stage in the woods for me, and I preached from Paul's Christian armour. They all paid the most profound attention, except one man who behaved amiss. I spoke and told him, I was ashamed to see a soldier so awkward in duty, and wondered his officer could bear with him. The Colonel, as I afterwards understood, brought him to order. After service, I desired a person to inform the commander that I wanted to speak with him. He immediately came, and I told him, that although I professed loyalty to King George, and did not wish to infringe upon the laudable design of the day, yet, I thought, the King of kings ought to be served first; and I presumed what I had said did not tend to make them worse soldiers, but better Christians. He complaisantly thanked me, and said, if I could wait, he would make the exercise as short as possible, and give an opportunity for another sermon, for which he should be much obliged to me. I told him I had an appointment some miles off to preach the next day. Thus ended my chastisement, and the fears of my friends."

"From hence I returned by the way of Ketockton, on Blue-Ridge, where the inhabitants are scattered. On my road, I observed a thunder-storm arising, and rode speedily for the first house. When I arrived, the man came running into the house, and seeing me, appeared much alarmed; there beeing at that time great demands for men and horses for Braddock's army. He said to me, "*Sir, are you a press-master?*" I told him I was. "But," said he, "you do not take married men?" I told him surely I did; and that the Master I wished him to serve, was good, his character unimpeachable, the wages great, and that it would be for the benefit of his wife and children, if he enlisted. He made many excuses, but I endeavoured to answer them, and begged him to turn out a volunteer in the service of Christ. This calmed his fears, and I left him, and proceeded on my way to Ketockton, where I spent some time, and baptized Mr. Hail."

From Ketockton, Mr. Gano proceeded immediately homeward. Soon after his arrival, he was married to Sarah, daughter of John Stites, Esq. mayor of Elizabeth-Town, in New-Jersey, by whom he had many children, most of whom are yet living. Two sons and two daughters are in Kentucky, one son is in Ohio, one daughter is at Hillsdale, New-York, and his second son Stephen is pastor of the church in Providence, Rhode-Island. Mrs. Gano was sister to Mrs. Manning, the wife of the President, who is yet living at Providence.

It was not long after Mr. Gano had returned from this journey, before he was again induced, by repeated solicitations, to set out on another, to the southward, in which he was gone about eight months, and was happy to find, in many places, the fruits of his labours in his former visits. Soon after he returned from this excursion, he was invited by an infant church in North-Carolina, which he had raised up in a place called the Jersey Settlement, to remove and become its pastor. Messengers came to Morristown, a distance of about eight hundred miles, for the purpose of soliciting that church to give him up. They at first refused, but afterwards concluded to leave the matter to his own choice. He

therefore concluded to go; but at the same time informed the Morristown church, it was not for want of attachment to them. The church in North-Carolina, he considered, was wholly destitute, and there was besides, a wide field for gospel labour. At the Jersey Settlement he continued about two years; the church became large, and his labours were abundantly useful throughout a wide and destitute region. But a war breaking out with the Cherokee Indians, he was obliged to leave the country, and returned to New-Jersey. About this time the foundation for the first church in New-York was laid by Mr. Miller of Scotch Plains; the church in Philadelphia had also been lately deprived of its pastor, by the death of Mr. Jenkin Jones. Mr. Gano preached for some time alternately at both cities, but about the time the church in New-York was organized, he went to live among them, was chosen its pastor, and continued in that office about twenty-five years, excepting the time he was obliged to be absent on account of the war. Some account of his ministry here, and of the progress of the church while under his care, may be found in its history under the head of New-York.

During most of the revolutionary war, Mr. Gano was a chaplain in the army; and by his counsels and prayers, encouraged the American hosts in their struggles for freedom from the dominion of a foreign, oppressive yoke.

On the return of peace, he returned to his pastoral station, and began to collect the church which had been scattered to many different places. Out of upwards of two hundred members, of which it consisted at the time of its dispersion, he collected at first but thirty-seven; but his congregation soon became large, others of the scattered flock came in, a revival commenced, which prevailed extensively, and at one communion season, near forty young persons were added to their number. In this prosperous manner this successful minister recommenced his labours in New-York, and every thing appeared promising even to the time he projected his removal to Kentucky. This removal was as unexpected to the church, as it was surprising to his friends. His reasons for it are thus stated by himself: "One William

Wood, a Baptist minister, came from Kentucky, and gave a very exalted character of the state of it. He made several encouraging proposals to me to go there, said there was a prospect of usefulness in the ministry, the necessity of an old experienced minister to take care of a young church there, and flattering temporal prospects for the support of my family. For these reasons I concluded to remove. Besides, I was considerably in debt, and saw no way of being released, but by selling my house and lot. This I concluded would clear me, and enable me to purchase waggons and horses to carry me to Kentucky. I called a church-meeting, and informed them of my intention. They treated it as a chimera, and thought they could stop me by raising my salary. They, with all possible coolness, left me to determine for myself. I immediately determined to go, and desired them to look out for a supply. This aroused them, and they very affectionately urged me to tarry. I told them, if they had desired me to stay before I had put it out of my own power, I should then have given it up."*

Having resolved on removing, he sold his estate, commenced his journey, and on June 17, 1787, landed at Limestone, and immediately repaired to Washington, where he tarried a while; he then went to Lexington, and finally settled near Frankfort, where he died in 1804, in the 78th year of his age. The labours of this aged minister were owned of God for good in Kentucky; but there is reason to believe, that neither his usefulness nor worldly comforts were so great as he expected. His changes were frequent, and some of them peculiarly trying. The encouraging proposals made by Mr. Wood, appear not to have been released. His wife was first made a cripple by a fall from a horse, and soon after removed from him by death. By most of the Kentucky brethren he was honoured and esteemed, and by all of them his death was much lamented. In 1793, he made a visit to North-Carolina, where he married, for his second wife, the widow of Capt. Thomas Bryant, and daughter of Col. Jonathan Hunt, formerly of New-Jersey, one

* This with the preceding extracts, is made from Gano's Life, a 12mo. vol. of 150 pages.

of his old neighbours and unchanging friends. In her he found an amiable help-meet for his declining years. She had been baptized by his son Stephen, three years before, that is, in 1790, when they visited North-Carolina together. She still survives him, and resides at his late dwelling, near Frankfort, Kentucky. While he was waiting for this new companion to arrange her affairs for a removal, he visited Charleston, South-Carolina, and also as far northward as his son Stephen's, in Providence.

Mr. Gano, though now somewhat impaired by age, was still actively engaged in his Master's service; but in 1798, he had the misfortune to fall from a horse, and fractured his shoulder-blade, which deprived him of the use of one of his arms for some time. As he was recovering from this affliction, he was very suddenly seized in his bed, with a paralytick shock, which rendered him almost speechless for nearly a year. From this shock he never fully recovered; but his speech was restored, and he had the use of his limbs so far, that he was able to be carried out to meetings, and preached frequently, especially in the time of the great revival, in an astonishing manner. While the Arian affair, mentioned in the history of the Elkhorn Association, was agitating the minds of many of the Kentucky brethren, this able advocate for gospel truth was carried to Lexington, assisted into the pulpit, where he preached a masterly discourse in defence of the proper Deity of the Saviour, which was thought to have had a considerable influence in checking the prevalence of that erroneous system, which many were previously inclined to embrace.

We shall now take a review of the history of this distinguished man, and exhibit some of those peculiar traits in his character, which qualified him for such abundant usefulness, and rendered him so famous amongst the American Baptists. Mr. Gano was peculiarly qualified for an itinerant preacher. He possessed, to a singular degree, the wisdom of the serpent, with the harmlessness of the dove. He had a sagacity and quickness of perception, which but few men possess; he had also a happy facility in improving every passing occurrence to some useful purpose. He could abash and confound the opposer, without exciting his resentment; and administer

reproof and instruction where others would be embarrassed or silent. His memory was retentive; his judgment was good; his wit was sprightly, and always at command; his zeal was ardent, but well regulated; his courage undaunted; his knowledge of men was extensive: and to all these accomplishments were added a heart glowing with love to God and men, and a character fair and unimpeachable.

It is said that Hervey's servant declared his master could make a sermon out of a pair of tongs; and probably not much inferior to his, were the inventive powers of Mr. Gano. He did not, however, descend to the absurd custom adopted by some, of choosing adverbs and prepositions for his texts; but he had a happy talent of selecting passages of Scripture descriptive of peculiar circumstances and passing events. We have a specimen of this in his preaching on the island in South-Carolina. His friends relate many instances of the same kind, a few only of which we shall notice. In one of his journies at the southward, he travelled in company with a young preacher, who has since become an eminent character in that region. They took different routes in the day, but were to meet in the evening, and Mr. Gano was to preach. The meeting was at a private house, and he did not arrive at the place until late. The young man with reluctance began the meeting, and was in prayer when he came in. He entered the assembly without being discovered, and took his place among the hearers; and just as it was time to commence the sermon, he arose and said with emphasis, *I am come!* Then with a common tone, *I am come, that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly*, John x. 10, and immediately proceeded on in his discourse.

In going down the Ohio river, on his removal to Kentucky, he and his companions met with much trouble on their passage; one of his boats was overset, and some valuable things were lost. Soon after they landed in Kentucky, he preached from these words, *So they all got safe to land.*

While in the army, he was informed by the General on Saturday that they should march the next Monday, but was requested not to mention the matter until after sermon the next day. This circumstance suggested to

his mind these words, *Being ready to depart on the morrow*, from which he preached, and as soon as he had done, the orders were given.

The funeral of Gen. M'Dougal, a famous character in New-York, was appointed on a Lord's-day at so early an hour, that there was but little time for the afternoon service. The people generally, out of respect to their illustrious citizen, were preparing to attend his funeral. Some congregations did not meet, but Mr. Gano's did; and he addressed them hastily from these words, *Brethren, the time is short.* Having respect to the General's death, he from this short passage, preached a short but well-adapted discourse, and dismissed the assembly soon enough to join the procession.

He had an art peculiar to himself of accommodating such passages to particular events. His inventive powers were adequate to forming profitable discourses from almost any passage of Scripture at the shortest notice, and through the whole of his ministry, he frequently indulged this inimitable faculty. The first sermon he preached after his son Stephen visited him in Kentucky, was from these words, *I am glad of the coming of Stephanas, &c.*

Mr. Gano was personally known almost throughout the United States; and a multitude of anecdotes are told respecting him, a few only of which we shall be able to record.

In one of his journies at the southward, he called at a house and asked for some corn for his horse, which the landlord ordered his little son to carry. He then inquired if he was not a minister, and being answered in the affirmative, replied, "I have a child I want to get baptized; I have been waiting a long time for a priest to come along, and shall now wish to have it done." Mr. Gano gave him to understand that any service he *could* afford him, should be cheerfully granted. The boy stood staring at the priest, and neglected his errand. Mr. Gano mentioned about his horse again. "You son of a b—h," said the father, "why don't you feed that horse, as I told you." The boy then did as he was bid, and his father began again to talk about his child. "What," said Mr. Gano, "do you mean to call it? That boy,

I perceive, is named, *Son of a b—h.*" After this singular rebuke, nothing more was said about the christening of the child.

After preaching once in Virginia, in a place notoriously wicked, two young fellows, supposing he had levelled his censures against them, came up and dared him to fight. "That is not the way," said he, "that I defend my sentiments; but if you choose it, I will fight you, either both at once, or one after the other; but as I have to preach again very soon, I shall wish to put it off till after the meeting;" to which they agreed. As soon as the meeting was closed, he called the presumptuous youths forward, and told them he was now ready to fight them. The eyes of all were fastened upon them; yet notwithstanding, they had the hardihood to present themselves for the combat. "If," said he, "I must fight you, I shall choose to do it in some more retired place, and not before all these people." With that he walked off, and bid the young men follow him. He then commenced the attack in the following manner: "Young gentlemen, you ought to be ashamed of your conduct. What reason have you to suppose that I had a particular reference to you? I am an entire stranger here, and know not the names nor characters of any. You have proved by your conduct, that you are guilty of the vices I have censured; and if you feel so much disturbed at my reproofs, how will you stand before the bar of God?" "I beg your pardon," said one; "I beg your pardon," said the other; "I am sorry." "If you are beat, gentlemen, we will go back;" and thus ended the battle.

While in the army, Mr. Gano had frequent opportunities of administering reproof in his skilful and forcible manner. One morning, as he was going to pray with the regiment, he passed by a group of officers, one of whom, (who had his back towards him) was uttering his profane expressions in a most rapid manner. The officers, one after another, gave him the usual salutation, "Good morning, Doctor,"* said the swearing Lieutenant. "Good morning, Sir," replied the chaplain; "you pray early this morning." "I beg your pardon, Sir." "O, I cannot pardon you; carry your case to your God."

* The officers generally complimented Mr. Gano with this title.

One day he was standing near some soldiers who were disputing whose turn it was to cut some wood for the fire. One profanely said he would be d——d if he would cut it. But he was soon after convinced that the task belonged to him, and took up the axe to perform it. Before he commenced, Mr. Gano stepped up to him, and said, "Give me the axe." "O no," replied the soldier, "the chaplain shan't cut wood." "Yes," said he, "I must." "But why?" said the soldier. "The reason is, I just heard you say that you would be d——d if you would cut it; and I had rather take the labour off your hands, than that you should be made miserable forever."

While this singular man resided in New-York, he was introduced to a young lady, as the only daughter of Esquire W——. "Ah," replied he, "and I can tell a good match for her, and he is an only Son." The young lady understood his meaning: she was, not long after, united to this Son, and has, for about forty years, been an ornament to his cause.

In one of his journies, he was informed that there had been a revival of religion in a certain place, which lay on his route. He arrived there in the night, and called at a house, of which he had no previous knowledge. A woman came to the door, whom he addressed as follows: "I have understood, madam, that my Father has some children in this place; I wish to inquire where they live, that I may find lodgings to-night." "I hope," replied the woman, "I am one of your Father's children; come in, dear Sir, and lodge here."

The following summary view of the character of our venerable Sire, was drawn in consequence of a particular request, by Dr. Richard Furman, of Charleston, South-Carolina, who was personally acquainted with him in different stages of his life.

"The late Rev. John Gano will be long remembered with affection and respect in the United States of America. Here was his character formed; and here, as on a conspicuous theatre, were the actions of his amiable, pious and useful life exhibited.

"He was, in person, below the middle stature; and when young, of a slender form; but of a firm, vigorous constitution, well fitted for performing active services

with ease, and for suffering labours and privations with constancy. In the more advanced stages of life his body tended to corpulency; but not to such a degree as to burden or render him inactive. His presence was manly, open, and engaging. His voice strong and commanding, yet agreeable, and capable of all those inflections, which are suited to express either the strong or tender emotions of an intelligent, feeling mind. In mental endowments and acquired abilities he appeared highly respectable: with clear conception and penetrating discernment, he formed, readily, a correct judgment of men and things. His acquaintance with the learned languages and science, did not commence till he arrived at manhood, and was obtained chiefly by private instruction, but under the direction of a clerical gentleman, well qualified for the office. To the refinements of learning he did not aspire; his chief object was such a competent acquaintance with its principles, as would enable him to apply them with advantage to purposes of general usefulness in religion, and to the most important interests of society; and to this he attained.

"His mind was formed for social intercourse, and for friendship. Such was his unaffected humility, candour, and good will to men, that few, if any, have enjoyed more satisfaction in the company of his friends, or have, in return, afforded them, by their conversation, a higher degree of pleasure and moral improvement.

"His passions were strong, and his sensibility could be easily excited; but so chastened and regulated were they by the meekness of wisdom, that he preserved great composure of spirit, and command of his words and actions, even in times of trial and provocation, when many, who yet might justly rank with the wise and good, would be thrown into a state of perturbation, and hurried into extravagance.

"As a minister of Christ, he shone like a star of the first magnitude in the American churches, and moved in a widely extended field of action. For this office God had endowed him with a large portion of grace, and with excellent gifts. "He *believed*, and therefore *spake*." Having discerned the excellence of gospel truths, and the importance of eternal realities, he felt their power

on his own soul, and accordingly he inculcated and *urged* them on the minds of his hearers with persuasive eloquence and force. He was not deficient in doctrinal discussion, or what rhetoricians style the demonstrative character of a discourse; but he excelled in the pathetic, in pungent, forcible addresses to the heart and conscience. The careless and irreverent were suddenly arrested, and stood awed before him; and the insensible were made to feel, while he asserted and maintained the honour of his God, explained the meaning of the divine law, shewing its purity and justice; exposed the sinner's guilt; proved him to be miserable, ruined, and inexcusable, and called him to unfeigned, immediate repentance. But he was not less a son of consolation to the mourning sinner, who lamented his offences committed against God, who felt the plague of a corrupt heart, and longed for salvation; nor did he fail to speak a word of direction, support and comfort, in due season, to the tried, tempted believer. He knew how to publish the glad tidings of salvation in the Redeemer's name, for the consolation of all who believed in him, or had discovered their need of his mediation and grace; and to him this was a delightful employment. Success attended his ministrations, and many owned him for their father in the gospel.

"The doctrines he embraced were those which are contained in the Baptist Confession of Faith, and are commonly styled Calvinistick. But he was of a liberal mind, and esteemed pious men of every denomination. While he maintained with consistent firmness, the doctrines which he believed to be the truths of God, he was modest in the judgment which he formed of his own opinion, and careful to avoid giving offence, or grieving any good man, who differed from him in sentiment. Hence, he was cordially esteemed and honoured by the wise and good of all denominations.*

* An honourable testimony was borne to his ministerial abilities and service, by a respectable clergyman of the Episcopal church, who had made extensive observations on publick characters. After going to hear him, perhaps at different times, while he was employed in the regular course of service in his own church, in the city of New-York, this clergyman noted in his journal, "that he thought Mr. Gano possessed the best pulpit talents of any man he had ever heard." This anecdote was received from the Rev. Dr. Bowen, of New-York, whose father was the clergyman referred to.

Dr. Furman's Letter.

"His attachment to his country as a citizen, was unshaken, in the times which tried men's souls; and as a chaplain in the army, for a term of years, while excluded from his church and home, he rendered it essential service. Preserving his moral dignity with the purity which becomes a gospel minister, he commanded respect from the officers; and by his condescension and kindness, won the affections of the soldiers, inspiring them by his example, with his own courage and firmness, while toiling with them through military scenes of hardship and danger.

"He lived to a good old age; served his generation according to the will of God; saw his posterity multiplying around him; his country independent, free and happy; the church of Christ, for which he felt and laboured, advancing; and thus he closed his eyes in peace; his heart expanding with the sublime hope of immortality and heavenly bliss.

"Like John, the harbinger of our Redeemer, "he was a burning and a shining light, and many rejoiced in his light." Resembling the sun, he arose in the church with morning brightness, advanced regularly to his station of meridian splendour, and then gently declined with mild effulgence, till he disappeared, without a cloud to intercept his rays, or obscure his glory."

[The following biographical sketches of that excellent man who is the subject of them, have been selected from two funeral sermons, which were preached soon after his decease; the one by Dr. Richard Furman, his successor in the pastoral care of the Baptist church, in Charleston (S. C.) and the other by Dr. William Rogers, of Philadelphia. Some assistance in the compilation has been derived from the History of the Charleston Association by Mr. Wood Furman.]

OLIVER HART, A. M. was born of reputable parents, in Warminster township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, July 5, 1723. His attention to religion, and conversion to God, were at an early period of his life; for he made a publick profession of religion at Southampton, Pennsylvania, and was received a member of the church in that place in 1741, in the 18th year of his age; having been previously baptized by the Rev. Mr. Jenkin Jones. At that time, the power of religion was greatly displayed in various parts of this continent, under the minis-

try of those eminent servants of Christ, Rev. George Whitefield, of the Episcopal church, the Tennants, Edwards, and their associates of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches; and of the Rev. Abel Morgan, and others of the Baptist church. Several of these, Mr. Hart, at this time, used to hear; and has since professed to have received much benefit from their preaching, particularly from Mr. Whitefield's.

Five years after making his publick profession of religion, on the 20th of December, 1746, he was licensed to preach, by the church with which he first united; and on the 18th of October, 1749, was ordained to the great work of the gospel ministry.

The call for ministers in the southern States being great at that time, and the church at Charleston (S. C.) being destitute, he was induced, immediately after his ordination, to set out for that city, where he arrived early in December, on the very day the famous Mr. Chanler, pastor of the church at Ashley River, then the only ordained minister of the Baptist denomination in that part of the country, and who had preached part of his time for the church in Charleston, as a supply, was buried. The Charleston church, in her destitute situation, had made applications, both to Europe and the northern States, for a suitable minister; and one who had been described as such was actually expected: but the unexpected coming of Mr. Hart was considered as directed by a special providence; and so great was the satisfaction of the church, on hearing him, that he was immediately invited to take the pastoral charge of them; with which he was accordingly invested on the 16th of February following.

For thirty years from this period, he executed the office of pastor of that church, as a faithful, evangelick minister of Christ, passing through a variety of scenes both of joy and depression; but exhibiting, at all times, an uprightness and dignity, both of temper and conduct, becoming his religious and sacred character. His life was exemplary, and his usefulness conspicuous. But on the approach of the British fleet and army, to which Charleston was surrendered in 1780, being justly apprehensive of the consequences which resulted from the

siege, and desiring to preserve his *political liberty*, with which he found his *religious* intimately connected, he retired to the northern States. There the attention of the Baptist church at Hopewell, in the State of New-Jersey, was soon attracted towards him, and in consequence of a pressing invitation from them, he became their pastor on the 16th of December the same year, and served them in that capacity, the last fifteen years of his valuable life.

For some years towards the latter part of his life, the infirmities of age, and several severe attacks of different diseases, had greatly reduced his bodily strength, and disqualified him for the constant performance of publick duties; and on the 31st of December, 1795, in the 73d year of his age, he surrendered his soul into the hands of his God and Redeemer.

"To those of you, my dear hearers, (says Dr. Furman in his funeral sermon) who enjoyed the honour and happiness of an acquaintance with the venerable deceased, an account of his character is unnecesary; it shone conspicuously in your view. But to the younger part of my audience, and to those friends who have come lately among us, it may afford useful information.

"In his person he was somewhat tall, well proportioned, and of a graceful appearance; of an active, vigorous constitution, before it had been impaired by close application to his studies, and by his abundant labours; his countenance was open and manly; his voice clear, harmonious and commanding; the powers of his mind were strong and capacious, and enriched by a fund of useful knowledge; his taste was elegant and refined. Though he had not enjoyed the advantages of a collegiate education, nor indeed much assistance from any personal instruction, such was his application, that by private study he obtained a considerable acquaintance with classical learning, and explored the fields of science; so that in the year 1769, the college of Rhode-Island, in honour to his literary merit, conferred on him the degree of master in the liberal arts.

"But as a Christian and Divine, his character was most conspicuous; no person who heard his pious, experimental discourses, or his affectionate, fervent addresses

to God in prayer; who beheld the zeal and constancy he manifested in the publick exercises of religion, or the disinterestedness, humility, benevolence, charity, devotion, and equanimity of temper he discovered on all occasions in the private walks of life, could for a moment doubt of his being not only *truly*, but *eminently* religious. He possessed in a large measure the moral and social virtues, and had a mind formed for friendship. In all his relative connexions, as husband, father, brother, master, he acted with the greatest propriety, and was endeared to those who were connected with him in the tender ties.

"From a part of his diary now in my possession, it appears that he took more than ordinary pains to walk humbly and faithfully with God; to live under impressions of the love of Christ; to walk in the light of the divine presence; and to improve all his time and opportunities to the noblest purposes of religion and virtue.

"In his religious principles, he was a fixed Calvinist, and a consistent, liberal Baptist. The doctrines of *free*, *efficacious grace*, were precious to him; Christ Jesus, and him crucified, in the perfection of his righteousness, the merit of his death, the prevalence of his intercession, and efficacy of his grace, was the foundation of his hope, the source of his joy, and the delightful theme of his preaching.

"His sermons were peculiarly serious, containing a happy assemblage of doctrinal and practical truths, set in an engaging light, and enforced with convincing arguments. For the discussion of doctrinal truths, he was more especially eminent, to which also he was prepared, by an intimate acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, and an extensive reading of the most valuable, both of ancient and modern authors. His eloquence, at least in the middle stages of life, was not of the most popular kind, but perspicuous, manly, and flowing; such as afforded pleasure to persons of true taste, and edification to the serious hearer.

"With these various qualifications for usefulness, he possessed an ardent desire to be as useful as possible; which cannot be better represented than in his own words, as recorded in the diary before referred to, and which comprehends a part of his life, when the power

of divine grace was eminently displayed in this church. The article here selected was written just before that work of grace began, and exemplifies in him the pious Christian, as well as the faithful Divine.

"Monday, Aug. 5, 1754. I do this morning feel myself oppressed under a sense of my barrenness. Alas! what do I for God? I am, indeed, employed in his vineyard; but I fear to little purpose. I feel the want of the life and power of religion in my *own heart:* this causes such a languor in all my duties to God—this makes me so poor an improver of time. Alas! I am frequently on my bed, to my shame, when I ought to be on my knees. Sometimes the sun appears in the horizon, and begins his daily course, before I have paid my tribute of praise to God; and, perhaps, while I am indulging myself in inactive slumbers. Oh, wretched stupidity! Oh, that, for time to come, I may become more active for God! I would this morning resolve, before thee, O God, and in thy name and strength, to devote myself more unreservedly to thy service than I have hitherto done: I would resolve to be a better improver of my time, than I have hertofore been; to rise earlier in the morning; to be sooner with thee in secret devotion; and oh, that I may be more devout therein! I would be more engaged in my studies. Grant, O Lord, that I may improve more by them! And when I go abroad, enable me better to improve my visits, that I may always leave a savour of divine things behind me. When I go to thy house to speak for thee, may I always go full fraught with things divine, and be enabled faithfully and feelingly to dispense the word of life. I would begin and end every day with thee. Teach me to study thy glory in all I do. And wilt thou be with me also in the night watches. Teach me to meditate of thee on my bed. May my sleep be sanctified to me, that I may thereby be fitted to thy service, nor ever desire more than answers to this important end. Thus teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom."

"These virtuous resolutions and pious breathings of soul, were seconded by becoming exertions, both of a publick and private nature, in his own congregation; and by correspondent labours in churches abroad; nor were

they without success. Many owned him as their father in the gospel; among these are two distinguished and useful ministers, who survive him, and shine as diffusive lights in the church.* These were not only awakened under his preaching, but introduced also by him into a course of study, for the ministry.

"The formation of a society in this city, to assist pious young men in obtaining education for the publick services of the church, and which has been of use to several, originated with him; and he was a prime mover in that plan for the association of churches, by which so many of our churches are very happily united at the present day. To him also, in conjunction with his beloved and amiable friends, now I trust with God, Rev. Francis Pelot, and Mr. David Williams, is that valuable work of publick utility, the System of Church Discipline, to be ascribed. His printed sermons have contributed to the general interest of religion, and his extensive regular correspondence, has been the means of conveying rational pleasure and religious improvement to many.

"To all which may be added, his usefulness as a citizen of America. Prompt in his judgment, ardent in his love of liberty, and rationally jealous for the rights of his country; he took an early and decided part in those measures, which led our patriots to successful opposition against the encroachments of arbitrary power; and brought us to possess all the blessings of our happy independence. Yet he did not mix politicks with the gospel, nor desert the duties of his station to pursue them; but attending to each in its proper place, he gave weight to his political sentiments, by the propriety and uprightness of his conduct; and the influence of it was felt by many.

"But this amiable and excellent man has now finished his course, and is gone to render an account of his stewardship to his Lord and Master, to whom he knew he was accountable for his various gifts and graces, and whom to serve and honour was his delightful employ. On such an occasion we are ready to exclaim with Elisha, when he beheld the ascending prophet, "My father!

* Rev. Dr. Stillman, of Boston, whose praise is in all the churches; and Rev. Mr. Botsford, among ourselves. To these may be added a third, Mr. Ewin, who succeeds Mr. Hart, as pastor of the church at Hopewell, April 8th, 1796.

my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" Our beloved friend is removed from the world; and all those among whom he once went preaching the gospel of Christ, shall, in the flesh, see his face no more. May Heaven support his pious, weeping widow, so greatly bereaved; and may indulgent Providence and grace provide for the youth who is left as the son of his old age!"

The following account of Mr. Hart's last illness and death is found in a note in Dr. Rogers's funeral sermon.

"For many months previous to his death, he repeatedly said, that he viewed himself as *a dying man.* A few days after he was taken with his last illness, and while he was able to walk about the room, he called for his Will, gave it to a friend, and desired him to get his remains conveyed to Southampton, the family burying-place. It was with such difficulty at this time that he drew his breath, and the agony he was in, was so great, that he said, he should not think it strange if he should go into convulsions. The struggle for breath broke a vessel, and he spat a quantity of blood; yet not a murmur or undue complaint! He would frequently lift up his hands and say, "Poor mortal man!" A friend once replied, "This mortal shall put on immortality"—he answered, "Yes! yes!" He would often say, "I want, I want!" Being asked what he wanted? "I want the will of the Lord to be done!" The Rev. Mr. Van Horne called to see him; he asked him if he felt comfortable; he replied, "God is an all-sufficient Saviour!"

"A person, who at one time was sitting by, and observing his great bodily distress, said, "How happy for Mr. Hart, that he has but one work to do!" Dying was meant. He immediately replied, "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth!"

Dec. 29. He called for all around him, *to help him praise the Lord for what he had done for his soul.* Being told he would soon join the company of saints and angels, he replied, "Enough, enough!"

Dec. 30. His cough and spitting of blood increased, and every breath was accompanied with a groan. When he died, he just put his head a little back, closed his eyes as if he were going into a sleep, and expired!"

Mr. Hart was twice married; his first wife was Miss Sarah Brees, by whom he had eight children, all of whom were dead, except two, in 1796, and these members of the church in Charleston (S. C.) His second wife was Mrs. Anne Grimball, relict of Mr. Charles Grimball of South-Carolina, by whom he had two sons; the first died young; the other, whose name is William Rogers,* is living in South-Carolina.

Several sermons and other compositions of Mr. Hart's have appeared in print, viz. Dancing Exploded; A Funeral Discourse, occasioned by the death of the Rev. William Tennant; The Christian Temple; A Circular Letter on Christ's Mediatorial Character; America's Remembrancer; and A Gospel Church pourtrayed. Besides these, he has left in manuscript many valuable discourses on publick and common occasions, exclusive of other writings.

For a time during his ministry in Charleston, Mr. Hart suffered a distressing trial, in consequence of an attempt to supplant him in the pastoral office, and place in his room Mr. Bedgegood, who was then his assistant, and possessed popular talents, though not free from blemishes of character. His conscientious opposition was by some attributed to envy; and on the failure of the plan, several of the wealthier members withdrew.

Mr. Hart was zealous and active in the cause of American independence. In 1775 he was appointed by the Council of Safety, which then exercised the Executive authority in South-Carolina, to travel in conjunction with Hon. William H. Drayton and Rev. William Tennant, into the interior of the State, and conciliate the inhabitants to the measures of Congress, by removing their prejudices, and giving them a just view of their political interests. It was believed that the influence of Mr. Hart, exerted on this occasion, was the means of preventing bloodshed, when the tories first embodied.

Samuel Harris.—By reverting to the biography of Mr. Marshall, the reader will find that in one of his evangelical journies, he had the singular happiness to baptize

* Named after Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Samuel, commonly called Colonel Harris. Mr. Harris was born in Hanover county, Virginia, Jan. 12, 1724. Few men could boast of more respectable parentage. His education, though not the most liberal, was very considerable for the customs of that day. When young, he moved to the county of Pittsylvania; and as he advanced in age, became a favourite with the people as well as with the rulers. He was appointed Church Warden, Sheriff, a Justice of the Peace, Burgess for the county, Colonel of the Militia, Captain of Mayo Fort and Commissary for the fort and army. All these things, however, he counted but dross, that he might win Christ Jesus, and become a minister of his word among the Baptists; a sect at that time every where spoken against.

His conversion was effected in the following way: He first became serious and melancholy without knowing why. By reading and conversation he discovered that he was a helpless sinner, and that a sense of his guilt was the true cause of his gloom of mind. Pressed with this conviction, he ventured to attend Baptist preaching. On one of his routes to visit the forts in his official character, he called at a small house, where, he understood, there was to be Baptist preaching. The preachers were Joseph and William Murphy, at that time commonly called Murphy's boys. Being equipped in his military dress, he was not willing to appear in a conspicuous place. God, nevertheless, found him out by his Spirit. His convictions now sunk so deep, that he was no longer able to conceal them. He left his sword and other parts of his equipments, some in one place and some in another. The arrows of the Almighty stuck fast in him, nor could he shake them off until some time after. At a meeting, when the congregation rose from prayer, Col. Harris was observed still on his knees, with his head and hands hanging over the bench. Some of the people went to his relief, and found him senseless. When he came to himself, he smiled; and in an ecstasy of joy, exclaimed, Glory! glory! glory! &c. Soon after this he was baptized by Rev. Daniel Marshall, as mentioned above. This probably took place some time in the year 1758. He did not confer with flesh and blood, but immediately began his ministerial labours; which afterwards proved

so effectual as to acquire him the name of the Virginia Apostle.

In 1759 he was ordained a ruling elder. His labours were chiefly confined, for the first six or seven years, to the adjacent counties of Virginia and North-Carolina; never having past to the north of James River until the year 1765. During the first years of his ministry, he often travelled with Mr. Marshall; and must have caught much of his spirit, for there is obviously a considerable resemblance in their manners. January, 1765, Allen Wyley travelled out to Pittsylvania, to seek for a preacher. He had been previously baptized by some regular Baptist minister in Fauquier; but not being able to procure preachers to attend in his own neighbourhood, and hearing of New-lights, (as they were called in North-Carolina) he set out by himself, scarcely knowing whither he was going. God directed his way, and brought him into the neighbourhood of Mr. Harris, on a meeting day. He went to the meeting, and was immediately noticed by Mr. Harris, and asked whence he came? He replied that he was seeking a gospel minister; and God having directed his course to him, that he was the man, and that he wished him to go with him to Culpepper. Mr. Harris agreed to go, like Peter, nothing doubting but it was a call from God. This visit was abundantly blessed for the enlargement of the Redeemer's cause. Soon after he had returned, three messengers came from Spottsylvania to obtain Mr. Harris's services. He departed into North-Carolina to seek James Read, who was ordained to the ministry. Their labours were so highly favoured, that from that time Mr. Harris became almost a constant traveller. Not confining himself to narrow limits, but led on from place to place, wherever he could see an opening to do good, there he would hoist the flag of peace. There was scarcely any place in Virginia, in which he did not sow the gospel seed. It was not until 1769, that this eminently useful man was ordained to the administration of ordinances. Why he was not ordained at an earlier period, is not certainly known; some say, that he did not wish it; others, that his opinions respecting the support of ministers were objected

to by the leading elders. After his ordination, he baptized as well as preached.

In every point of view, Mr. Harris might be considered as one of the most excellent of men. Being in easy circumstances when he became religious, he devoted not only himself but almost all his property to religious objects. He had begun a large new dwelling-house, suitable to his former dignity, which, as soon as it was enclosed, he appropriated to the use of publick worship, continuing to live in the old one.

After maintaining his family in a very frugal manner, he distributed his surplus income to charitable purposes. During the war, when it was extremely difficult to procure salt, he kept two waggons running to Petersburg, to bring up salt for his neighbours. His manners were of the most winning sort, having a singular talent at touching the feelings. He scarcely ever went into a house, without exhorting and praying for those he met there.

As a doctrinal preacher, his talents were rather below mediocrity, unless at those times when he was highly favoured from above; then he would sometimes display considerable ingenuity. His excellency lay chiefly in addressing the heart, and perhaps even Whitefield did not surpass him in this. When animated himself, he seldom failed to animate his auditory. Some have described him, when exhorting at great meetings, as pouring forth streams of celestial lightning from his eyes, which, whithersoever he turned his face, would strike down hundreds at once. Hence he is often called Boanerges. So much was Mr. Harris governed by his feelings, that if he began to preach and did not feel some liberty of utterance, he would tell his audience he could not preach without the Lord, and then sit down. Not long before the commencement of the great revival in Virginia, Mr. H. had a paralytick shock, from which he never entirely recovered. Yet this did not deter him from his diligent usefulness. If he could not go as far, he was still not idle within that sphere allowed him by his infirmities. At all Associations and general committees, where he was delegated, he was almost invariably made moderator.

This office, like every thing else, he discharged with some degree of singularity, yet to general satisfaction.

For some short time previous to his death, his senses were considerably palsied; so that we are deprived of such pious remarks, as would probably have fallen from this extraordinary servant of God in his last hours. He was somewhat over seventy years of age when he died.

The remarkable anecdotes told of Mr. H. are so numerous, that they would fill a volume of themselves, if they were collected. A part of them only we shall record.

Mr. H. like Mr. Marshall, possessed a soul incapable of being dismayed by any difficulties. To obtain his own consent to undertake a laudable enterprize, it was sufficient for him to know that it was possible. His faith was sufficient to throw mountains into the sea, if they stood in the way. He seems also never to have been appalled by the fear or shame of man, but could confront the stoutest sons of pride, and boldly urge the humble doctrines of the cross. Like the brave soldier, if beaten back at the first onset, he was still ready for a further assault; so that he often conquered opposers, that to others appeared completely hopeless. With this spirit he commenced his career.

Early after he embraced religion, his mind was impressed with a desire to preach to the officers and soldiers of the fort. An opportunity offered in Fort Mayo, and Mr. Harris began his harangue, urging most vehemently the necessity of the new birth. In the course of his harangue, an officer interrupted him, saying, "Colonel, you have sucked much eloquence from the rum-cask to-day; pray give us a little, that we may declaim as well, when it comes to our turn." Harris replied, "I am not drunk;" and resumed his discourse. He had not gone far, before he was accosted by another, in a serious manner, who, looking in his face, said, "Sam, you say you are not drunk; pray are you not mad then? What the d—l ails you?" Col. Harris replied in the words of Paul, "I am not mad, most noble gentleman." He continued speaking publickly and privately, until one of the gentlemen received such impressions as were never afterwards shaken off; but he afterwards became a pious Christian.

Soon after this, Mr. Harris found a sad alteration as to his religious enjoyment. He prayed God to restore the light of his countenance, and renew communion with him; but his petition was deferred. He then went into the woods, and sought for the happiness he had lost; thinking that, peradventure, God would answer his prayer there, though not in the fort, where so much wickedness abounded; but no answer came. Then he began to inquire into the cause why God dealt so with him. The first that offered was his lucrative offices; upon which he determined to lay them down immediately, and settle his accounts with the publick. Having now removed the *Achan* out of the camp, as he thought, he renewed his suit for a restoration of the joy which he had lost; but still "the vision tarried, and the prophecy brought not forth." He began to examine himself a second time. Then he suspected his money was the cause, and that he had made gold his trust. Accordingly he took all his money and threw it away into the bushes, where it remains to this day, for aught any one knows to the contrary. After this, he prayed again, and found that man's impatience will not shorten the time which infinite wisdom hath measured out for delays or beneficence. However, in due time the wished-for good came. "I am aware (says Mr. Morgan Edwards, from whose MS. history this anecdote is selected) that this story will render the wisdom of the Colonel suspected. Be it so. It nevertheless establishes the truth of his piety, and shows that he preferred communion with God before riches and honours."

Rough was the treatment which Mr. Harris met with amongst his rude countrymen. In one of his journies in the county of Culpepper, a Capt. Ball and his gang came to a place where he was preaching, and said, "You shall not preach here."—A by-stander, whose name was Jeremiah Minor, replied, "But he shall." From this sharp contention of words, they proceeded to a sharper contest of blows and scuffles. Friends on both sides interested themselves; some to make peace, and others to back their foremen. The supporters of Mr. Harris were probably most of them worldly people, who acted from no other principle, than to defend a minister thus insulted

and abused. But if they were Christians, they were certainly too impatient and resentful, and manifested too much of the spirit Peter had when he drew his sword on the high-priest's servant. Col. Harris's friends took him into a house, and set Lewis Craig to guard the door, while he was preaching; but presently Ball's gang came up, drove the sentinel from his stand, and battered open the door; but they were driven back by the people within. This involved them in another contest, and thus the day ended in confusion.

On another occasion he was arrested and carried into Court, as a disturber of the peace. In Court, a Capt. Williams vehemently accused him as a vagabond, a heretic, and a mover of sedition every where. Mr. Harris made his defence. But the Court ordered that he should not preach in the county again for the space of twelve months, or be committed to prison. The Colonel told them that he lived two hundred miles from thence, and that it was not likely he should disturb them again in the course of one year. Upon this he was dismissed. From Culpepper he went to Fauquier, and preached at Carter's Run. From thence he crossed the Blue Ridge, and preached at Shenandoah. On his return from thence, he turned in at Capt. Thomas Clanathan's, in the county of Culpepper, where there was a meeting. While certain young ministers were preaching, the word of God began to burn in Col. Harris's heart. When they finished, he arose and addressed the congregation, "I partly promised the devil, a few days past, at the court-house, that I would not preach in this county again for the term of a year: but the devil is a perfidious wretch, and covenants with him are not to be kept, and therefore I will preach." He preached a lively, animating sermon. The Court never meddled with him more.

In Orange county, one Benjamin Healy pulled Mr. Harris down from the place where he was preaching, and hauled him about, sometimes by the hand, sometimes by the leg, and sometimes by the hair of the head; but the persecuted preacher had friends here also, who espoused his part, and rescued him from the rage of his enemies. This, as in a former case, brought on a contention between his advocates and opposers; during

which, a Capt. Jameson sent Mr. Harris to a house where was a loft with a step-ladder to ascend it; into that loft he hurried him, took away the step-ladder, and left the good man secure from his enemies.

Near Haw-river, a rude fellow came up to Mr. Harris, and knocked him down while he was preaching.

He went to preach to the prisoners once, in the town of Hillsborough, where he was locked up in the gaol, and kept for some time.

Notwithstanding these things, Col. Harris did not suffer as many persecutions as some other Baptist preachers. Tempered in some degree peculiar to himself, perhaps his bold, noble, yet humble manner, dismayed the ferocious spirits of the opposers of religion.

A criminal, who had been just pardoned at the gallows, once met him on the road, and showed him his reprieve. "Well," said he, "and have you shown it to Jesus?" "No, Mr. Harris, I want you to do that for me." The old man immediately descended from his horse, in the road, and making the man also alight, they both kneeled down; Mr. H. put one hand on the man's head, and with the other held open the pardon, and thus, in behalf of the criminal, returned thanks for his reprieve, and prayed for him to obtain God's pardon also.

The following very interesting narrative was published by Mr. Semple, in his History of the Virginia Baptists; it has also been published by Mr. John Leland, in his Budget of Scraps, under the title of "*Prayer better than Law-suits.*" As there is some little variation, not as to matters of fact, but in the mode of expression, in these two relaters, I have selected from them both this singular and instructive story. When Mr. Harris began to preach, his soul was so absorbed in the work, that it was difficult for him to attend to the duties of this life. Finding at length the absolute need of providing more grain for his family than his plantation had produced, he went to a man who owed him a sum of money, and told him, he would be very glad if he would discharge the debt he owed him. The man replied, "I have no money by me, and therefore cannot oblige you." Harris said, "I want the money to purchase wheat for my family; and as you have raised a good crop of wheat, I

will take that article of you, instead of money, at a current price." The man answered, "I have other uses for my wheat, and cannot let you have it." "How then," said Harris, "do you intend to pay me?" "I never intend to pay you, until you sue me," replied the debtor, "and therefore you may begin your suit as soon as you please." Mr. Harris left him, meditating: "Good God," said he to himself, "what shall I do? Must I leave preaching to attend to a vexatious law-suit! Perhaps a thousand souls will perish in the mean time for the want of hearing of Jesus! No, I will not. Well, what will you do for yourself? Why, this I will do; I will sue him at the Court of Heaven." Having resolved what to do, he turned aside into a wood, and fell upon his knees, and thus began his suit: "O blessed Jesus! thou eternal God! Thou knowest that I need the money which the man owes me, to supply the wants of my family; but he will not pay me without a law-suit. Dear Jesus, shall I quit thy cause, and leave the souls of men to perish? Or wilt thou, in mercy, open some other way of relief?" In this address, the Colonel had such nearness to God, that (to use his own words) Jesus said unto him, "Harris, I will enter bonds-man for the man—you keep on preaching, and omit the law-suit—I will take care of you, and see that you have your pay." Mr. Harris felt well satisfied with his security, but thought it would be unjust to hold the man a debtor, when Jesus had assumed payment. He, therefore, wrote a receipt in full of all accounts which he had against the man, and dating it in the woods, where Jesus entered bail, he signed it with his own name. Going, the next day, by the man's house to attend a meeting, he gave the receipt to a servant, and bid him deliver it to his master. On returning from the meeting, the man hailed him at his gate and said, "Mr. Harris what did you mean by the receipt you sent me this morning?" Mr. Harris replied, "I meant just as I wrote." "But you know, Sir," answered the debtor, "I have never paid you." "True," said Mr. Harris, "and I know, also, that you said you never would, except I sued you. But, Sir, I sued you at the Court of Heaven, and Jesus entered bail for *you*, and has agreed to pay *me*; I have, there-

fore, given you a discharge!" "But I insist upon it," said the man, "matters shall not be left so." "I am well satisfied," answered Harris, "Jesus will not fail me; I leave you to settle the account with him another day. Farewell." This operated so effectually on the man's conscience, that in a few days he loaded his waggon, and sent wheat enough to discharge the debt.

A complete history of the life of this venerable man, would furnish still a lengthy catalogue of anecdotes of the most interesting kind. But we shall close his biography, by relating one, which, though of a different nature, is not less curious than any of the former.

The General Association of Separate Baptists in Virginia, in the year 1774, in the ardour of their zeal for reformation, and the revival of primitive order, resolved that the office of Apostles, together with all the other offices mentioned in Ephesians, 4th chapter and 11th verse, were still to be maintained in the church. Pursuant to this resolution, the Association proceeded, in the first place, to choose by ballot one from amongst them, to officiate in the dignified character of an Apostle. Mr. Harris was elected, and consented to be ordained to his Apostolick function, by the laying on of the hands of every ordained minister in the Association.* So that he was for a time, in fact, as he was generally called by way of eminence, the Apostle of Virginia.

DUTTON LANE was born November 7, 1732, near Baltimore, in Maryland. At what time he became a resident of Virginia, is not known; but he was baptized by Shubael Stearns, in 1758. He was ordained to the ministry, and, probably, to the care of Dan River church, October 22, 1764, having commenced publick speaking immediately after he was baptized. Mr. Lane was not a man of much learning; but having a strong constitution, a commanding voice, and fervent spirit, he did great things in his Master's service.

Unenlightened as the Virginians were, at that time, it was not to be expected that he would be allowed to go

* See a full account of this singular experiment, in the History of the Virginia Baptists.

in peace. His own father was among the first to set his face against the Baptists generally, and against his son Dutton in particular. He once pursued him with an instrument of death to kill him. It fell out, however, that instead of killing his son, he was himself slain by the sword of the Spirit, from which he soon after revived with a hope of eternal life, and was baptized by that very son, whom he would have slain.

Mr. Lane was once preaching at a place called Meherrin, in Lunenburgh county, where a Mr. Joseph Williams, a magistrate, charged him before the whole congregation, not to come there to preach again. Mr. Lane mildly replied, that as there were many other places where he could preach without interruption, he did not know that he should come there again shortly. After wishing peace to the rest of the company, he gravely addressed Mr. Williams, and said, "Little, Sir, as you now think it, my impressions tell me, that you will become a Baptist, a warm espouser of that cause, which you now persecute." This prediction came to pass; for in about twelve years, Williams embraced religion, was baptized, and became a zealous member, and useful deacon in the church that was afterwards formed at that place.

Once he was preaching against drunkenness, and exposing the vileness and danger of the practice, when one John Giles stood up, saying angrily, "I know who you mean," and with a blasphemous oath, declared, "I'll demolish you." But this self-condemned sot was prevented from doing any harm.

One William Cocker had conceived such malignity against the Baptists, that he was accustomed to say, that he would rather go to hell than heaven, if going to heaven required him to be a Baptist, But falling in accidentally where Mr. Lane preached, he was struck down with deep conviction; from which, being delivered by converting grace, he became a pious Baptist.

Mr. Lane continued preaching till his death; but the latter part of his life was somewhat obscured by his adopting and maintaining certain strange opinions. By diving into subjects not revealed, and rather neglecting those which were obvious and plain, he was much less

thought of. He lived and died a pious man, however, in the estimation of those who knew him well.

Lewis Lunsford.——We now come to the man, (says Mr. Semple, in his biography) who, in point of talents as a preacher, was never excelled in Virginia; and by many it is doubted whether he ever had a superior any where else.

Mr. Lunsford was born in Stafford county, Virginia, of indigent parents. He received a very slender education indeed; nor had the means to enlarge it. The God of nature furnished him with powers to surmount all obstacles. To obviate the want of education, he used, after working all day, to read till late at night, by firelight. At an early stage of his life, while attending the ministry of William Fristoe, he was happily arrested by divine mercy. Mr. Fristoe baptized him when a boy, and he immediately, both in private and in publick, began to stand up as an advocate for the gospel. His talents, at this tender age, commanded attention, and procured for him the flattering appellation of *The Wonderful Boy.* After moving in a more confined circle for some few years, he began to enlarge his borders. About 1774, Divine Providence directed his attention to the lower counties in the Northern Neck. Wherever he placed his foot as a preacher, there attended a blessing. Believers were added to the church, through his instrumentality, in most of the neighbourhoods of these lower counties. His preaching made a great noise, not only for its ingenuity, but for its novelty. Here, as in most other places where the Baptists preached, the people cried out that some new doctrine was started; that the church was in danger. Mr. Lunsford was accounted worthy to share a part of this opposition. A clergyman appointed a set day to preach against the Anabaptists. Crowds attended to hear him. He told stories about John of Leyden, and Cromwell's round-heads; but he could not by such tales stop the gospel current, now swelling to a torrent. When Mr. Lunsford preached again in the same parts, they attacked him by more weighty argu-

ments. A constable was sent with a warrant to arrest him. The constable, with more politeness than was usual then on such occasions, waited until Mr. Lunsford had preached. His fascinating powers palsied the constable's hand. He would not, he said, serve a warrant on so good a man. Another man took it, and went, tremblingly, and served it. Mr. Lunsford attended the summons, and appeared before a magistrate. He was held in recognizance to appear at Court. The Court determined that he had been guilty of a breach of good behaviour; and that he must give security, or go to prison. He was advised to give security, under the expectation of obtaining license to preach. He tried, but could not. He often regretted that he had taken this step; and was sorry he had not gone to prison. This took place in Richmond county.

After the repeal of the law for establishing one sect to the exclusion of the rest, a banditti attended Mr. Lunsford's meeting, with sticks and staves, to attack him. Just as he was about to begin to preach, they approached him for the attack. His irreligious friends, contrary to his wish, drew stakes out of a fence to defend him. This produced great uproar and some skirmishes. Mr. Lunsford retired to a neighbouring house, and shut himself up. His persecutors, however, pursued him, but were not hardy enough to break in upon him. One of them desired to have the privilege of conversing with him, with a view of convincing him. He was let in, and did converse; but when he came out, he wore a new face. His party asked him the result. "You had better converse with him yourselves," said he.

It was not until January, 1778, that Mr. Lunsford became a settled preacher, and took care of Moratico church, which was constituted at that time. He held it as an opinion, that imposition of hands by a presbytery was not necesssry to ordination; but that the call of a church was sufficient. It was in this way he took the care of Moratico church. He never would submit to be ordained by the imposition of hands; although the refusal produced no small discontent among the Baptists in Virginia.

In 1779, he married his first wife; and became a resident of Northumberland. From the time he settled in

the Northern Neck, and indeed from the time he began to preach there, he gradually increased in favour with the people. It is hardly probable that any man ever was more beloved by a people when living, or more lamented when dead. He had two remarkable revivals of religion in the bounds of his church. The one, about the time of the constitution of his church, and the other commenced in the year 1788, and had scarcely subsided at his death in 1793. During these revivals, he was uncommonly lively and engaged. He preached almost incessantly; and by his acquaintances, after the last revival, it was thought he made a rapid advance in the improvement of his talents, both in wisdom and warmth; especially the latter, from which he never receded during his residence on earth. Certain it is, that during several of the last years of his life, he was more caressed, and his preaching more valued, than any other man's that ever resided in Virginia. Lunsford was a sure preacher, and seldom failed to rise pretty high. In his best strains, he was more like an angel than a man. His countenance, lighted up by an inward flame, seemed to shed beams of light wherever he turned. His voice, always harmonious, now seemed to be tuned by descending seraphs. His style and his manner was so sublime and so energetick, that he seemed indeed like an ambassador of the skies, sent down to command all men every where to repent. He was truly a messenger of peace; and by him the tidings of peace were communicated to multitudes. So highly was he estimated among his own people, that there were but few preachers that visited them, to whom they would willingly listen, even for once, in preference to their beloved pastor. In argument, Mr. Lunsford was somewhat satyrical; and by this means, sometimes gave offence to those who did not know him well. It was, however, perfectly clear, that he did not design to sport with the feelings of any. For it is not likely that any man of his popularity ever had fewer permanent enemies. He was very fond of reading, and retained what he read so correctly, that few men could make more extensive quotations than Mr. Lunsford. For his own advantage, he had procured and read some distinguished treatises on medicine. And so capacious-

were his faculties, that with his small opportunities in this professional study, he actually became so skilful in the administration of physick, that he was often called on to attend patients at a considerable distance. To all such applicants, he not only rendered his services gratis, but often furnished them with medicine. He had the care of a large and opulent church, of whom some were very liberal in their contributions; but by a great part of them he was too much neglected. For the want of their support and of his own attention to secular affairs, (through his ministry) he was in but narrow circumstances. Yet, he lived well, and rendered to every man his just dues. But now, painful as the task is, we must add, that this great, this good, this almost inimitable man, died, when only about forty years of age. He lived in a sickly climate, and had frequent bilious attacks. These were sometimes very severe. For two or three years before his death, he laboured under repeated indispositions, even when travelling about. His manly soul would never permit him to shrink from the work, so long as he had strength to lift up his voice. Sometimes, after going to bed as being too ill to preach, prompted by his seraphick spirit, he would rise again, after some other person had preached, and deal out the bread of life to the hungry sons and daughters of Zion.

He was a shepherd indeed. The Dover Association, for the year 1793, was holden at Glebe-Landing meeting-house in Middlesex county, not more than fifteen or eighteen miles from his house. Although just rising from a bilious attack, he would not stay from a place where his heart delighted to be, and where he had the best ground to believe he could do good. He went, and appeared so much better, that he made extensive appointments to preach in the lower parts of Virginia. He was chosen to preach on Sunday, and he did preach indeed. On Tuesday he came up to King and Queen county, and preached at Bruington meeting-house, from these words: *Therefore, let us not sleep as do others, but let us watch and be sober.* It was an awakening discourse, worthy of this masterly workman. On that day he took cold and grew worse. He, however, preached his last sermon the next day evening; observing when he began,

"It may be improper for me to attempt to preach at this time; but as long as I have any strength remaining, I wish to preach the gospel of Christ; and I will very gladly spend and be spent for you. He then preached his last sermon, from, "*Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.*" He continued to grow worse, until, having arrived at Mr. Gregory's, in Essex, he took his bed, from whence he was carried to his grave. In his sickness he was remarkably silent, having very little to say, which he could avoid. He was fond of joining in prayer, and sometimes exerted his now relaxed mind, in making remarks worthy of such a man. He expressed some anxiety at the thought of leaving his helpless family; but appeared quite resigned for the will of Heaven to take place. On the 26th of October, 1793, he fell asleep in the arms of Jesus, aged about forty years. Rev. Henry Toler preached two funeral sermons for him. One at the place of his death, another at Mr. Lunsford's meeting-house, in Lancaster county, called Kilmarnock. These two sermons were printed in a pamphlet; and annexed to them, were two handsome elegies, written by ladies of his church. Another was written by Rev. A. Broaddus, which was much admired. It seemed to be a mystery to many, why God should have called home so great, so useful a man, in the bloom of life. Those who thought proper to offer reasons or conjectures for explaining the ways of Providence, seemed generally to agree that Mr. Lunsford's popularity as a preacher had risen too high. The people wherever he was, or where he was expected, seemed to have lost all relish for any other man's preaching: that, God, knowing the capacity of most of his servants, was unwilling that the lesser lights should be so much swallowed up by the greater. Perhaps the better way is to form no conjecture about it; but rest persuaded, that the ways of God are always wise, however unaccountable to man.

He was twice married. He had by his first wife one surviving child. By his second wife, he left three children.

JAMES MANNING, D. D. was, in his day, one of the brightest ornaments of the Baptist denomination in America. His biography has never been recorded to any considerable extent, and indeed his stationary employment furnished not many incidents for a diffusive narrative. For what few things have been written respecting the character of this illustrious man, we are indebted mostly to the pen of Judge Howel, of Providence, and the following sketches, drawn by this eminent statesman, are found in Rippon's Register.

"Mr. Manning was born in New-Jersey, and educated at Nassau-Hall. Soon after he left college, he was called to the work of the ministry, by the Baptist church at the Scotch Plains, near Elizabeth-Town.

"After making tours to each extreme of the United States, (then colonies,) and preaching to different destitute churches in sundry places, he removed with his family to Warren in Rhode-Island, preached to the church there, and opened a Latin school. In the year 1765, he obtained a charter of incorporation for Rhode-Island College, of which he was chosen president. And when the College was removed to Providence, in 1770, he of course removed with it; and besides the duties of his presidency, he preached statedly to the Baptist church in this town until a few years before his death. "In his youth, he was remarkable for his dexterity in athletick exercises, for the symmetry of his body, and gracefulness of his person. His countenance was stately and majestick, full of dignity, goodness, and gravity; and the temper of his mind was a counterpart of it. He was formed for enterprize, his address was pleasing, his manners enchanting, his voice harmonious, and his eloquence irresistible.

"Having deeply imbibed the spirit of truth himself, as a preacher of the gospel, he was faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God. He studied plainness of speech, and to be useful more than to be celebrated. The good order, learning, and respectability of the Baptist churches in the eastern States, are much owing to his assiduous attention to their welfare. The credit of his name, and his personal influence among them, perhaps have never been exceeded by any other character.

"Of the College he must be considered as the founder. He presided with the singular advantage of a superior personal appearance, added to all his shining talents for governing and instructing youth. From the first beginning of his Latin school at Warren, through many discouragements, he, by constant care and labour, raised this seat of learning to notice, to credit, and to respectability in the United States. Perhaps the history of no other College will disclose a more rapid progress, or greater maturity, than this, during the twenty-five years of his presidency. Although he seemed to be consigned to a sedentary life, yet he was capable of more active scenes. He paid much attention to the government of his country, and was honoured by Rhode-Island with a seat in the old Congress. In State affairs, he discovered an uncommon sagacity, and might have made a figure as a politician.

"In classical learning he was fully competent to the business of his station. He devoted less time than some others to the more abstruse sciences; but nature seemed to have furnished him so completely, that little remained for art to accomplish. The resources of his genius were great. In conversation he was at all times pleasant and entertaining. He had as many friends as acquaintance, and took no less pains to serve his friends than acquire them."

The following additional observations on Dr. Manning's character, are found in the sermon Dr. Maxcy, his successor in the presidential office, delivered in the Baptist meeting-house the Lord's day after his interment.

"The loss of this worthy man will be felt by the community at large. He moved in an extensive sphere. He was equally known in the religious, the political, and literary world. As his connexions were extensive and important, his loss must be proportionably great. As a man, he was kind, humane, and benevolent. As he was sociable, as he was communicative, he seemed rather designed for the theatre of action than for the shades of retirement. Nature had given him distinguished abilities. His life was a scene of anxious labour for the benefit of others. His piety and fervent zeal in preaching the gospel of Christ, evinced his love to his God and

to his fellow-men. His eloquence was forcible and spontaneous. To every one who heard him, under the peculiar circumstances in which he appeared in this place, it was evident that the resources of his mind were exceedingly great. The amiableness of his disposition was recommended by a dignified and majestick appearance. His address was manly, familiar, and engaging. His manners were easy without negligence, and polite without affectation. In the College over which he presided, his government was mild and peaceful, conducted by that persuasive authority, which secures obedience while it conciliates esteem. As he lived much beloved, he died much lamented. Well may we say that "a great man is fallen."

The following inscription, drawn also by Judge Howel, has been transcribed from the monument which covers the dust of this departed worthy:

In Memory of

The Rev. JAMES MANNING, D.D.

PRESIDENT OF RHODE-ISLAND COLLEGE.

He was born in New-Jersey, A. D. 1738.
Became a Member of a Baptist Church, A. D. 1758.
Graduated at Nassau-Hall, A. D. 1762.
Was ordained a Minister of the Gospel, A. D. 1763.
Obtained a Charter for the College, A. D. 1765.
Was elected President of it the same Year.
And was a Member of Congress, A. D. 1786.

His Person was graceful, and his Countenance remarkably expressive of sensibility, cheerfulness, and dignity.

The variety and excellence of his Natural Abilities, improved by education, and enriched by science, raised him to a rank of eminence among literary characters.

His manners were engaging, and his voice harmonious.
His eloquence, natural and powerful.

His social virtues, classick learning, eminent patriotism, shining talents for instructing and governing youth, and zeal in the cause of Christianity, are recorded on the tables of many hearts.

He died of an apoplexy, July 29, A.D. 1791.
Ætat. 53.

The Trustees and Fellows of the College, have erected this MONUMENT.

Dr. Manning married in his youth Margaret Stites, the daughter of John Stites, Esq. of Elizabeth-Town, New-Jersey, and sister of the wife of Mr. John Gano. He had no children. His venerable widow is still living in Providence, though far advanced in years, and labouring under many infirmities.

RICHARD MAJOR was born near Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1722. He was bred a Presbyterian, but embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in 1764, and had the ordinance administered to him by Rev. Isaac Stelle. He removed to Virginia in 1766, and two years after was ordained as the pastor of the church called Little River, in Louden county, which was constituted at the same time.

He was not a man of much learning, but his vigorous mind rose above all obstructions. Being well taught in the school of Christ, and devoting himself to the study of the Scripture, he became a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. He was remarked by all who knew him, for his indefatigable labours in the ministry, and he succeeded beyond many of much greater talents. He is said to have planted, from first to last, six or eight churches. For several years after he commenced preaching he met with great opposition, mostly from individuals.

In Fauquier county, the officer, with a warrant from Capt. Scott, attempted to take him, but providentially failed. At Bullrun there were warrants against him; and a mob, with clubs, rose to assist the execution of them; but here again they failed of their design, chiefly by means of the Davises, usually called the *giants*; those stout brothers had been prevailed on to oppose him: but after they had heard him preach, they became well affected towards him, and threatened to chastise any that should disturb him. In Fauquier the mob were very outrageous, but did no mischief, though his friends feared they would have pulled him to pieces.

A certain man, whose wife had been baptized by Mr. Major, determined to kill him on sight, and went to meeting for that purpose. He sat down in hearing,

intending to catch at some obnoxious expression, which might fall from the preacher, and under that pretence to attack him. But God produced a different result; for the man, instead of executing his design, became so convicted that he could not keep on his feet; and was afterwards baptized by the man he intended to murder. Another actually attacked him with a club in a violent manner. Mr. Major being remarkable for great presence of mind, turned to him, and in a solemn manner said, "Satan, I command thee to come out of the man." His club immediately began to fall, and the lion became as quiet as the lamb. These are a few of the many occurrences of this kind, that took place in the long life of this valuable man.

The way that Mr. Major's gifts were noticed was, in his reading printed sermons at private meetings. The people were so affected, that they procured the sermons for their own reading, but were soon convinced that he had read what was not in the book.

So much was he esteemed in the latter part of his life, that he had serious apprehensions, that he must be too much at ease for a gospel minister; or in other words, it seemed as if the expression, *Wo be unto you when all men speak well of you*, applied to his case. In the midst of these thoughts, he accidentally heard a man lay to his charge one of the most abominable crimes. At first he felt irritated; but recollecting his previous reflections, he was soon reconciled. Towards the close of his long and useful life, he was much afflicted with the gravel, of which disease he died when he was about eighty years old.

Semple, Edwards.

Daniel Marshall. The following account of this eminent servant of God, was drawn by his worthy son, Rev. Abraham Marshall, who succeeded his father in the pastoral station at Kioka. It was first published in the Georgia Analytical Repository, and afterwards in the History of the Virginia Baptists. It is now transcribed and presented to the reader in its original epistolary form.

"In giving a biographical sketch of my honoured father, we must look back to the distance of almost a

century. His birth was in the year of our Lord 1706, in Windsor, a town in Connecticut. He was religiously educated by respectable and pious parents, and being hopefully converted at about twenty years of age, joined the then standing order of Presbyterians, in his native place. The natural ardour of his mind soon kindled into the fire of holy zeal, and raised him so high in the esteem of his brethren, that they called him to the office of a deacon. In the exemplary discharge of his duty, in this capacity, he continued near twenty years. During this time, in easy circumstances, he married and lost a wife, by whom he had a son named after himself, Daniel, who is still a useful member of society. At the age of thirty-eight years, our worthy parent was one of the thousands in New-England, who heard that son of thunder, the Rev. George Whitefield, and caught his seraphick fire. Firmly believing in the near approach of the latter-day-glory, when the Jews with the fulness of the Gentiles, shall hail their Redeemer, and bow to his gentle sceptre, a number of worthy characters ran to and fro through the eastern States, warmly exhorting to the prompt adoption of every measure tending to hasten that blissful period. Others sold, gave away, or left their possessions, as the powerful impulse of the moment determined, and without scrip or purse, rushed up to the head of the Susquehanna, to convert the heathens, and settled in a town called Onnaquaggy, among the Mohawk Indians. One, and not the least sanguine of these pious missionaries, was my venerable father. Great must have been his faith, great his zeal, when, without the least prospect of a temporal reward, with a much-beloved wife, and three children, he exchanged his commodious buildings, for a miserable hut; his fruitful fields and loaded orchards, for barren deserts; the luxuries of a well-furnished table, for coarse and scanty fare; and numerous civil friends, for rude savages! He had the happiness, however, to teach and exhort, for eighteen months, in this place, with considerable success. A number of the Indians were, in some degree, impressed with eternal concerns, and several became cordially obedient to the gospel. But just as the seeds of heavenly truth, sown with tears in this unpromising soil, began to appear in their first fruits, the

breaking out of war among the savage tribes occasioned his reluctant removal to Conegocheague, in Pennsylvania. After a short residence in this settlement, he removed to a place near Winchester, in Virginia.

" Here he became acquainted with a Baptist church, belonging to the Philadelphia Association; and as the result of a close, impartial examination of their faith and order, he and my dear mother were baptized by immersion, in the forty-eighth year of his life. He was now called, as a licensed preacher, to the unrestrained exercise of his gifts; and though they were by no means above mediocrity, he was instrumental in awakening attention, in many of his hearers, to the interests of their souls.

" Under the influence of an anxious desire to be extensively useful, he proceeded from Virginia to Hughwarry, in North-Carolina, where his faithful and incessant labours proved the happy means of arousing and converting numbers. Being so evidently and eminently useful as an itinerant preacher, he continued his peregrination to Abbot's Creek, in the same State, where he was the instrument of planting a church, of which he was ordained pastor, in the fifty-second year of his age, by his brothers in law, the Rev. Messrs. Henry Leadbetter, and Shubael Stearns. Soon after receiving this honour, my reverend father, in one of his evangelical journies into Virginia, had the singular happiness to baptize Col. Samuel Harris, with whom he immediately afterwards made several tours, and preached, and planted the gospel in several places, as far as James-river. It was but a few years after his ordination, before, induced by appearances of increasing usefulness, he took an affectionate leave of his beloved charge, and settled on Beaver Creek, in South-Carolina.

" In this place, likewise, a large church was raised under his ministry, and, till brought to a good degree of maturity in divine things, was an object of his tender and unremitted care and solicitude. At the direction of Divine Providence, as he conceived, and as subsequent events have proved, his next removal was to Horse Creek, about fifteen miles north of Augusta.

" The fruits of his labours in this place remain in a

respectable church, some of whose sons, raised up under his care, have successfully diffused the light of divine truth through various benighted regions. From Horse Creek my aged father made his first visits to this State. On the second or third of these, while in prayer, he was seized, in the presence of his audience, for preaching in the parish of *St. Paul*, and made to give security for his appearance in Augusta, the Monday following, to answer to this charge. Accordingly he stood a trial, and, after his meekness and patience were sufficiently exercised, was ordered to come no more *as a preacher* into Georgia. In the words of an Apostle, similarly circumstanced, he replied, "*Whether it be right to obey God or man, judge ye.*" Consistently with this just and spirited reply, he pursued his successful course, and on the first of January, 1771, came with his family, and took up his final earthly residence at the Kioka. The following Spring the church here was formed, and is famous for having furnished materials for several other churches. For this purpose many common members have been dismissed, and several ministers have been ordained. Among these are the Rev. Messrs. Sanders Walker, Samuel Newton, Loveless Savage, Alexander Scott, and the writer of this article. Through God's blessing on the ministry of her indefatigable founder and pastor, this church continued to lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes, breaking forth on the right hand and on the left, till our beloved country was unhappily involved in the horrors of war. No scenes, however, from the commencement to the termination of hostilities, were so gloomy and alarming as to deter my father from discharging the duties of his station. Neither reproaches nor threatenings could excite in him the least appearance of timidity, or any thing inconsistent with Christian and ministerial heroism.

"As a friend to the American cause, he was once made a prisoner and put under a strong guard; but obtaining leave of the officers, he commenced and supported so heavy a charge of exhortation and prayer, that, like Daniel of old, while his enemies stood amazed and confounded, he was safely and honourably delivered from this *den of lions.*

"Even the infirmities of old age, and the evident approach of the king of terrors, were not sufficient to shake his faith or hope, nor, in the least perceivable degree, to abate his zeal.

"A few months previous to his decease, rising in his pulpit, which he had frequently besprinkled with his tears, and from which he had often descended to weep over a careless auditory, he said, "*I address you, my dear hearers, with a diffidence which arises from a failure of memory, and a general weakness of body and mind, common to my years; but I recollect, he that holds out to the end shall be saved, and am resolved to finish my course in the cause of God.*" Accordingly he attended publick worship regularly, even through his lingering mortal illness, till the last Sabbath but one before his dissolution. In his family he invariably performed his usual round of holy duties, till the morning immediately preceding his happy change. Fully apprized of this as at hand, and perfectly in his senses, he expressed distinctly and emphatically, his steady and increasing confidence of future bliss.

"The following, taken by me, in the presence of a few deeply-affected friends and relations, are his last words :—

"*Dear brethren and sisters, I am just gone. This night I shall probably expire; but I have nothing to fear. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. God has shewn me that he is my God, that I am his son, and that an eternal weight of glory is mine!*"

"The venerable partner of his cares, (and I may add, faithful assistant in all his labours) sitting bedewed with tears, by his side, he proceeded, "*Go on, my dear wife, to serve the Lord. Hold out to the end. Eternal glory is before us!*"

"After a silence of some minutes, he called me and said, "*My breath is almost gone. I have been praying that I may go home to-night. I had great happiness in our worship this morning, particularly in singing, which will make a part of my exercise in a blessed eternity.*"

"Now gently closing his eyes, he cheerfully gave up his soul to God, with whom, I doubt not, he walks, "high in salvation, and the climes of bliss." This solemn event took place at the dawn of the 2d day of

November, 1784, in the 78th year of his age. A suitable discourse to his memory was delivered by the late Rev. Charles Bussey."

The name of Mr. Marshall's first wife does not appear from the papers respecting him. His second was Martha Stearns, sister of the famous Shubael Stearns. By his first wife he had Daniel, by his second, Abraham, John, Zaccheus, Levi, Moses, Solomon, and Joseph; and daughters Eunice and Mary. These children are all yet living in Georgia, at no great distance from the place in which their venerable father finished his earthly course. They all possess a competency of worldly things, and a number of them are members of the Kioka and other churches.

Mr. Marshall, after all his sacrifices for the cause of Christ, was always blessed by a bountiful Providence with a sufficiency of the meat that perisheth, and left behind him an estate of considerable value. His son Abraham inhabits the mansion, from which he was removed to the house not made with hands.

ELIAKIM MARSHALL was a nephew of Daniel, and a native of Connecticut; but the time or place of his birth I have not learnt. He was converted under the ministry of Mr. Whitefield in the New-light Stir, and remained a Pedobaptist minister about thirty years. He became a Baptist in 1786, and died at Windsor, near Hartford, 1791. He was through life esteemed a preacher of piety and talents. He was also often a member of the Connecticut Legislature. As he became a Baptist but about five years before his death, he was not much known among the denomination; but on account of some circumstances which attended his conviction of Baptist sentiments, his biography appears worthy of being recorded. While Abraham Marshall, of Georgia, was on his way to visit New-England in 1786, at Philadelphia he fell in with Mr. Winchester, of whom he inquired respecting his relatives in Connecticut. He informed him what he knew; and among other things observed, that Eliakim Marshall, of Windsor, was a man of a sound judgment, a retentive memory, and a tender conscience. "Well,"

replied Abraham, "if this be his character, I shall expect to baptize him before I return ; for if he has a sound judgment, he will understand my arguments in favour of believers' baptism, and against that of infants; if he has a strong memory he will retain them; and if he has a tender conscience, they will have an influence on his mind. With a firm persuasion, that he should lead his relative into the water, he prosecuted his journey to Connecticut. We have seen, in the history of the Kioka church, that this Abraham Marshall was only three years old when his father went from Connecticut, among the Mohawk Indians. He was of course unknown to any of his relatives here; but he was received among them cordially, and treated with respect, and he made Eliakim's house his home. He kept in mind what Mr. Winchester had told him of this cousin ; but he resolved that he would not be forward to introduce the subject of baptism, nor press him too hard at first. Eliakim frequently expressed a desire to hear what his new relation, as he called him, had to say in defence of the opinions in which they differed ; but Abraham waved the matter for a time. At length, from slight skirmishes, they, by mutual consent, entered with all their strength into the baptismal controversy, in which Eliakim had been a man of war from his youth, and now manifested a strong assurance of victory. He began with *Abraham's Covenant*, and mustered all the arguments usually brought in defence of Pedobaptism. Abraham, on the other hand, opposed his whole system, as destitute of Scripture proof, and adduced his reasons for his different belief. At the first onset, this old Pedobaptist divine, as he afterwards acknowledged to a friend, had but two arguments left for the support of his system ; and continuing to lose ground, while striving with himself to regain it, in the next attack he was completely defeated, and in a short time after confessed his *conscience* could not be easy till he was baptized. But a trouble arose on account of his wife, who was much opposed to this change in his sentiments. He mentioned this circumstance to Abraham, and requested his advice. He replied that his youth did not qualify him to prescribe duty to a man of his years ; "but," said he, "I will mention two passages of Scrip-

ture, which my father frequently made use of in difficult cases, which are these. *I conferred not with flesh and blood. What thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might. The tender conscience* of this aged convert urged him on to duty; and, according to Abraham's expectation, he was baptized by him the day before he left the place. A large concourse of people, supposed to be two or three thousand, collected to witness the administration of the solemn rite. The venerable candidate addressed them in a most melting manner: "I was awakened," said he, "under the preaching of Whitefield, about forty years ago, at which time my mind was solemnly impressed with this sentiment, *God is wisdom;* he, therefore, knows all my thoughts, and all I do. I was in the next place impressed with this sentence, *God is holiness*, and must, therefore, hate all in me, which his wisdom sees is wrong. I was in the third place impressed with this solemn thought, *God is power;* this struck me like thunder, and brought me to the ground." So saying, he burst into tears, and in a moment the tears were flowing from a thousand eyes. "After labouring a few days," continued he, "under these weighty impressions, the soothing declaration, *God is love*, relieved my distress, removed my fears, and filled me with unspeakable joy." He expatiated largely on the interesting event of his conversion, and the most solemn attention pervaded the great assembly.

SILAS MERCER was born near Currituck Bay, North-Carolina, February, 1745. His mother died while he was an infant; his father was a zealous member of the Church of England, and carefully instructed him in the catechism, rites, and traditions of that communion. From early years, young Silas was religiously inclined; but it was not till after he arrived at manhood, that he was brought to the knowledge of salvation through a divine Redeemer. He was for a long time embarrassed and bewildered with that legal system, which he had been taught in his mother Church, and so deeply rooted were the prejudices of his education, that it took him long to learn that salvation is not of works. But he at length gained clear and consistent views of the gospel plan, and was, through his

long ministry, a distinguished and powerful defender of the doctrine of free, unmerited grace.

Until after his conversion, Mr. Mercer was most violently opposed to Dissenters in general, and to the Baptists in particular. He would on no account hear one preach, and endeavoured to dissuade all others from attending their meetings. He most firmly believed what his father and parson had taught him, that they were all a set of deceivers, that their heresies were dangerous if not damnable, and that to hear one preach would be a crime of peculiar enormity. He knew, however, but little about them, only that they had separated from the Church, and ought therefore to be opposed and avoided. For these reasons he continued a violent opposer to them, and zealously to defend the *Church*; but his ingenuous mind could not long be restrained by the shackles of tradition, without examining things for himself; he therefore began a course of inquiries, which gradually undermined his traditionary creed, and led on to the Baptist ground. He first resolved to follow strictly the Rubrick of the Church, both in doctrine and discipline; and finding it enjoined *immersion*, unless the weakness of the child required a milder mode, he had two of his children dipped. The first a son, in a barrel of water at the priest's house; and the other a daughter, in a tub, which had been prepared for the purpose at the Church. The son was named Jesse, who is now a worthy minister in Georgia; he was baptized again, on a profession of his faith, and is of course an *Ana*-Baptist. Mr. Mercer was also struck with the neglect of discipline in the Church; he saw with pain that persons grossly immoral in many respects were admitted to their communion, and became convinced that things ought not so to be. Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio* started him from the Arminian system, and set him on a train of reflections, which issued in a thorough conviction of the doctrine of the gospel. He laboured for a time to reform the church; but finding the building was too far gone to be repaired, he receded from it with reluctant steps, and became a Baptist when he was about thirty years of age, and continued from that time to the end of his life an ornament to their cause, and a skilful defender of their distinguishing tenets.

Few men, perhaps, have had more severe conflicts in renouncing the prejudices of education, than Mr. Mercer. His kind but bigotted father threw in his way obstacles, which he could not at first surmount; the church priest, and the whole Episcopal fraternity around him, used the most assiduous endeavours to prevent him from going amongst the heretical Baptists. The first minister of the denomination he ever heard preach, was a Mr. Thomas, at that time a successful preacher in North-Carolina. It was with much reluctance, and with many fearful apprehensions of the dangerous consequences, that he was induced to attend the meeting. But in spite of all his prejudices, the preacher drew his attention, and led him to think he was not such a dangerous deceiver as he had always before supposed. This was on Monday. The next Lord's-day, the priest being absent, and his father being clerk, performed as usual the duties of his office. As yet none of the family knew that Silas had been to the Baptist meeting. After the service of the day was over, a person asked him, in the hearing of his father, how he liked the Baptist preacher? He was much confused, and knew not what to answer; but his conscience obliged him to express some degree of approbation. At which the old gentleman burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Silas, you are ruined!" and out he went, hastily home. Silas, alarmed, took hastily after him, to soothe his grief, and appease his resentment. The offended father and offending son were so deeply affected with the trifling affair, that they forgot their wives, and left them to go home alone. The charm was now broken; and from this period Mr. M. began to entertain more favourable views of the people he had hitherto so much censured and despised. Not long after this, he removed to Georgia, and settled in what is now Wilks county, where, about 1775, he was baptized by Mr. Alexander Scott, united with the church at Kioka, by which he was almost immediately approbated to preach. At the commencement of the American war, he fled for shelter to Halifax county, in his native State, where he continued about six years, all of which time he was incessantly engaged in preaching as an itinerant in different places around; and it is found by his journal, that, take the whole six years together, he preached oftener than once a day; that is, more than

two thousand sermons in the time. At the close of the war, he returned to his former residence in Georgia, where he continued to the end of his days. In this State, he laboured abundantly with good effect, and was the means of planting a number of churches in different parts of the country. He was justly esteemed one of the most exemplary and useful ministers in the southern States. His learning was not great, but having a desire that his young brethren might obtain greater advantages than he had enjoyed, he had set up a school at his house, procured an able teacher, and was in a promising way to promote the interests of learning in the churches around him; but in the midst of his benevolent plans and distinguished usefulness, he was, after a short illness, removed from the scene of his employments, in 1796, in the 52d year of his age.

The following portrait of Mr. Mercer's character, is found in Mr. Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists, page 82. "Mr. Mercer, both in countenance and manners, had considerably the appearance of sternness; and to feel quite free in his company, it was necessary to be well acquainted with him. He seldom talked on any other subject except religion; and when in company with young preachers, or those who might question his doctrine or his opinions, his remarks chiefly turned on polemical points. He was indefatigable in striving to maintain his opinions; and for this purpose would hear any and all objections that could be raised, and would then labour assiduously to remove them. His arguments, however, neither in private nor publick, were ever dressed with oratorical ornaments. He spoke and acted like one who felt himself surrounded by the impregnable bulwarks of truth, and therefore did not wish to parley."*

He was more distinguished as a preacher than writer; but he devoted considerable time to study, and the following pieces were the productions of his leisure hours:

1st. Tyranny Exposed, and True Liberty Discovered, in a 12mo. pamphlet of 68 pages, the design of which was to show the rise, reign, and downfall of Antichrist.

* Mr. Mercer is here described as he appeared in Virginia, in 1791, in company with Jeremiah Walker, in the time of a great controversy respecting doctrinal points.

2d. The Supposition of the Divine Right of Infants to Baptism, from their formerly having a Right to Circumcision, Confuted, being a Letter to a Friend. This piece was not printed.

3d. The History of Baptism, carried to some extent, but left unfinished.

4th. Two Letters on Election, left unpublished.

JOSHUA MORSE was, in his day, a very eminent preacher among the Baptists in New-England. He was born in South-Kingston, Rhode-Island, April 10, 1726. His grandfather came from the west of England to Rhode-Island, in the early part of the settlement of the colony, and served as a chaplain in the first war in which this country was engaged against the French. The son, from whom the subject of this memoir descended, whose name does not appear, was not a professor of religion, but was by education a Baptist, as his father was of that persuasion. Young Joshua, at the age of sixteen, in the time of the New-light Stir, was awakened to religious concern. When the zealous New-lights began to make a noise in the neighbourhood, he, with others, was ready to reproach and despise them; but the very first meeting he attended, his mind was arrested. When he first entered it, he saw them so zealously affected, that he hesitated not to say that they were all deluded; but he came away under fearful apprehensions of being made miserable forever. Soon after he was brought to rejoice in the truth, he became a zealous exhorter, and at the age of eighteen commenced his ministerial labours, which he continued with much reputation and success for upwards of fifty years. The early, and indeed the greatest part of his ministry, was spent in Connecticut. He first began preaching in Stonington, where he was much opposed, abused and persecuted, by a set of bigotted gentry, who declared that his preaching was not *according to law*. At that time, every man who opened his doors for a dissenter to preach, was liable to be fined *five* pounds, the preacher was subjected to a fine of *ten* shillings, and

every hearer to *five*. The very first time Mr. Morse preached in Stonington, he was apprehended, carried before a magistrate, sentenced to pay the ten shillings, or be whipped ten lashes, at the publick whipping-post. The fine he could not pay, and of course the lashes he was preparing to receive. He was taken to the post by the order of the magistrate, but the constable, instead of inflicting the lashes, plead the cause of the innocent sufferer, remonstrated against the wickedness of the law, the cruelty of the court, and utterly refused performing the barbarous duty which had been assigned him. After spending some time in this awkward position, the constable tendered the magistrate from his own pocket the fine which had been exacted. The magistrate, probably ashamed of his conduct, offered it to Mr. Morse, and bid him receive it, and go peaceably away. But as he would pay no money, so he would receive none, and his persecutors finding him rather unmanageable, went off and left him to take his own course. For a number of years after this, he was often opposed, sometimes by *law*, but more frequently by *mobs*. His preaching was attended with much success, and that encouraged him and enraged his opposers. In one of his meetings, one of the reverend gentlemen of the town came in just as he was beginning his sermon, put his hand on his mouth, and then bid a brother, whom he had brought with him, to strike him. At another time a man came in while he was preaching, and struck him with such violence on his temple, that it brought him to the floor; when he arose, he looked on his persecutor, and with emotions of pity, said, "If you die a natural death, the Lord hath not spoken by me." This man, not long after, went to sea, fell from the vessel, and was drowned. At another meeting he was knocked down while in prayer; he was then seized by the hair, dragged out of the house down high steps to the ground, and so deeply bruised in his head and face, that he carried some of the scars to his grave. These are a few of the sufferings of this eminent man of God in the early part of his ministry. He was also frequently threatened by mobs, who did not carry their persecuting designs into execution. After preaching once in Stonington, he was informed that a gang was

out of doors, who, like Paul's persecutors, had sworn that they would kill him when he came out. His wife, who, it appears, was with him, and his friends entreated him not to go out; but having another appointment some distance off, he resolved to fulfil it, and said to his friends, "*What mean ye to weep and break my heart?*" &c. As soon as he was out of the door, he lifted up his hands and began to pray for his persecutors; they, confounded by this new mode of warfare, immediately dropped their clubs; some begged his pardon, and the rest fled away.

But in the midst of all these persecutions, his labours were attended with great success; many were awakened by his means, and some churches in Rhode-Island and Connecticut arose under his ministry. About 1750, he was ordained to the care of a church in the north parish of New-London, now called Montville. Two or three years after he moved to Fishkill in the State of New-York, were he remained about two years, when, by the earnest entreaties of the church which he had left, he came back to live among them. Here he preached principally until 1779, when he removed to Sandisfield, Massachusetts, where a church arose under his labours, which he continued to serve as pastor, until within about a month of his death, which happened July, 1795, in the 70th year of his age, and 52d of his ministry. He had been some time labouring under a disease, which he expected would end in his dissolution. About four weeks before he died, he called his church together, and gave them his last advice and benediction. He had composed a hymn to be sung at his funeral, and he now made choice of a passage to be preached from on the solemn occasion, which was, *This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.* The sermon was preached by Elder Rufus Babcock, of Colebrook.

Mr. Morse was early acquainted with Mr. Whitefield, and caught much of the zeal of that famous itinerant. His preaching was solemn and instructive, and the rules, which he laid down for others, he practised himself. He was singularly grave and devout, insomuch that it is said by those who were long acquainted with him, that he was never known to laugh. He often entered so

feelingly into his discourses, as to weep almost from beginning to end. He was well instructed in the doctrine of the cross; and his knowledge of the Scriptures was exceeded by few. His memory was retentive, his voice peculiarly commanding and impressive, and his preaching, if not eloquent, was pathetick and persuasive.

He was honoured in every relation he sustained, and his usefulness as a minister of the word was exceeded by few in his day. He was above the middle stature, of a robust constitution, and well fitted for the labours and hardships which itinerant preachers of his time were obliged to endure. Being honoured of his God as the instrument of turning many to righteousness, and always bearing about with him the marks of the Lord Jesus, he was much beloved throughout an extensive circle when living, and his name is still mentioned with peculiar marks of respect, by many of the ancient saints, who enjoyed his acquaintance.

Mr. Morse married, when about 24 years of age, Susannah, the eldest daughter of Mr. Joseph Babcock, of Westerly, Rhode-Island, by whom he had many children. Seven of them are yet living, and his youngest son Asahel is pastor of the church in Suffield, Connecticut. From his narrative of the life of his venerable father, the substance of this sketch has been extracted. His widow survived him about fifteen years, and died lately in the 80th year of her age.

Joseph Reese was born at Duck-Creek, in Kent county, then in the Province of Pennsylvania, but now in the State of Delaware. He was removed to South-Carolina in 1745, when but 9 years of age, and during his youthful days was very gay and fond of pleasure. His conversion, therefore, which took place in 1760, under the ministry of Rev. Philip Mulky, was remarkable, and drew much attention. Mr. Reese was baptized soon after his conversion by Mr. Mulky, and commenced preaching soon after his baptism. His ordination, however, for some reason, was deferred until 1768, when it was performed by Messrs. Oliver Hart and Evan Pugh. He was at the same time installed pastor of the church at the

Congaree, with which he stood in that relation, except a few years during the revolutionary war, till his death, which took place March 5, 1795, when he was aged 63 years.

The Church at the High Hills of Santee was gathered under his ministry, in 1770; at which time and place a great attention to religion was excited by his preaching among a numerous people, who had been till then very careless, and unacquainted with vital religion.

He was very infirm about ten years before his death; and during the last two of them, one of the most afflicted of men. But during the whole, he exhibited a sublime example of faith, patience, and resignation to the will of God; of concern for the divine glory, for the interests of the church at large, of that with which he was connected in particular, and for the salvation of individuals with whom he was connected or conversant. When publick worship was supported at the place of worship nearest to him, about three miles distant, he was several times carried there on his bed, lying down during the service; and if he found himself able, which he sometimes did, would sit up at the conclusion of worship, and address a few words to the congregation in the style of conversation and advice, by which they were generally melted into tears. His last attendance at the church was about twelve months before his death; at which time, in great pain and weakness, he administered the Lord's Supper. God was pleased, in the midst of all his affliction, to afford him the consolations of his grace, and he died in much assurance of his interest in the Redeemer, whom he loved.

Mr. Reese was a man of good understanding and warm affections. His piety, it is believed, was never called in question. He had but little education, though he made improvements after he began to preach; but he had a large fund of evangelical and experimental knowledge. His natural eloquence, and command of the passions of his hearers, were extraordinary. He was both a Boanerges, and a son of consolation. His voice and his countenance are said to have affected his hearers like an enchantment. In the early part of his ministry he met with much opposition, but with surprising success.

One William Reese was exceedingly mad against him, as he was preaching at the High Hills of Santee, swear-

ing and threatening what he would do to him; but before the service of the day was over, this same opposer was observed to tremble, and look about him as if he was meditating to run away, but did not do so; presently he swooned; when he came to himself and appearing in a shivering condition, a companion of his said, "Will, you are cold, will you go to the fire?" He replied, "I am going to the fire! the fire of hell! O Lord, save me!" His distress was great for a considerable time, during which he made a publick acknowledgment of his wicked conduct and persecuting intentions.

At another time, when he was preaching at Congaree, one Robert Liass made towards him with a hickory club, saying, "that he would wear it out on the bawling dog's back." But he was hindered from his purpose, and persuaded to be quiet. Soon after he was observed to be affected, but said nothing. It was not long, however, before he sent for Mr. Reese in the night, and said, "I am damned! I am going to hell!" Mr. Reese said, "Perhaps not, perhaps not." Liass replied hastily, "Is there a peradventure? thank God for that! Had I certainty of it I would endure a thousand deaths! I would rot piece by piece, and be a thousand years rotting, if it would secure me from going to hell!"

Whether these men, who were so remarkably convicted, were ever converted, we are not informed.

Mr. Reese was a warm friend to his country in the revolutionary war, and represented the district in which he lived, in the State Legislature, when the first constitution was formed for South-Carolina.

SHUBAEL STEARNS. The outlines of Mr. Stearns's biography have been given in the history of the Separate Baptists; and as much has already been said of this eminent man of God, it will be unnecessary to say much more respecting him.

Mr. Stearns was a man of small stature, but of good natural parts, and sound judgment. Of learning he had but a little share, yet was pretty well acquainted with books. His voice was musical and strong, which

he managed in such a manner, as one while, to make soft impressions on the heart, and fetch tears from the eyes in a mechanical way; and anon, to shake the very nerves, and throw the animal system into tumults and perturbations. All the Separate Baptists copied after him in tones of voice and actions of body; and some few exceeded him. His character was indisputably good, both as a man, a Christian, and a preacher. In his eyes was something very penetrating, which seemed to have a meaning in every glance. Many stories have been told respecting the enchantments of his eyes and voice, but the two following examples we give, with the more confidence, because the subjects of them, viz. Tidence Lane and Elnathan Davis, were men of sense and reputation, and afterwards became distinguished ministers of the Baptist society.

"When the fame of Mr. Stearns's preaching (said Mr. Lane) had reached the Yadkin, where I lived, I felt a curiosity to go and hear him. Upon my arrival, I saw a venerable old man sitting under a peach-tree with a book in his hand, and the people gathering about him. He fixed his eyes upon me immediately, which made me feel in such a manner as I never had felt before. I turned to quit the place, but could not proceed far. I walked about, sometimes catching his eyes as I walked. My uneasiness increased and became intolerable. I went up to him, thinking that a salutation and shaking hands would relieve me; but it happened otherwise. I began to think that he had an evil eye, and ought to be shunned; but shunning him I could no more effect, than a bird can shun the rattle-snake, when it fixes its eyes upon it. When he began to preach, my perturbations increased, so that nature could no longer support them, and I sunk to the ground."

Mr. Lane afterwards became a very useful Baptist minister, and was one of the first of the denomination, who removed to Tennessee, where he administered, until his death, with reputation and success.

"Elnathan Davis had heard that one John Steward was to be baptized such a day, by Mr. Stearns. Now this Steward being a very large man, and Stearns of small stature, he concluded there would be some diversion if

not drowning; therefore he gathered about eight or ten of his companions in wickedness, and went to the spot. Mr. Stearns came, and began to preach. Elnathan went to hear him, while his companions stood at a distance. He was no sooner among the crowd, than he perceived some of the people tremble, as if in a fit of the ague; he felt and examined them, in order to find if it were not a dissimulation; meanwhile one man leaned on his shoulder, weeping bitterly; Elnathan, perceiving he had wet his new white coat, pushed him off, and ran to his companions, who were sitting on a log at a distance. When he came, one said, "Well, Elnathan, what do you think now of these —— people?" affixing to them a profane and reproachful epithet. He replied, "There is a trembling and crying spirit among them; but whether it be the Spirit of God or the devil, I don't know; if it be the devil, the devil go with them, for I will never more venture myself among them." He stood a while in that resolution; but the enchantment of Stearns's voice drew him to the crowd once more. He had not been long there before the trembling seized him also; he attempted to withdraw; but his strength failing, and his understanding being confounded, he, with many others, sunk to the ground. When he came to himself, he found nothing in him but dread and anxiety, bordering on horror. He continued in this situation some days, and then found relief by faith in Christ. Immediately he began to preach conversion work, raw as he was, and scanty as his knowledge must have been." Mr. Davis was born in Baltimore county, Maryland, 1735; was bred a Seventh-day Baptist; went to Slow River, in North-Carolina, in 1757; was baptized by Shubael Stearns at Sandy-Creek, and ordained by Samuel Harris, in 1764; continued in North-Carolina until 1798, when he removed to South-Carolina, and settled in the bounds of the Saluda Association.

Mr. Stearns died November 20, 1771, at Sandy-Creek, and was buried near his meeting-house.

Edwards.

[The following account of that eminent servant of God, Dr. Stillman, is prefixed to a volume of his sermons, published after his death. The substance of it was written by his son in law, Rev. Mr. Gray, of Roxbury, adjoining Boston, and a part by Dr. Baldwin. The description of his doctrinal sentiments was drawn by one of his church.]

SAMUEL STILLMAN, D.D. was born in the city of Philadelphia, of parents respectable for their virtues, and of the religious persuasion of Particular Baptists. At the age of eleven years he was removed with them to Charleston, South-Carolina, and there received the rudiments of his education, at an academy under a Mr. Rind. His improvements there were such as presaged his future worth; and he gave early indications of a mind seriously impressed with a sense of religious truth. In one of his manuscripts we find some account of very early religious impressions being made upon his mind. These, however, he observes, were generally of short continuance, until more effectually awakened by a sermon delivered by the late excellent Mr. Hart, when, to borrow his own language, he says, "My mind was again solemnly impressed with a sense of my awful condition as a sinner. This conviction grew stronger and stronger. My condition alarmed me. I saw myself without Christ and without hope. I found that I deserved the wrath to come, and that God would be just to send me to hell. I was now frequently on my knees, pleading for mercy. As a beggar I went, having nothing but guilt, and no plea but mercy." How long he continued in this distressed condition is not particularly stated, but it appears from several passages of Scripture, he obtained a degree of hope and comfort, though not entirely satisfied. Not long after, he heard Mr. Hart discourse from Matt. i. 21. "And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." From this sermon he received consolation, and adds, "Christ then became precious to me, yea, all in all. Then I could say of wisdom, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." That I still think was the day of my espousal. Glory be to God, for the riches of his grace to me. Why me, Lord? &c." He was soon after baptized, and received into the church under the pastoral care of Mr. Hart.

After finishing his classical education, he spent one year in the study of divinity with that gentleman. Being called by the church, he preached his first sermon on the 17th of February, 1758; and on the 26th of February, 1759, was ordained in the city of Charleston, South-Carolina, to the work of an evangelist.

Immediately afterwards, however, he settled at James Island, a most pleasant situation opposite the city. Soon after he visited the place of his nativity, and on the twenty-third of May, the same year, married Hannah, the daughter of Evin Morgan, Esq. merchant of that place, by whom he afterwards had fourteen children. He also took his degree at the university there, and returned to his society on James Island. But he had not continued above eighteen months with his affectionate and united people, before a violent attack of a pulmonary complaint, forced his removal to another climate. He accordingly fixed himself with his family at Bordentown, New-Jersey, where he supplied two different congregations for the space of two years. His ill health somewhat improved, but by no means restored, determined him at length to visit New-England, hoping that the exercise, together with the change of air, might yet further mend his impaired constitution.

On his arrival here, 1763, at the request of the Second Baptist Church, he removed his family to Boston, and after preaching one year as an assistant to the late Rev. Mr. Bound, accepted an invitation to settle with the First Baptist Church, and was installed over it January 9, 1765.

By nature he was endowed with a sprightly genius, a good capacity, and an uncommon vivacity and quickness of apprehension. His feelings were peculiarly strong and lively, which imparted energy to whatever he did, and under the influence and control of religious principles, served to increase and diffuse his eminent piety. To this constitutional ardour both of sentiment and action, which led him to enter with his whole soul into every subject which engaged his attention, he united a remarkable delicacy of feeling and sense of propriety, and such sprightliness and affability in conversation, such ease and politeness of manners, and at the same time such a glow of pious zeal and affection, as enabled him to min-

gle with all ranks and classes of people, and to discharge all his duties as a Christian minister and a citizen, with dignity, acceptance, and usefulness. The lively interest he appeared to take, in whatever affected the happiness or increased the pleasures of his friends, the gentleness of his reproofs and the gratification he seemed to feel in commending others, united to his social qualities, endeared him to all who knew him.

The popularity of a preacher commonly declines with his years. Dr. Stillman, however, was a singular exception to this general remark. He retained it for upwards of forty-two years; and his congregation, which, upon his first connexion with it, was the smallest in the town, at the age of seventy, the period of his death, he left amongst the most numerous.

As a minister of Christ, his praise was in all the churches; and wherever his name has been heard, an uncommon degree of sanctity has been connected with it. His principles were highly Calvinistick, and all his sermons bore strong marks of his warm attachment to that system. The natural strength and ardour of his feelings, indeed, imparted zeal to whatever opinion he espoused, and activity to whatever duty he performed. Yet with all his quickness of perception, and acuteness of feeling, his temper was under admirable control, and he was always the thorough master both of his words and actions. Thus embracing what have been denominated the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, he explained and enforced them with clearness, and with an apostolick zeal and intrepidity.

On the leading principles of the gospel, he always preached and conversed as a Christian minister, who took a deep and hearty interest in their diffusion and establishment. But he did not depend for success on his zeal and fidelity. He knew that what he was, and what he was enabled to do in the cause of God, were wholly by his gracious influence. Whilst he realized his own entire dependence, and that of others, he was animated in duty, believing that the Lord meeteth all who rejoice and work righteousness, those who remember him in his ways.

A subject on which he often spoke with grateful adoration was, the true and proper Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ. His views of sin as an infinite evil necessarily impressed upon his mind this truth. He considered the Saviour as an infinitely worthy object of divine worship, and in consequence of this dignity of character qualified to make atonement for sin. On this foundation rested his hope of salvation; and if this were not a reality, he despaired of entering into glory, and believed the salvation of every sinner an impossible event. But having no doubt on this cardinal point, he was enabled to preach the gospel with clearness.

On the subject of the trinity and unity of God, he literally believed the declaration of John, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one;" but as to an explanation of the manner or mode of subsistence of the divine nature, he would say he had nothing to do; for revelation did not explain it. He only declared it as a truth to be believed on the divine testimony.

The total moral depravity of man was a principle on which he much insisted on all proper occasions. He had no idea that there was any latent spark of holiness in the heart of a natural man, which, as some suppose, can be kindled by the exertions of the sinner, and kept alive by the same means. This opinion he reprobated with all his heart, viewing it as a denial of that grace which is revealed in the gospel, and as having a natural tendency to take the crown of glory from the head of IMMANUEL. In contradiction of this error, he would often remark on this text as a motto congenial to the feelings of a believer, "Upon himself (Jesus) shall his crown flourish." So far was he removed from this mistake, that he believed the real Christian, though renewed by the Holy Spirit, was constantly dependent on God's immediate agency for the origin and continuance of every gracious exercise. Although he believed the entire sinfulness of the natural heart, he did not erroneously connect with it a license to sin, nor suppose that men are released from moral duties because they are indisposed to them. From the fact that man is endowed with reason, will and affections, he argued his moral obligation to be-

lieve what God has revealed, and obey what he has commanded.

As his views of man's depravity were clear and distinct, he of consequence saw the necessity of regeneration by the free and sovereign agency of the Holy Ghost. That operation of God by which this change is effected, he did not consider as a mere circumstantial alteration or new modification of the sinful affections, but that a new disposition was given to the soul, well described by Paul as a new creation. In this change he supposed the person was brought to have entirely new views of moral subjects.

Respecting the atonement of Christ, his sentiments were honorary to truth. He considered it as an illustration of the divine perfections not discoverable by any other medium; exhibiting to all intelligent beings the odious nature of sin, God's love to holiness, and his unspeakable mercy to the guilty. He viewed the merits of Christ in his obedience and death, as having an infinite value, and as possessing a sufficiency for the salvation of every individual of the human race, had it been the will of God to make its application to the conscience so extensive; but from divine revelation he learned that its design was particular, respecting, in its application to the heart, the elect only. He did not, however, connect with this the erroneous idea of some, that all men were not under obligation to repent of their sins and believe the gospel; but whilst he believed the condemnation of sinners was by the moral law, he supposed that this condemnation would be greatly aggravated by a rejection of the gospel, and that they would be treated as those who despised God's grace.

His ideas of the faith which accompanies salvation were, that it was a belief of the gospel; a hearty reception of that plan of grace which is revealed in Christ Jesus, accompanied with holy love and every gracious exercise. He rejected the error, that the essence of faith consists in a person's believing that Christ died for him in particular; no such proposition being contained in the word of God, and no one being warranted to believe this till he has good evidence of his regeneration. From his ideas of faith he naturally inferred that good works would

uniformily follow. These he zealously enforced as an evidence of faith, but not as designed to originate it. Practical godliness was a subject on which he often preached, and which he urged on believers from the noblest gospel motives.

The purpose of God in his eternal election of a certain number of the human race to salvation, was a principle dear to Dr. Stillman, as a truth clearly revealed. Believing the carnal mind, or natural heart, to be enmity against God, he very justly concluded, that if any sinners were saved, their salvation must be effected by an influence extraneous from themselves. To imagine with some, that God had left it with depraved men to meet him in any conditions which they were to perform, he would represent as dishonorary to the Divine Majesty, who will not give his glory to another. Neither could he believe that any of God's designs originated in time; but that all his purposes were, like himself, eternal. This was his ground of encouragement to preach, knowing that God had determined by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe, and that he had promised to make a willing people in the day of his power.

From his clear apprehension of eternal personal election, he was firmly established in the final perseverance to eternal glory of all those who are regenerated by the Spirit of God; and that the grace given is an incorruptible seed.

The opinion that religious establishments are contrary to the New-Testament, was defended by him. His ideas on this subject are plainly expressed in his sermon before the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1779. The interference of rulers, as such, in matters of conscience, he ever considered as an infringement of natural right. In this sermon he shewed that his own ideas on this subject were similar to those of the immortal Locke. He was a cordial friend to religious liberty; and all his conduct in life towards Christians from whom he differed, manifested that he was heartily willing that every conscientious citizen should worship in the manner which agreed with the dictates of his conscience, after a candid examination of the word of God.

He preached much to the feelings, and to the heart; and numbers on whose minds naked reason and simple truth could produce no serious effects, his powerful eloquence was a happy means both of touching and reclaiming. Nor was he only a preacher of righteousness. Few men ever exemplified more than he did, the virtues he recommended to others. Whilst he exhibited to his flock the various trials and comforts of Christians, whilst he guided them in the way to eternal life, he led them also by his own example.

His sermons were always studied, and it was his judicious practice principally to write them. Yet from his manner of delivery, (a manner peculiar to himself) he always appeared as easy as if speaking extempore. Indeed it was his constant method to add at the moment such thoughts as occurred to his mind whilst speaking. These thoughts were as naturally connected with the subject as though they had been a studied part of it; and as they were usually delivered with much pathos, they had the happiest effect upon the audience.

As a publick speaker, as a pulpit orator, he was second perhaps to none. Nature had furnished him with a pleasant and most commanding voice, the very tones of which were admirably adapted to awaken the feelings of an audience, and he always managed it with great success. His manner, though grave and serious, was peculiarly graceful, popular, and engaging. His remarkable animation gave additional interest to every subject he handled. Those who heard him might with propriety have said of him what was said of another eminent preacher—"This man is in earnest; he believes what he says, and says what he believes. Verily this is a man of God. Ten such men, and Sodom would have stood."

His eloquence was of the powerful and impressive, rather than of the insinuating and persuasive kind, and so strikingly interesting, that he never preached to an inattentive audience. And even those who dissented from him in some minor theological opinions, were still pleased with hearing him, for they knew his sincerity, they knew him to be a good man.

Few persons are alike eminent in all the different duties of the ministerial office; but it would perhaps be

difficuit to say in which of these Dr. Stillman most excelled.

In prayer he always seemed to his audience as if engaged with a present Deity. His addresses to Heaven were generally short, but very comprehensive; they were solemn and edifying, and usually very feeling and impressive; and thus coming from the heart, they seldom failed to reach the hearts of others.

In the chamber of sickness and affliction he was always a welcome visitor. So well could he adapt his conversation, as to comfort or to caution, to soothe or to awaken, just as the case seemed to require. And if he administered reproof, it was done in so delicate and mild a manner, that it oftener conciliated esteem, than created offence. In his prayers with the sick and afflicted, however intricate the occasion, he was always both appropriate and highly devotional. So eminent was his character for piety, and so universally was he beloved, that he was often called to the sick and afflicted of other denominations. And his sympathetick feelings, and his fervent supplications seldom failed to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded bosom. The sick would almost forget their pains, and the mourner cease to sigh. How many wounded hearts he has bound up, and from how many weeping eyes he has wiped the tears away—how many thoughtless sinners he was the means of awakening, and how many saints he has edified and built up unto eternal life —how many wavering minds he has settled, and to how many repenting sinners his words have administered peace, can be fully known only at the great day!

It having pleased the Author of Wisdom to visit Dr. Stillman with peculiar trials, and having largely experienced the supporting influence of religion under them, he was eminently qualified to administer consolation to others. Few persons could describe with such accuracy, or enter with such facility into the feelings and exercises of the tempted, tried believer. Like a skilful surgeon, he knew when the wound was sufficiently probed, and when to apply the healing balm of promise.

In the course of a few years he was called to bury seven of his children, all adults, and some of them with rising families, having previously buried five children in in-

fancy. But notwithstanding his domestick trials were so great, his Christian patience and submission were equal to them all. Such was his perfect confidence in the wisdom of God's government, that with all his extreme sensibilities, his mind lost nothing of its lively confidence, or of its cheerful hope.

Dr. Stillman was possessed of great benevolence of heart, and was a sincere lover of persons of every Christian denomination, whom he esteemed pious and good. Though from education and from principle a Baptist himself, he never believed that the peculiarities of any sect ought to form a separating line, or hinder the union of good men, for the advancement of the common cause of the Redeemer. With many such he long lived in habits of undissembled friendship, and by them his death will not very soon cease to be regretted.

With a view more especially to assist young men in attaining a suitable education for the ministry, he successfully employed his talents and zeal in aiding the interests of Brown University, Rhode-Island, which owes much to his exertions.

It might be mentioned as a proof of the high estimation in which his talents were held as a preacher, that there is scarcely any publick occasion on which he has not at one time or another officiated. The university of Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in 1761. The college in Rhode-Island, of which he was both a Trustee and a Fellow, in 1788 gave him a diploma of Doctor in Divinity. He was elected a member of the Federal Convention for the town of Boston the same year, and distinguished himself there by a most eloquent speech in its defence. In 1789 he was appointed to deliver the anniversary oration on independence to the town of Boston, which he accomplished in a manner both handsome and acceptable.

The social feelings of the Doctor were strong, and his powers of conversation such as always pleased. In his manners there was an unaffected elegance and ease, which rendered him uncommonly agreeable to every circle. The affability and kindness with which he treated persons of every description, were not less the effect of a natural delicacy than of a general knowledge of mankind.

Hence to the great he never could appear servile, nor imperious to those in humbler stations. To both he was the gentleman, and in private company as much esteemed as he was popular in his publick performances. His benevolent heart was feelingly alive to distress of every kind, and in contributing to its alleviation in every shape he was actively useful. We find his name amongst the first members of the Humane Society of this Commonwealth. Of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society he was a useful officer, and of the Boston Dispensary a member from its beginning, and President at his death. The Boston Female Asylum is likewise much indebted to his exertions. He was also an almoner of the private charity of many individuals, who confided in his knowledge and judgment of suitable objects.

Such was the faithfulness with which he discharged the various duties incumbent on him as a minister of the gospel; such was his zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls, that it may be truly said of him, he was the happy man. Holy, spiritual religion was not with him a transient, visionary thing, but the element in which he breathed. His soul was often so enlarged in declaring the glorious gospel, and in expatiating on the riches of God's grace as manifested in his word, that he not only seemed himself to enjoy a prelibation of heaven, but to have been enabled by divine influence to communicate this blessedness to others; so that his friends have often said, after having heard his private conversation or publick preaching, Truly our fellowship was with the Father, with his Son Christ Jesus, and with one another through the Spirit's influence.

To his church and people he was strongly attached, and particularly attentive.* Nor did he ever suffer any

* For a long time previous to his death, he was particularly anxious that a colleague pastor should be settled with him. Knowing that time with him was short, he ardently wished to see his church and congregation happily united in a person, whose sentiments and character he should entirely approve, and to whose care he could cheerfully confide his charge, when he should be called to put off the earthly house of his tabernacle. To effect this object, in his view so important, his labours were incessant; and Providence seemed to smile on his endeavours. The Rev. Joseph Clay, from Georgia, having visited the town of Boston, appeared, both to the pastor and the flock, to be the very object of their united wishes. Proposals having been accordingly made to him for settlement, which he accepted, necessary arrangements were making for it. The Doctor was delighting himself with the prospect; but it pleased Heaven that

calls of relaxation or amusement to interfere with the conscientious discharge of the smallest professional duty. His duty was indeed always his delight, and nothing in his mind ever stood in any sort of competition with it.

His congregation always reciprocated his warm attachment to them. They ever sat delighted under his preaching, and felt a pride in him as an accomplished pulpit orator, no less than a love for him as an excellent preacher; and neither of them were any ways diminished by the attention of strangers who visited the metropolis, and were commonly desirous of hearing this celebrated minister before they left it.

In the different walks of social and private life, Dr. Stillman was peculiarly amiable. Those most intimately connected with him, ever found him a pleasant companion, a judicious counsellor, and a faithful friend. The various offices of domestick life were discharged with the same fidelity and tenderness which marked his publick conduct. Of husbands, he was one of the most kind and affectionate; of parents the most tender and endearing. Indeed, all who resided under his roof experienced his paternal care and goodness.

Through life his habit of body had been weakly, and he was not unused to occasional interruptions of his ministerial labours; yet he survived all his clerical cotemporaries, both in Boston and its vicinity. It was his constant prayer that his life and usefulness might run parallel: in this his desires were gratified. He had now attained the age of seventy, when the time of his departure had arrived. A slight indisposition detained him at home the two last Lord's days of his life. On the Wednesday following the second of them, without any previous symptoms, he was suddenly attacked at eleven o'clock, A. M. by a paralytick shock. At ten at night he grew insensible, and at twelve his useful life and labours were terminated together. Could he have selected the manner of his death, it had probably been such an one as this, which spared him the pain of separation from a

he should not be permitted to realize its accomplishment. Mr. Clay had returned to the southward, to settle his affairs there. Two or more months before his return, the period he had fixed for it, the melancholy circumstance of Dr. Stillman's death occurred. The following August Mr. Clay's installation took place.

flock he was most ardently attached to, and a family he most tenderly loved; a scene which, to a person of his feeling mind, notwithstanding all his religion, must have occasioned a shock.

In one of his sermons, preached after the death of the late Dr. Peter Thacher, of this town, he says, "Though we would not wish to choose, or offer to dictate to Infinite Wisdom, as to the manner of our exit, yet may we be permitted to say, that when good men are suddenly cut down, they avoid the pains and extreme distresses that always accompany a lingering sickness. And though we would not pray, *From* sudden death, good Lord, *deliver* us, we would devoutly pray, *For* sudden death, good Lord, *prepare* us."

On the Monday following his death, his remains were attended to his meeting-house, where a pathetick and appropriate discourse was delivered on the occasion, by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin, pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, to an immensely thronged and deeply affected assembly, from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8; after which his remains were conveyed to the tomb, amidst the regrets of a numerous concourse of people, who crowded around his bier, anxious to take a last look of the urn which contained the relicks of him, who once to them was so dear, but whose face they should now behold no more.

Dr. Stillman was of the middling stature, of slender habit of body, yet remarkably upright. He was dark complexioned, and rather pale. His countenance, though naturally open and cheerful, yet either from principle or habit more frequently presented the appearance of thoughtfulness and solemnity. The vivacity of his mind was strongly marked in the features of his face, which enabled him with uncommon ease to give language to the passions whenever his subject required it.

The gracefulness of his person, the elegance of his manners, and above all, the dignity of his whole deportment were such, as could not fail of interesting the feelings of all who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him. In a word, there was something peculiarly prepossessing in that angelick solemnity, which he always manifested, when engaged in religious duties.

Dr. Stillman's works, except one Oration, consist altogether of Sermons, and are as follow:

1st. A Sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.
2d. A Sermon on the character of a good soldier: delivered before the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company in Boston, June 4, 1770.
3d. Substance of a Sermon, delivered at the ordination of Rev. Samuel Shepard, in Stratham, (N. H.) Sept. 25, 1771.
4th. A Sermon on the death of Hon. Samuel Ward, Esq. member of the Continental Congress, from Rhode-Island, and delivered before that body in Philadelphia, March 26, 1776.
5th. A Sermon on the General Election in Massachusetts, May 26, 1779.
6th. A Sermon on Charity, preached before the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, in Charlestown, June 24, 1785.
7th. An Oration delivered to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, July 4, 1789.
8th. A Sermon on the death of Nicholas Brown, Esq. of Providence, (R. I.) May 31, 1791.
9th. A Sermon on the French Revolution, preached on the Annual Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 20, 1794.
10th. A Sermon on the ordination of Rev. Stephen Smith Nelson, preached in Boston, Sept. 15, 1797.
11th. A Sermon on the National Fast Day, April, 1799.
12th. A Sermon on the death of George Washington, late President of the United States of America, 1800.
13th. A Sermon on the opening of the New Baptist Meeting-House in Charlestown, May 12, 1801.
14th. A Sermon on the ordination of Rev. Thomas Waterman, Charlestown, October 7, 180 .
15th. A Sermon on the first anniversary of the Boston Female Asylum, September 5, 1802.
16th. A Sermon on the first anniversary of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, May 25, 1803.
17th. A Sermon on the death, and preached at the funeral of Hezekiah Smith, D. D. of Haverhill, January 31, 1805.

Besides these, soon after Dr. Stillman's death, his friends collected and published in a volume twenty sermons of his composing, eight of which were never before published. The titles of these sermons, in the order in which they stand in the volume, are as follow:

1st. Mankind universally apt to trust in their own righteousness. Published by desire of the hearers, 1769.
2d. The Sinner's best Righteousness proved to be essentially deficient.
3d. Imputed Righteousness one of the Glories of the Gospel.
4th. Believers exhorted to continue in their obedience.
5th. Young People called upon to consider, that for their conduct here they must be accountable hereafter, at the Judgment-Seat of Christ. Delivered at an Evening Lecture, May 8, 1771, at the desire of a number of young men, and published by request.
Sermons 6, 7, and 8 are on Apostolick Preaching. Delivered Nov. 1790.
9. God's Compassion to the Miserable. Preached at the desire of Levi Ames, who attended on the occasion, and who was executed for burglary Oct. 21, 1773, aged 22.
10. The character of a foolish Son. Preached the Lord's Day after the execution of Levi Ames.
11. Hope the Anchor of the Soul. Delivered Nov. 13, 1791.
12. God's Designs vainly opposed by sinners. Delivered at the quarterly day of prayer, June 4, 1803.

13. The Blessedness of those who die in the Lord. Delivered April 17, 1768, occasioned by the death of the Author's Mother, Mrs. Mary Stillman, who died March 17, 1768, in Charleston, (S. C.) aged 57.
14. The Resurrection and Change of the vile Body. Delivered Nov. 30, 1806.
15. The Nature and Uses of Prayer. Delivered April 7, 1801, being the quarterly day of prayer.
16. The Gospel Ministry. Delivered in Salem, at the ordination of the Rev. Lucius Bolles, Jan. 9, 1805.
17. The Sinking Soul saved by Grace. Preached March 18, 1804.
18. The Nature and Design of the Atonement. Preached Feb. 1, 1807.
19. The Water of Life. Preached March 9, 1806.
20. The last words of Christ to his disciples. Delivered Feb. 22, 1807, being the last sermon which Dr. Stillman preached.

GARDNER THURSTON was the son of Edward and Elizabeth Thurston, and was born in Newport, Rhode-Island, Nov. 14, 1721. When he was but a small lad, some of his relatives in the country obtained him to tarry with them for a season, where the aged and religious were highly pleased to learn, that their little visitant had such a taste for devotion, that he was known to exhort his young associates to remember their Creator, and implore his aid whenever they formed any plan for enjoyment, and wished to be successful. To press his exhortation powerfully upon their hearts, and satisfy his own conscience, he was seen in their little circles praying to God. The pious kept these things in their minds, believing it highly probable, that Infinite Wisdom had designed him to be an instrument of great good among mankind.

After he returned to Newport, and had been some time under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Whitman, and his colleague, Rev. Nicholas Eyers, he wrote them the following letter:

"*Dearly beloved Fathers in Christ,*

"Through the wonderful mercy of God, I am brought to see myself in a lost condition, and his word and my conscience testify, that in such a state of nature, I am a child of wrath.

"Sirs, I consider that the gospel requires a positive change in all who will be admitted into the kingdom of God; and that this change is new forming the heart, and subjecting the whole man to the service of Christ; that he may be translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son. Knowing my own weakness and inability to deliver myself, I find that I cannot do any thing pleasing to God of myself; I cannot come to that true and saving faith in Jesus Christ, with which remission of sins is connected; neither can I make satisfaction for the least of my transgressions; therefore, O Sirs, I desire to depend wholly and alone upon the free grace of God in Jesus Christ, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption," &c.

Soon after he wrote to these ministers, who were over him in the Lord, he obtained peace in believing, and joy in the Holy Ghost; but did not make a publick profession of his faith in God, till April 4, 1741. When this day came, his mind was covered with darkness, and filled with distressing fears, that he rested short of the Rock of Ages as the foundation of his hope; and that he should inevitably be a hypocrite if he joined the church. In this trying period of his life, he endeavoured to make God his refuge, and prayed for the light of his countenance, that he might be led understandingly to know and to do his will. The time arrived in which he was to be examined as a candidate for baptism. But his fears concerning himself still continued, and multiplied to such an host against him, that when he came to the meeting-house door, he dared not enter, but turned and walked into a small burying-ground, and sat down upon a rock. The place, by the kind hand of God upon him, was made like the resting-place which Jacob found, as he journeyed from Beersheba to Padanaram. About sixty years afterward, walking in the same burying-ground, Mr. Thurston stopped, and putting his staff upon the rock, said, "There I sat down, overwhelmed with distress, while the church were waiting for me to come in, to give them an account of the dealings of God with my soul. Soon after I sat down, I was enabled, through rich grace, to give up myself, and all I had, into the hands of my blessed Jesus, who immediately dispelled the darkness which covered me, removed my distress, filled me with peace and consolation, and gave me strength to declare what he had done for my soul."

He was received by the church, and baptized by their pastor, the Rev. Nicholas Eyers, and enjoyed great peace of mind, and establishment in the doctrine of Christ.

He was highly esteemed in the church as a pious and promising youth, and took an active part in their conference meetings, till God was pleased to call him to declare more publickly the glad tidings of salvation.

The church were so well satisfied with his account of the operations of the divine Spirit upon his mind, and his leading views of the great truths of the Christian system, that after hearing him a number of times, they gave him

approbation to preach in 1748, and requested him to be an assistant to their pastor, Rev. Nicholas Eyers.

He from this time preached generally once on the Lord's-day and one lecture every week. His desire for information, especially in divinity, was great, which he had an opportunity to gratify above many; for Mr. Eyers, with whom he was most intimately connected, was a man of talents and learning.

Mr. Eyers died suddenly, February 15, 1759, having preached part of the Lord's day before; and Mr. Thurston was, by the church, invited to succeed him, and was accordingly ordained to the pastoral office on the 29th of April following.

As he was born and educated with the people whom he had now engaged to serve, he was not ignorant of their expectations from him as their pastor. He therefore determined to give himself wholly to the all-important work of preaching the glorious gospel of Christ, and to finish his course with joy. Consequently he left his former business, which was lucrative, closed his accounts, and entered into the vineyard of the Lord with all his heart; pleading the sweet promise which flowed from the Saviour's lips; "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."

Mr. Thurston was endowed with an excellent disposition, and possessed a good natural constitution, with a quick and brilliant imagination. He was mild, studious, and amiable in his family; lively and engaging in the society of his friends; tender, solemn, and devotional among the sons and daughters of affliction; easy and graceful in all his publick movements; his voice was strong and melodious, and his heart all alive in the great and arduous work of the ministry of reconciliation.

He generally wrote the heads of his sermons, the quotations from Scripture, and some of the most interesting ideas which he thought necessary for the clear illustration of his subject. These he commonly committed to memory, and but seldom had his notes before him in publick.

Mr. Thurston being possessed of pleasing pulpit talents, and giving himself wholly to the work of the ministry, his hearers became so numerous that his meeting-

house was enlarged twice, till it was 75 by 50 feet, and was well filled as long as he was able to preach. He was favoured with repeated revivals of religion among his people. Though these revivals were small in comparison with what many experience in the present day, yet his success was not measured by the duration of his ministry; for many who joined the church a number of years after he was dead, dated their awakenings, and some the beginning of their hope in the Saviour's merits, under his preaching. A number of ministers own him as an instrument in the Lord's hands of their awakening, comfort, and establishment in the faith of God's elect.

Mr. Thurston was well acquainted with afflictions and bereavements; for he lived to see all his near relations buried, except one daughter; and having passed through many temptations as a Christian and minister, he was well qualified for both sympathy and advice.

In 1792, he wrote as follows:

"*Newport, (R. I.) 24th March*, 1792.

"*Dear Madam*,

"I have heard that you have not enjoyed so good health of late as usual, on account of the loss of one of your eyes; and that you desire me to write you on this subject.

"The loss of the sight of one eye is very great, and it is a mercy you have one left. These bodily eyes must soon fail, be closed, and we be in the land of darkness, where we shall not need them. But, dear madam, there is another eye which the Lord can give to all who love him supremely; which is vastly preferable to us, even in this world; I mean the eye of faith. By this Abraham saw Christ's day and was glad; by this Job saw his Redeemer, and Moses saw him who was invisible. By this, we now behold the once suffering, bleeding Lamb of God, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; yes, by this eye we can look within the vail, and see Christ seated on the right hand of God, and ever living to make intercession for all who come unto God by him. By this eye, we can look through the pearly gates of the New-Jerusalem, and view the spirits of the just made perfect, joined with the blessed angels in celebrating the praises of their God and King.

"O transporting sight! Methinks, madam, you are now ready to cry, Lord, evermore give me this sight! He will give it to every one who comes unto him and asks for it. Yes, dear friend, I have something more to say; that we shall see the dear Lord with these bodily eyes, though useless in the grave. He will change these vile bodies, with all their members, and fashion them like his own glorious body. Then hope will cease in fruition, and faith in vision. Then those eyes which have been so long closed and useless, shall be opened again, and made useful. With mine eyes shall I behold him, and not another for me. Then shall we see the Saviour, and converse with him, as one friend converseth with another. We shall see him, and be entirely conformed to his image, and be ever with the Lord. Think, dear friend, what a glorious sight this will be, which can never wax old or dim. The inhabitants of the New-Jerusalem shall no more say they are sick. There will be no more pain; sorrow and sighing shall entirely flee away.

"The dear Lord grant you, and every branch of your family, this portion.

"I remain your sincere friend, GARDNER THURSTON."

To a young Minister under some trials.

"I rejoice in the grace of God bestowed on you, and the success granted you. I pray God to give you the wisdom of the serpent, and the harmlessness of the dove. A good cause, a good conscience, a steady and uniform conduct, will put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. I cannot give you better advice than Paul gave to Timothy. Read again and again his second epistle, second chapter. I sympathize with you in your trials; but be assured God will be with you in six and in seven troubles. I know that your mind must be differently exercised; and Satan will not be wanting on his part to take every advantage to hurt your usefulness; and there are some who will unite with him, and watch for your halting.

"I believe that God, who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, will support and defend you. Be upon your guard to cut off occasion from those who seek occasion, to speak disrespectfully of you. Endeavour always to exhibit a gospel temper. If they curse, do you bless; for the servant of the Lord must not strive, but in meekness instruct those who oppose themselves. You must not think your afflictions strange; they are what your Master and many of his servants met with before. You are only filling up your measure of that which was behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for the body's sake, which is the church. O blessed privilege, to partake with Christ in his afflictions! Be not discouraged, for the power of the enemy is limited like the great deep; hitherto it may come, and no further. For the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder shall he restrain.

"Concerning polemick performances, I will just observe, that I have formerly read many, and after all, I find the Bible to be the best book to discover what truth is, and to establish us in the truth. In this book we find a glorious display of God's justice in the righteous condemnation of the wicked; and a glorious display of divine grace in the salvation of his people. Even from the foundation to the top-stone, it is all grace, grace, free grace."

In 1784, a little after the death of his wife, he thus addressed one of his correspondents:

"I embrace the present opportunity to inform you, that I enjoy a better state of health, than I have for some years past. I have abundant reason to bless God, who has been the guide of my youth, and through life; for that support afforded me in the late trying dispensation which I have passed through. He has, indeed, been a present help in time of trouble. How unsuitable would it be for us, to have all our evils and trying changes in view at once! Therefore let us admire the words of Jesus, Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.

"O, may I ever lean on my helper, God. I am indeed passing through the furnace of affliction, and drinking the bitter cup of the same; but it is the cup which my heavenly Father gives me, and it is mixed with mercy. It is all right; for I am sure that Infinite Goodness orders all things for the best for them who love him. O why should such an unprofitable servant as I am be spared? What are the designs of Providence? Surely the Lord has something further for me to do in his house, else I should have been cut down. I am firm in the opinion, that God will not take away his ministers before their work is done. If there be one more sinner to be converted by their ministry, one more saint to be comforted, they will be continued. I hope I shall be willing to wait all the days of my appointed time, till my change come; then through rich grace, be like a shock of corn fully ripe coming in, in its season. And why should a minister or a Christian wish to stay one moment longer out of heaven than he can be useful?"

Mr. Thurston was not able to preach for about three years before his death; yet he was able to attend meeting for the most part of that time, and to visit his flock, and to speak comfortably unto God's people. He ap-

peared to be all the time on the wing for heaven; in fine, we can say with propriety, that his conversation was in heaven. A number of ministers and Christian friends visited him, in the course of about eighteen months before his death, and it was their uniform opinion, that they never saw any one so unconditionally given up to live on the promises of God, as he was; and who would talk so familiarly and constantly about death—being with Jesus—knowing the saints in heaven—and the unutterable felicity which would overwhelm the whole ransomed family of God, in the resurrection morning.

Mr. Thurston was remarkably fond of meditating and conversing upon the triumphs of the Christian over death and the grave; and the perfection of our nature, and the extensiveness of our knowledge, when we come to dwell with Christ in heaven. "O," said he, "when I come into the glorious presence of my Lord, I shall see and know those servants and children of my heavenly Father, with whom I took sweet counsel while on earth. Yes, I shall know them as quick and with as much certainty as Peter knew Moses and Elias, when they descended from heaven to mount Tabor to converse with Christ. I am not afraid to die; for my Lord Jesus is with me, and I shall fear no evil. I know whom I have believed, and am sure that he will keep that, which I have committed unto him. What is that? It is my all, for I have been enabled to give myself into his hands; therefore I am not troubled about his property, for he knows how to keep it."

One morning, just after he had recovered from a fainting fit, he said to a friend, with a smile upon his countenance, "I did not think of seeing your face again in the flesh, one hour past; for I expected to have been with Jesus in heaven before this moment. Yet I do not wish you to think, that my Lord will tarry too long. His understanding is infinite: he is unchangeable. I have lived to a good old age, and have seen the salvation of the Lord. I long to see my Saviour in glory. He will come quickly. For me to die is gain. The death of the righteous is called only a sleep. Them who sleep in Jesus will God bring with him; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. We shall then be like him, for we shall see him as

he is. He will change our vile bodies, and make them like unto his most glorious body. Then shall I be satisfied," &c.

A little after this, he was more unwell, and his speech failed him so much, that he was never afterwards able to speak intelligibly. But a serene and smiling countenance and expressive gestures, showed that he retained his reason, and that he was calm and joyful in the approach of death; and after remaining in this situation a few days, he fell asleep in Jesus, on the 23d of May, 1802, in the eighty-first year of his age. A suitable discourse was delivered at his interment by Mr. Gano, of Providence.

These sketches have been extracted from a Memoir written by Mr. Joshua Bradley, who succeeded this venerable father in the pastoral office.

JEREMIAH WALKER was born in Bute county, North-Carolina, about the year 1747. He possessed rare and singular talents. When but a small boy, although descended from rather obscure parentage, and having very little education, he was remarkably fond of reading and improving his mind. He was also noticed as a boy of very moral and virtuous habits. When quite young he embraced vital religion, and being baptized, soon began to preach. The few Baptist preachers that were then in the ministry were very illiterate. Mr. Walker of course had very little opportunity of improving his small stock of literature, from their conversation; but the invincible energies of his genius towered above every obstruction. He quickly shone forth with so much splendour as to make it questionable, whether the obscurity of his education, as well as the unlearnedness of his society, did not, by leaving his mind unshackled from scholastick dogmas and from critical strictures, rather advance than impede his real greatness. After preaching in his native neighbourhood, and in Pittsylvania county, Virginia, for some few years, he was induced by the new church called Nottoway, formed in Amelia county, Virginia, (now Nottoway) to move down and take the pastoral charge of them. This took place, anno 1769. Here he became very con-

spicuous, and disseminated his evangelical principles far and near. He was almost incessantly employed in preaching the gospel. In a few years, aided by others, particularly certain young preachers of his own raising, he planted between twenty and thirty churches south of James-river. In these were also a considerable number of gifted characters, who afterwards became distinguished preachers. All of whom were either brought to the knowledge of the truth through his ministry, or were nurtured under his fostering hand, after they were brought. All who knew him about this time, coincide in ascribing to him every thing that is desirable in a minister of the gospel. In talents, as a preacher, he was equalled by few of any denomination. His voice was melodious, his looks were affectionate, his manner was impressive and winning, his reasoning was clear and conclusive, his figures were elegant, well chosen, and strictly applicable; all of which advantages were heightened by the most unaffected simplicity. In private conversation, he was uncommonly entertaining and instructing to all, but especially to young preachers. Affable with all sorts of people, he was beloved and admired as far as he was known. Besides this, he was considered by all his acquaintances exemplarily pious, and, no doubt, was so at that time. No spot nor wrinkle was found in his character.

So distinguished a man among the despised Baptists, could not long escape the notice of their opponents. When persecution began to arise, the enemies of the cross soon cast their eyes on Jeremiah Walker. Him they viewed as the champion. "If we can but silence him," said they, "the whole host beside will hide themselves in dens and caverns." Accordingly he was arrested in Chesterfield county, by virtue of a warrant from a magistrate, and, after examination, was committed to jail. His patience, humility, and uniform prudence and piety, while in prison, acquired for him the esteem of all, whose prejudices would allow them to think favourably of a Baptist. He kept a journal or diary, when confined, in which are some of the most pious and sensible reflections.

When Mr. Walker came out of jail, he stood, if possible, in higher estimation than he had done before.

Wherever he went to preach, he was attended by a large concourse; and from his preaching the most beneficial consequences were constantly produced.

Here, alas! we could willingly drop the pencil, and leave the picture with these bright colourings: but our wishes cannot be indulged; candour compels us to forego the desire. Like the inspired historians, we must not only exhibit the goodness and greatness of God's people, but their foibles and their follies too. They told of David's rise; they told of his downfall likewise. No maxim is more surely established by experience and observation, than this—High delights are fraught with great dangers. God hath set adversity over against prosperity. And whenever a man in any character arises to distinguished eminence, he may look for some downfall, unless he watch his steps with a commensurate vigilance.

Mr. Walker had arrived to a degree of distinction far above his associates. In whatever direction he might travel, he was hailed by many as a father in the gospel. Caressed by his friends; admired by all, even by his enemies; invited to the society of the great; very influential, and indeed all-powerful in Associations and other places among the Baptists; still young and inexperienced; it will not appear strange to an experienced mind, that this man, thus standing on a pinnacle, should tilt over.

"Oh, popular applause, what heart of man
Is proof against thy sweet seducing charms!
The wisest and the best feel urgent need
Of all their caution, in thy gentlest gales.
But, swell'd into a gust, who then, alas!
With all his canvass set, and, inexpert,
And therefore heedless, can withstand thy pow'r?"

In every good there will be some evil. The plain, familiar, affectionate manners of the Baptists in those days, under suitable restrictions, were surely favourable to vital piety. This habit, however, among the unsuspicious and incautious, exposed them to snares, into which too many fall. It would have been happy for Mr. Walker, if he had observed somewhat more of etiquette, especially among females. Their fondness for his company, under the pretence of religious affection, was often nothing more than carnal love in disguise. He was ultimately entrapped. In the year 1774, he attempted a criminal

intrigue with a young woman, for which he was excluded; but soon again restored, on account of his apparently deep contrition. His deportment after this was so correct for some years, that he had almost regained his former standing. But, lamentable to relate, about the year 1784 or 1785, he fell into a similar transgression, in which things were carried much farther than the first. He was immediately excluded from fellowship. He sunk down into the utmost contempt. His name sounded with infamy far and near. The friends of religion were abashed beyond expression; while their enemies triumphed, as if the Baptists had sunk never to rise again. In no great while after this wretched event, he moved to Georgia; from whence, in the year 1788, he visited Virginia; professed to be again restored to divine favour, and petitioned the church from which he had been excluded, to reinstate him into membership. After some impediments were removed, he was received as a member, and also permitted to resume his ministry.

The sequel of his life is almost a continual struggle against the prejudices of both church and world. *The sword never departed from his house.* After his restoration, his morals were correct; for in truth, except the above sin, no other seems to have been capable of producing a momentary temptation to his mind.

He became an Arminian after his downfall, and thereby excited among the Georgia Baptists no small degree of contention. Finally, however, they split. Mr. Walker, with a small party, formed a distinct society, called General Baptists.

In 1791, he travelled into Virginia, and attended the Association, holden by the Middle District, at Cedar Creek, in Lunenburg county. From thence he went to the General Committee,* in Goochland; and then went through various parts of the State, leaving his pamphlets and his verbal arguments in favour of Arminianism, whithersoever he went. In this journey of Mr. Walker, those who associated with him, found him still the same pleasant, sensible, instructing, genteel character, that he had formerly been.

* See an Account of that General Committee, in Virginia.

Alas, alas! that so splendid a garment should be so spotted!

In his last illness, he endured, with remarkable fortitude and Christian resignation, the most excruciating and acute sufferings. He died September 20th, 1792. Rev. Abraham Marshall preached his funeral sermon from Zechariah, 11th chap. and 2d verse. "*Howl, fir-tree; for the cedar is fallen.*"

Mr. Walker married Miss Jane Graves, in North-Carolina, when very young. They lived together in great harmony for many years. After he went to Georgia, she died, and he married a widow lady, with whom he lived also in the strictest harmony; for, his slips notwithstanding, he was exceedingly affectionate and kind in his family.

Mr. Walker had a principal hand in drafting for the Baptists their petitions and remonstrances to the Virginia Assembly; he also took an active and successful part in supporting them in the House, where he gained the applause of the candid members, as a man of sense and address.

He published a number of pamphlets, mostly on controversial subjects; the most distinguished of which was the one entitled, "*The fourfold foundation of Calvinism,* examined and shaken."

Semple.

SAUNDERS WALKER was for many years one of the most useful ministers in the upper regions of Georgia. He was born March 17, 1740, in Prince William county, Virginia, and was a brother of Jeremiah Walker, whose history has just been related; and although his abilities were not equal to his brother's, yet he, different from him, maintained through life a character fair and unimpeachable. He was a singular instance of the transforming influence of the grace of God. Before his conversion, he was of a turbulent, unmanageable temper, and much addicted to the vices naturally attendant on such a disposition. But the Divine Spirit not only changed his heart, but his nature too; so that he was ever after distinguished for the meekness and gravity of his deport-

ment: the *meek Saunders Walker*, was a proverbial expression among all who knew him. He began to preach in South-Carolina in 1767, in the 27th year of his age, and for thirty-eight years continued a faithful and successful minister of the cross of Christ. About four years after he began his ministerial course, he moved to Bute county, North-Carolina, to a place notorious for wickedness and ignorance of religion. But it pleased his Master to be with him here, and in a short time a considerable church arose under his ministry. In 1782, he removed to Georgia, where he spent the remainder of his days. Here he became a companion in gospel labours with Daniel Marshall, and they were for a time the only ordained ministers in the upper part of the State. The country was now new and in an uncultivated state, both in a natural and a religious point of view. At this time also disputes ran high between Whigs and Tories, from which many evils resulted. Mr. Walker not only became the laborious preacher of the gospel, but the successful mediator between contending parties, was the means of preventing many evils amongst them, and of procuring much good for those who were in trouble and want.

After spending a life of distinguished usefulness, he finished his course with joy, in 1805, in the 65th year of his age.

[This account of Mr. Walker was furnished by Mr. Jesse Mercer, of Georgia.]

JOHN WALLER, born Dec. 23d, 1741, in Spottsylvania, county, was a descendant of the honourable Wallers in England. At a very early period, he manifested a great talent for satyrical wit. This determined his uncle, who had the direction of his education, to bring him up for the law. He was put to a grammar-school, and made encouraging advancement in the dead languages. His uncle's death, and his father's narrow resources, added to his own unbridled inclinations to vice, prevented him from finishing even his classical education. He now began indeed to study, not the laws of the land, but those of the gaming-table. Letting himself loose to every species of wickedness and profanity, he quickly acquired for

himself the infamous appellation of *Swearing Jack Waller*, by which he was distinguished from others of the same name. So far did he indulge his mischievous temper, that he once had three warrants served on him at the same time, on account of one uproar. It was frequently remarked by the common people, "that there could be no deviltry among the people, unless Swearing Jack was at the head of it." He was sometimes called the *devil's adjutant* to muster his troops. To these may be added his fury against the Baptists. He was one of the grand jury who presented Louis Craig for preaching. This happily terminated in his good. Mr. Craig watched the dismission of the grand jury, and found means to secure their attention, while he addressed them in the following harangue: "I thank you, gentlemen of the grand jury, for the honour you have done me. While I was wicked and injurious, you took no notice of me; but since I have altered my course of life, and endeavoured to reform my neighbours, you concern yourselves much about me. I forgive my persecuting enemies, and shall take joyfully the spoiling of my goods." When Mr. Waller heard him speak in that manner, and observed the meekness of his spirit, he was convinced that Craig was possessed of something that he had never seen in the man before. He thought within himself, that he should be happy if he could be of the same religion with Mr. Craig. From this time he began to attend their meetings, and was found of the Holy Spirit. The commandment came, and he died. He saw and felt himself a sinner. He now, for the first time, except in blaspheming, began to call upon the name of the Lord. His convictions were deep and pungent. He ate no pleasant bread and drank no pleasant water, for seven or eight months, during which time he was almost in despair. He relates his exercises in the following words:

"I had long felt the greatest abhorrence of myself, and began almost to despair of the mercy of God. However, I determined in my own soul, never to rest from seeking, until it pleased God to show mercy, or cut me off. Under these impressions I was, at a certain place, sitting under preaching. On a sudden, a man exclaimed that he had found grace, and began to praise God. No mortal can

describe the horror with which I was seized at that instant. I began to conclude my damnation was certain. Leaving the meeting, I hastened to a neighbouring wood, and dropped on my knees before God, to beg for mercy. In an instant I felt my heart melt, and a sweet application of the Redeemer's love to my poor soul. The calm was great, but short."

From this time he felt some increase of strength; yet at some times he felt the enemy break in upon him like a flood, and he would be almost ready to give up his hope. But the application of these words, gave him great comfort: "Who is among you that feareth the Lord; that walketh in darkness and hath no light; let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." Isaiah l. 10. And again, "By this we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren."

By the time Messrs. Harris and Read came on their second tour into this region, Mr. Waller felt sufficiently confident to become a candidate for baptism; and going up into Orange county, was there baptized by Mr. Read, some time in the year 1767. Baptism was to him, as it has been to thousands, a sanctified ordinance. His soul received a great accession of strength and comfort. Christ was revealed in him. Having contracted debts by dissipation, he sold property to pay them. He conferred not with flesh and blood; but began to preach, that men ought every where to repent. It was not long before his labours became effectual, at least, one way. That arch enemy of souls, whom he had served so faithfully before, now began to roar in hideous peals against him, and succeeded in raising up a powerful opposition.

At length it was thought proper to constitute a church in Mr. Waller's neighbourhood; who making choice of him as pastor, he was ordained to the work of the ministry, June 20th, 1770. He now began to lengthen his cords. Bending his course downwards, he baptized William Webber, who afterwards became a distinguished preacher among the Virginia Baptists, being the first he did baptize. October, 1770, accompanied by J. Burrus, he travelled down as far as Middlesex, where his ministry was attended with great success, and where he also met with violent opposition. From this time a train of

prosperous events followed his evangelical exertions. Wherever he went, he was attended by a divine power, turning many to righteousness. His name sounded far and wide. By the ungodly, he was considered as a bold inexorable fanatick, that would do much mischief unless restrained. The Baptists and their adherents looked upon him as set for the defence of their cause, and with much confidence rallied round him as their leader. His persecutions and imprisonments, in Caroline, in Middlesex, in Essex, and other counties, have been already related.

In this bright and burning way, Waller continued until 1775 or 1776, when he formed an acquaintance with one Williams, a preacher of some talents, apparent piety, and in Mr. Wesley's connexion, consequently an Arminian; this man, by his conversation and books, so wrought upon Mr. Waller's mind, as to bring him over to believe the Arminian system. Knowing this to be contrary to the opinions of his brethren, he resolved to make a bold effort to preach and argue his principles at the next Association, and thereby convince his brethren; or, failing in this, to submit to be cut off from them. Accordingly, he took his text, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. "*When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.*" In his exordium he stated, that when young and inexperienced in religion, he had fallen in with the Calvinistick plan; but that, becoming more expert in doctrine, or, in the language of his text, when he became a man, he put away these childish notions. He then went lengthily into the argument. For want of truth, or for want of talents, he made few if any converts to his opinions, and of course had to confront the whole host of preachers and members now assembled. Mr. Waller, foreseeing his fate, took the shorter course. Instead of awaiting a fair trial, he proclaimed himself an independent Baptist preacher. This step was probably resorted to by Waller, under an expectation that his popularity was so great, that he should be able to bring over many of the churches to his party. Be it as it may, he immediately commenced his operations on an extensive plan. On his return from the Association, he used his utmost endeavour to form

a strong party. He preached from house to house; spread his wings over a large field of ministerial labour; ordained lay elders in every neighbourhood, to prevent inroads; and also several helps in the ministry. He also established what he called camp-meetings, in which they continued together several days, under certain written regulations, which were in substance, as follow: 1st. No female, on any account whatever, shall be permitted to appear in the camp, until an hour after sun-rise in the morning, nor stay there later than an hour before sun-set at night. 2d. The persons in the camp shall depend for sustenance, during the camp-meeting, on the friendly hospitality of the neighbourhood. 3d. Any person in camp, waking at any period of the night, may pray or sing, without disturbing the slumbers of others. The novelty of these meetings, excited the attention of the people in such a manner, that great multitudes crowded after him.

By these means his party gained strength daily. Few men possessed greater talents for heading a party of this description, than Mr. Waller. The only thing in which he was deficient, was, that he could not be happy while separated from his brethren. He used to say that in the midst of apparent prosperity and the caresses of his friends, he still yearned after the people of God, from whom he had with-drawn. Some years after his restoration, he said to a young preacher who was dissatisfied, and talked of dissenting, "If you could have a distant view of my sufferings and leanness of soul, while a dissenter from my brethren, you would never again indulge such a thought." He was again fully reinstated in connexion with his brethren, in 1787; when a full union between Separates, Regulars, and Independents, was accomplished.*

A very great revival commenced under Mr. Waller's ministry, in 1787. This continued for several years; and spread through all his places of preaching. In this revival he was greatly engaged; and baptized from first to last many hundreds, and his church in a short time increased to about 1500 members. Early in this revival, Mr. A. Waller, son of his brother Benjamin, was brought

* A partial restoration had taken place some years before this, so that Mr. Waller and his party met in Association with the Separate Baptists.

in; and in some few years began to preach. Mr. Waller immediately recognized him as his successor, and declared that he believed his work in that part of the earth was finished. Accordingly, November 8th, 1793, after taking the most affectionate farewell of the churches, he moved his family to Abbeville district, in the State of South-Carolina. This removal was said to have arisen, partly from economical considerations, and partly from a strong desire on his own, and on the part of his wife, to live near a beloved daughter, who had some time previously married Rev. Abraham Marshall, of Georgia. Perhaps there might be other causes. His labours in his new residence were also blessed, but not to a great extent. He remained however faithful in the cause, until his death, which took place, July 4th, 1802.

His death was, as might be hoped and expected, truly glorious. His eldest son describes it in the following words:

"His conflict with death, as it respected bodily affliction, was truly hard; but his soul appeared to be happy indeed! Never did I witness such resignation and Christian fortitude before! He was reduced to a perfect skeleton, and, in several places, the skin was rubbed off his bones. His pains appeared to be excruciating, but no murmur was heard from his lips. On the contrary, he would often say, "I have a good Master, who does not give me one stroke too hard, or one too many."

"The last sermon he preached, was on the death of a young man. The text from which he preached was, *Zechariah* ii. 4. "*Run, speak to this young man.*" He addressed himself chiefly to youth, in feeble but animating strains, observing, that he counted upon its being the last sermon he should ever preach; and fervently prayed, that, Sampson like, he might slay more at his death, than he had done in his life. He continued speaking, until his strength failed him; and with reeling steps he advanced to a bed, where we thought he would have expired. From thence he was removed home in a carriage for the last time. He said, as to his soul, he was under no concern; as he had given it to Jesus long since; and he was under no doubt but what his Master would provide a mansion for it. Just before his departure, he

summoned all his family around him, black and white, and told them, he was anxious to be gone and to be present with Christ; and then warned them to walk in the fear of God, cordially shook hands with all, and soon after, with a pleasant countenance, breathed his last, and fell asleep in Jesus. I looked on the corpse with these words fresh in my mind,

"O lovely appearance of death."

Thus this great man of God conquered the last enemy, and ascended to that *rest, that remaineth for the people of God.* He died in the sixty-second year of his age; having been a minister of God's word for about thirty-five years; having, in that time, lain in four different jails, for the space of one hundred and thirteen days, in all, besides buffetings, stripes, reproaches, &c. Nor was his labour in vain in the Lord. While in Virginia, he baptized more than two thousand persons; assisted in the ordination of twenty-seven ministers; and helped to constitute eighteen churches. For many years, he had the ministerial care of five churches, to whom he preached statedly.

As a preacher, his talents in the pulpit were not above mediocrity; but he was certainly a man of very strong mind. His talents for art and intrigue were equalled by few. This he exercised sometimes, as it was thought, beyond the innocence of the dove. He was, perhaps, too emulous to carry his favourite points, especially in Associations; yet it must be owned, that such influence as he acquired in this way, he always endeavoured to turn to the glory of God.

He had married to Miss E. Curtis, previous to his becoming religious. By her he had a number of children, some of whom the old man had the happiness to see profess the same faith with himself.

Semple.

WILLIAM WEBBER was born August 15, 1747, of parents in the middle line of life. His education was but slender, having been sent to school only three years. At 16 years of age he was put an apprentice to a house-joiner. After the expiration of his apprenticeship, he

continued to work at his trade, until God called him to be a workman for him. In October, 1769, was the first time he heard the Baptists preach, when he was awakened to know his danger; and his spirit took no rest from that time, until about six months after, when he obtained a hope of salvation; and was baptized, June 1770, by Elder John Waller, then just ordained. He had, as was usual about that time, commenced an exhorter, previous to his being baptized.

Few men in Virginia suffered more persecutions than Mr. Webber. He was first seized in Chesterfield county, December 7, 1770, and imprisoned in that county jail until March 7, 1771, just three months. In August, the same year, he was taken off the stage, where he was preaching, in Middlesex county, and put into prison, where he was confined forty-five days, having the bounds a part of the time. In both these prisons, he and his fellow-sufferers used to preach through the grates regularly twice a week, to such as would come to hear. Besides these imprisonments, he was often very roughly treated, by the sons of Belial, at different places; all of which this man of God bore with Christian patience and meekness. Although he was in narrow circumstances, he used when young, to devote much of his time to preaching; and being much respected and beloved, he was an instrument of doing much good. As he grew older, and his family larger, he found it necessary to limit his labours chiefly to his own and the adjacent neighbourhoods. He was still very successful in turning many to righteousness, and in confirming the souls of the disciples. Mr. Webber was a man of talents, though not in the pulpit; for there he was hardly up to mediocrity. He was a man of sound and correct judgment, well acquainted with mankind, well versed in the Scriptures, well instructed in the principles of the gospel, and ingenious in defending them against error. As a companion, he was remarkably agreeable; for he was pleasant and cheerful, yet without levity. His conversation was chiefly upon the subject of religion, to which he had a turn for directing the attention of his company, without permitting it to be irksome. In his church, he was greatly beloved by his members, and all who knew him. He was remarkably plain, both

in his dress and manners. His chief excellency, however, was in Associations and publick bodies. He was made moderator of the General Association, as early as the year 1778; and although there were many older ministers than himself, for several years after, yet he seldom attended an Association or General Committee, but he was placed in the chair. His address, either in the chair or out of it, was far from being accomplished. But still he was preferred before men of far more refined powers, on account of his soft, yet manly, affectionate, and unaffected method. It is likely, that less affectation was never in any man than in William Webber. You always saw him in his true colours. About the year 1799, he had a long and distressing sickness, which had well nigh brought him to his grave. He did, however, recover; but his constitution was so shaken, that he was never as healthy afterwards. He recovered so far as to go out some small distance from home; but relapsing, he lingered for some months; and on the 29th day of February, 1808, he yielded to the king of terrors, but who had lost his terror as to him. In his last illness, he enjoyed great religious consolation, and said to Elder Watkins of Powhatan, a little time before his death, "Brother Watkins, I never had so glorious a manifestation of the love of God in all my life, as I have had since my sickness. O, the love of God!" *Semple.*

PETER WERDEN was born June 6th, 1728, and ordained to the work of the ministry, at Warwick, Rhode-Island, May, 1751, in the 24th year of his age.

When he first began to preach, he was too much of a New-Light, and too strongly attached to the doctrine of *salvation by sovereign grace*, to be generally received among the old Baptist churches in Rhode-Island, which had been formed partly upon the Arminian plan, until the following event opened the door for him:

A criminal, by the name of Carter, was executed at Tower-Hill, and the scene of his execution collected abundance of people from all parts of the State. While the criminal stood under the gallows, young Werden felt such a concern for his soul, that he urged his way through

the crowd; and being assisted by the sheriff, he gained access to him, and addressed him as follows: "Sir, is your soul prepared for that awful eternity, into which you will launch in a few minutes?" The criminal replied, "I don't know that it is, but I wish you would pray for me." In this prayer, Mr. Werden was so wonderfully assisted in spreading the poor man's cause before the throne of God, that the whole assembly were awfully solemnized, and most of them wet their cheeks with their tears. This opened a great door for his ministrations, both on the maine and on the island. He preached at Warwick, Coventry, and many other places, with good success, about 19 years, and then moved, in 1770, into the town of Cheshire, in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, where he lived and administered almost 38 years.

In his first religious exercises, he was led to dig deep into his own heart, where he found such opposition and rebellion, that when he obtained pardon, he attributed it to sovereign grace alone; which sentiment, so interwoven in his soul, he ever proclaimed aloud to a dying world. Nothing appeared to be more disgustful to his mind, than to hear *works* and *grace* mixed together, as the foundation of a sinner's hope. To hold forth the Lamb of God as a piece of a Saviour; or to consider the self-exertions of a natural man, to be the *way* into Christ, the true and *only way*, were extremely displeasing to that soul of his, which delighted so much in proclaiming eternal love, redeeming blood, and matchless grace.

Sound judgment, correct principles, humble demeanor, with solemn sociability, marked all his publick improvements, and mingled with all his conversation in smaller circles, or with individuals. In him young preachers found a father and a friend; distressed churches, a healer of breaches; and tempted souls, a sympathizing guide. From his first settling in Cheshire, until he was 70 years old, he was a father to the Baptist churches in Berkshire county and its environs, and in some sense an apostle to them all.

His many painful labours for the salvation of sinners, the peace of the churches, and the purity of the ministers, will never be fully appreciated, until the time when he shall stand before his Judge, and hear the words of his mouth, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

From the sternness of his eyes and blush of his face, a stranger would have been led to conclude, that he was sovereign and self-willed in his natural habit of mind; but on acquaintance, the physiognomist would have been agreeably disappointed. He had so much self-government, that he has been heard to say, that (except when he had the small-pox,) he never found it hard to keep from speaking at any time, if his *reason* told him it was best to forbear; and no man possessed finer feelings, or treated the characters of others with more delicacy than he did. He had an exalted idea of the inalienable rights of conscience; justly appreciated the civil rights of man, and was assiduous to keep his brethren from the chains of ecclesiastical power.

His preaching was both sentimental and devotional; and his life so far corresponded with the precepts which he taught, that none of his hearers could justly reply, "Physician, heal thyself."

He had the happiness of having a number of revivals in the town and congregation where he resided and preached, and a number of ministers were raised up in the church of which he was pastor.

For about ten years before his death his bodily and mental powers had been on the decline, and he was often heard to rejoice, that others increased though he decreased; but his superannuation was not so great, as to prevent the whole of his usefulness; and his hoary head was a crown of glory unto him.

A number of times he was heard to pray that he might not outlive his usefulness, which was remarkably answered in his case, for the Lord's-day before he died he preached to the people of his charge.

The disease which closed his mortal life, denied his friends the pleasure of catching the balm of life from his lips, in his last moments. He had finished his work before, and nothing remained for him to do, but to die.

Let the inhabitants of Cheshire, (said Mr. John Leland, his biographer, and who exhibited the above at the close of the sermon which he preached at his funeral) reflect a moment on the dealings of God towards them. Within about three years, three ministers, belonging to the town, have departed this life. The pious Mason took the lead; the pleasing Covell followed after; and now

(1808) the arduous Werden, who has been in the ministry a longer term than any Baptist preacher left behind, in New-England, has finished his course, in the 80th year of his age; while Leland remains alone, to raise this monument over their tomb.

JOHN WILLIAMS was born in the county of Hanover, Virginia, 1747. He was of a very respectable family, and received a tolerable education. In the month of June, 1769, when acting as a sheriff of Lunenburgh, he was awakened to know and to feel his sin and his danger. He became a convert, and shortly after lifted up his voice to exhort his fellow-men to flee from the wrath to come. He was not baptized until the first Sabbath in February, 1770. He continued to exhort, until some time in the following summer, when he ventured to take a text, and from that time commenced preacher. December, 1772, he was ordained to the ministry, and took the care of Meherrin church. His gifts, at first, were far from being auspicious. Many pronounced that he would never be a preacher; so delusory are the first efforts of the mind.

He not only succeeded in becoming a preacher, but in becoming a first-rate preacher, at least in the estimation of most of his acquaintances.

He was exceeding fond of reading and writing, and indeed was generally studious; by which means he greatly improved his mind.

When he first commenced preacher he was zealous, active, and laborious in the ministry; travelling and propagating the gospel in different parts. He may well be numbered among the fathers of Israel. His talent, however, was not employed so much in breaking down the bars of prejudice in new and unenlightened places, as in directing and regulating young converts when gathered by others. Pleasing, affable, and refined in his manners, his hand was employed to smooth off some of those protuberances left by rougher workmen. In Associations he was expert with his pen, as well as wise to offer counsel. He acted as clerk to the General Association; and when they divided the Association into districts, a unanimous vote of thanks was offered Mr. W. for his faith-

ful and skilful services in that capacity. He also discharged the duties of clerk to the Roanoke Association until a little time previous to his death. He introduced several excellent regulations both into the General and Roanoke Associations, for the government of churches, &c. Few men understood church discipline better, or were more successful in building up large respectable churches, wherever he attended. For many years he acted as pastor to four churches, whom he attended monthly. He was in high estimation both as a man and a minister. Even the enemies of the Baptists would often except Mr. W. from their reproaches. In his temper towards those of other religious persuasions, he was remarkably liberal. Indeed, by some of his acquaintances it is said he was friendly to open communion; but that he was restrained from putting it in practice, by his tenderness for his brethren, most of whom differed with him on this head. This liberality of spirit did not prevent him from maintaining his own principles with great firmness, whenever an occasion offered. It was such an occasion as this, which drew forth his reply to Mr. Patilloe's* sermon on infant baptism. He committed his arguments to writing, with an intention of printing them in the form of a pamphlet; but as nothing came out on the other side, and as so much had been already published on that subject, it was not put to the press.

In his preface, he makes the following remark:

"I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated to my countrymen, for a series of years, that I am not overbearing on others, or bigotted to my own principles which are not essential to salvation; but have uniformly endeavoured to promote a catholick spirit, with peace and concord, in the Israel of God. But, nevertheless, I am set for the defence of the gospel; and as such, circumstances often occur, that involuntarily lead me forth to contend for the faith and order of Christ's church."

He was generally upon the best terms with the Presbyterians, who were pretty numerous in his neighbourhood.

His talents, if not equal to any, were certainly very little inferior to those of the first grade.

His appearance in the pulpit was noble and majestick, yet humble and affectionate. In the beginning of his

* A celebrated Presbyterian preacher.

discourses, he was doctrinal and somewhat methodical; often very deep, even to the astonishment of his hearers. Towards the close, and indeed sometimes throughout his sermon, he was exceedingly animating. His exhortations were often incomparable.

At an early period he became very corpulent. At an Association, in the year 1793, he accidentally fell, by the turning of a step, as he was passing out of a door, and became for a year or two a cripple; being under the necessity of going on crutches. Notwithstanding this, he would frequently go in a carriage to meeting, and preach, sitting in a chair in the pulpit. During several of the last years of his life, he was afflicted with a very painful disease. Under his severe suffering, he was not only patient, but when he could have any mitigation of his pain, he was also cheerful. About ten days before his death, he was attacked by a pleurisy; from which no medicine could give him relief. His work was finished, and his Master had called for him. On the 30th day of April, 1795, he fell asleep.

Nothing very remarkable transpired at his death. He was pensive and silent. He told his wife, that to live or die was to him indifferent: he had committed this to God, who, he knew, would do right. He said he felt some anxiety for his numerous family; but that these, also, he was willing to trust in the hands of a gracious Providence.

January, 1768, he was married to Miss Frances Hughes, of Powhatan county, by whom he had 14 children; of whom 11 were living at the time of his death; and of these, four professed religion, and were baptized. *Semple.*

[☞ *There have been many other eminent characters in the Baptist connexion, who ought to have a place among the worthies of their host; but, for want of some one to record their history, their names are either sunk, or are fast sinking into forgetfulness. Our brethren, in many instances, have been strangely neglectful of their departed friends. They have conducted as though they supposed every body knew their worth, and that it was therefore unnecessary to write any thing respecting them.*

The Author of this work has for a number of years had it in view, at some future period, should his life be continued, to prepare one altogether biographical; which will contain not only the lives, but the likenesses of many Baptist characters of distinction, both European and American. Those who may feel interested in preserving the history and resemblances of their departed friends, are desired to keep this suggestion in mind.]

CHAP. XVIII.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF A NUMBER OF BAPTIST COMMUNITIES, WHO DIFFER FROM THE MAIN BODY OF THE DENOMINATION, AND WHO ARE ALSO DISTINGUISHED BY SOME PECULIARITIES OF THEIR OWN.

Churches which hold to Weekly Communion.

THE practice of administering the Lord's Supper every first day of the week, has never prevailed much among the American Baptists. The old church, at Sandy-Creek, North-Carolina, was for some years on that plan, but it has now given it up.

A few years since, a number of ministers came over from Scotland to America, in the character of missionaries of the Independent persuasion, and some of them were patronized by the liberal Robert Haldane, Esq. of Edinburgh. These missionaries, after travelling a short time, in different parts of the United States, were led to embrace the Baptist sentiments, and from Pedobaptist became Baptist ministers. Mr. Walter Balfour was baptized by Mr. Collier of Charlestown, near Boston; Mr. Archibald Maclay by Mr. Williams of New-York; Mr. James Graham, now of Beaufort, South-Carolina, by the same administrator in New-York; Mr. James M'Pherson, now of Baltimore, was baptized by Mr. Joseph B. Cook, then of Beaufort, South-Carolina. These baptisms all took place about 1809. Some other Pedobaptist ministers came over to the Baptists about the same time, and they were, perhaps, too much elated at these accessions to their cause. But it was soon found, that most of the Scotch ministers were, notwithstanding their becoming of the Baptist persuasion, far from uniting in their connexion. The Independents in Scotland generally, if not uniformly, practise weekly communion; and of this point, and some others, these new converts to believers' baptism were peculiarly tenacious. Mr. Balfour gathered a small church in Boston and Charlestown, to which he still ministers; but his success in building up a separate interest, has not been so great as his talents and address seemed at first to promise. An account of Mr. Maclay's successful and commendable proceedings in New-York has already been related. The church which he founded, still practises weekly communion; but it is, notwithstanding, in fellowship with those which commune but monthly. Mr. M'Pherson gathered a church in Baltimore, mostly out of the second in that city, which went heartily into his notions of communion and other particulars respecting *the order of the house*, &c. He is a man of respectable talents, and seemed to promise usefulness as a minister of the word, notwithstanding his dividing measures; but to the grief of his friends, he has lately been disowned by his infant church, for intemperance. Mr. Graham preached a while in Savannah, Georgia; then in Beaufort, South-Carolina; and for a short time had the care of the church in that place; but not being able to bring it to his views, he formed a small one upon his own plan. How large it is, or what are its circumstances, I have not learnt.

The labours of these ministers, together with some writings, which they brought from Scotland, seemed at first to threaten innovations

among the American churches of considerable extent; but these appearances have, in a great measure, subsided, and very few have gone so far into the new *order of the house*, as to separate from their respective connexions. Some few churches, however, have been founded by the converts to weekly communion, plurality of Elders, &c.

One of this kind was formed in 1809, by the name of the Second Baptist Church in Charlestown. Its principal teacher is Mr. Oliver Holden, a native of New-England, formerly a member of the first church in that town. This church at first consisted of nine members, but has since increased to twenty-five.* Three have been added by baptism, and thirteen from other churches. The constituents were dismissed, by their request, from the first church. The ostensible reason for asking a dismission, (as stated by themselves,) was, that discipline was not maintained so strictly as they desired, or as the church acknowledged it ought to be. And "despairing of seeing the church brought to resemble the Scripture pattern, and desirous of reforming themselves," they, at their request, were dimissed for that purpose. Their leading views in this measure, and their distinguishing sentiments, are thus stated by one of their number:

"In respect to the difference between their sentiments and those of the churches from whose connexion they are separated, they profess to have aimed only to *revive* the Baptist principles recorded in the Scriptures and in the history of purer ages, and not to innovate in any degree.

"They disapprove all connexion with the world, in the support of the gospel, and with other churches in choosing and ordaining Elders. They deny that present ministers are successors of the Apostles, in the sense frequently conveyed on baptismal and other occasions; and that their office, as teachers and rulers in the church, should be known by any distinction in dress or titles. They consider it their duty to commemorate the death and resurrection of Christ every first day of the week; and that the evening of that day (after having attended to the Lord's Supper) is a suitable season for mutual exhortation and prayer. And they profess to believe, that by duly regarding primitive practices, and apostolical injunctions, they shall be enabled to walk in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, and to enjoy the essential blessing of a spiritual and efficient ministry.

"In *doctrine* they profess to be the same as when first taught by the Holy Ghost to call Jesus Lord, wishing for no change, excepting greater discoveries of its simplicity, efficiency and glory.

"They use no platform of church-government but the Scriptures, believing that a greater acquaintance with them will strengthen their faith, love, and veneration for the adored object of their uniform testimony.

"They have been supposed by some to have imbibed Sandemanian notions of faith, divine influence, religious experience, &c.; but it is not true. They separated from the first church, for the reasons above mentioned; but they have neither imbibed new sentiments, nor formed new connexions. They profess their desire to "*stand in the ways, and*

* One has been excluded, for denying the self-existence and eternity of Jesus Christ.

ask for the old paths," and their hope that God will enable them to "*walk therein.*"

The reader will doubtless wish to hear the other side, and will probably suspect that the real cause of the separation has not been disclosed.* This church, although of the same order with Mr. Balfour's, has yet no visible fellowship with it.

In Hartford, Connecticut, a small church has been formed upon the plan of weekly communion, by Mr. Henry Grew, formerly pastor of the Baptist church in that city. Mr. Grew is a native of England; was, for a number of years, a citizen of Providence, Rhode-Island, and was called to the office of a deacon by the old church in that town, at the age of 24. Not long after he was, by the same church, called to the ministry, and was, a year or two after, settled in the pastoral care of the church in Hartford. His ministry here was, for a while, prosperous and happy, and his separation from the church was an event peculiarly painful and trying; for in addition to the maxims of the Scotch brethren, he imbibed some others, which were not only new, but in the estimation of his brethren unscriptural, and unbecoming a man of his talents and discretion.

Mr. Grew is, by all who know him, respected for his gifts, and beloved for his piety; but by withdrawing from his former connexion, and devoting himself exclusively to his little flock, he has circumscribed his sphere of usefulness to very narrow bounds.

In the close of the autumn of 1810, a church, on the plan of weekly communion, was formed in New-York, under the ministry of Messrs. Errett and Ovington. "It is composed," as they say, "of persons from various nations under heaven."—"They reject all human creeds, rules, covenants, &c. thinking the Scriptures perfect enough for direction in every thing."—"They dislike all pompous edifices as places of worship; all pulpits or places designed for the exhibition of the clergy; and think themselves fully accommodated with a place of worship similar to those of the first churches. Accordingly they meet at present in a rented apartment, No. 70, Hudson-street, New York, where those, who desire to see what cannot be seen elsewhere, viz. a church of Christ assembled together, may resort for the satisfaction of their minds, their queries, or curiosities. Their times of meeting are the first day of the week, thrice, and Thursday in the evening. And they have appointed Tuesday evening, for preaching the gospel to the world."†

The doctrinal sentiments of these Weekly Communion Baptists are, probably, somewhat different. Some of them evidently agree with the churches from which they have separated. Others have been charged with favouring the Sandemanian system. This charge, however, they generally deny. In their maxims of discipline, and the *order* of *their house*, they seem to pay no regard to uniformity, and I know not as any two churches of them see alike, or maintain a visible fellowship with each other. Some of the brethren maintain their peculiar opinions in a becoming manner, while others urge their punctilios with such a canting scrupulosity, as to defeat, in most cases, their own proselyting intentions.

* See the account of the Charlestown Church, Vol. 1.

† Essay on the Constitution of Apostolick Churches, p. 152.

The Baptist churches generally throughout the United States celebrate the Lord's Supper once a month; in some few cases but once in two or three months. They do not deny the lawfulness of weekly communion, but they contend that it is not necessary for the gospel travel of a church. They plead that the frequency of attending to this solemn rite is left as a matter of discretion, since our Saviour has only said, *As oft as ye do it, do it in remembrance of me.* And although it is certain that the disciples met on the first day of the week to break bread, yet that it is not certain that they met every first day for this purpose. They would freely commune with baptized believers, who hold to weekly communion, in case they agreed with them in doctrine, &c. But none of the brethren under consideration, except Mr. M'Clay and his church, seem disposed to commune with them.

Arminian or Free-Will Baptists.

From nearly the beginning of the Baptists in America, there have been some, who have opposed a number of the principal articles in the Calvinistick creed. For a long time, most of these brethren resided in Rhode-Island and its vicinity, where their history has been related. For some years there were many of those, improperly called Separate Baptists, in Virginia, and the more southern States, who were called Arminians, because they maintained, that by the sufferings of Christ, salvation was made possible for every individual of Adam's ruined posterity. The issue of the contest on this point may be found under the head of Virginia. And besides, there have always been some churches and many individuals, who have objected to some of the strong points of Calvinism, or adopted them with some peculiar modifications; but no very considerable party of this character arose, until a little more than thirty years ago, when one was founded by Elder Benjamin Randal, of New-Durham, New-Hampshire. This Elder Randal, as his biographer observes, was led, about 1780, "to object against the whole doctrine of *John Calvin*, with respect to eternal, particular, personal, unconditional election and reprobation; and propagated the following maxims, viz. 1st. That all men have sinned and come short of the glory of God. 2d. That Jesus Christ has died for all men, and, by the grace of God, hath tasted death for every man. 3d. That the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men. 4th. That Christ's ministers are commanded to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; and that he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned."*

This zealous minister was assiduous in propagating his opinions, and endeavouring to persuade others to renounce, what he used to call, the *hydra monster Calvinism.* A number soon fell in with his views, broke off from the Calvinistick churches in New-Hampshire and the District of Maine, and from a small beginning they have arisen to a large community, which is scattered in different parts of Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, the Canadas, and in some other places.

The first minister who united with Elder Randal, was Pelatiah Tingley, A. M. then of Sanford, Maine. He is a native of Attlebo-

* Religious Magazine, p. 3.

rough, Massachusetts, a small distance from Providence, Rhode-Island, was a graduate of the College in that town. After him, Samuel Weeks and other ministers were convinced of what they esteemed the dangerous errors of Calvinism, and united in Elder Randal's opposition. This party was as strenuous for believers' baptism as before; they were, like all new sects, very sanguine in their new discoveries, and from a distinguished article in their doctrinal system, they were denominated *Free-will Baptists*. This appellation is received by some of the community, and objected to by others. Of late years they seem to prefer denominating themselves simply *Christians*, and their churches, *Churches of Christ*. But as all, who make a religious profession, account themselves Christians, and as all religious bodies profess to be churches of Christ, these terms are too indefinite for an historical narrative. I have therefore taken the liberty of applying to these people the name by which they are generally distinguished.

Mr. Randal, their founder, is said to have been very successful in his ministry, not only in propagating his peculiar opinions, but in persuading sinners to repent; he was also, at times, much opposed in his publick ministrations; but this increased his zeal, and under him and his associates, a number of churches shortly arose. The one at New-Durham, the place of his residence, was formed in 1781; this church soon became large, and spread her branches round in different directions; and other churches at Little-Falls, Woolwich, Georgetown, Edgcomb, Little-River, New-Gloucester, and Parsonsfield, arose not long after the mother body was founded. These Free-will churches soon found it expedient to form what they called General Meetings, which they held at different places once a quarter. The first of the kind was held at Phillipsburg, Maine, in 1783, and consisted of delegates "from all the branches of the little brotherhood." They next proceeded to form a Yearly Meeting, which was composed of delegates from each quarterly one; and at the close of the Yearly Meeting is held the Elders' Conference, in which all the Elders meet to consult on the general interests of their community. In 1810, there were among these people six Associations or Quarterly Meetings, viz. Goreham, Edgcomb, and Farmington, in Maine; New-Durham, in New-Hampshire, and Strafford and Hardwick, in Vermont. In the three Meetings in Maine, there were, at that time, between forty and fifty churches, about as many preachers, and upwards of two thousand members; and it is probable that the three other Quarterly Meetings were as large if not larger than these.

Mr. John Buzzell, of Parsonsfield, Maine, a preacher in this connexion, began in 1811, to publish a periodical work, entitled, *A Religious Magazine, &c.* which was to contain a history of this community. From the first number of that work some of these sketches have been selected. Other numbers were to have been forwarded, but for some reason they have not come to hand: these brief hints, must, therefore, suffice for the history of this extensive community.

Mr. Elias Smith, formerly a preacher of good repute in the Warren Association, has, within a few years past, formed a party of considerable extent in different States, which are sometimes called *Smithites*, but more generally *Christians*, which last name their founder seems peculiarly solicitous of maintaining. Mr. Smith is a man of popular

talents, but unusually changeable in his religious creed. He has propagated, at different times, *Calvinism*, *Universalism*, *Arminianism*, *Arianism*, *Socinianism*, and other *isms* too numerous to mention. He has also advanced the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked after death. He professes to explode all creeds and confessions, and denominates himself and followers, with a peculiar emphasis, *Christians*. He has published a multitude of books to defend his opinions, or rather to oppose those of all others. Many have become his disciples, of whom some believe more and some less of his changeable opinions. The large church in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, consisting of about six hundred members, has been dropped from the Groton Conference, on account of their adhering to this singular man. A number of other churches of different Associations have been shaken and diminished, by the too successful exertions of him and his associates. Many, doubtless, have fallen into his train, who, with better leaders or less leading, would have acted a more becoming part. Among the Free-will Baptists, Mr. Smith was, in many places, very cordially received; for he is as strenuous as ever for believers' baptism, although he is constantly belabouring the Baptists, both from the pulpit and press. But the Free-will brethren, finding him expert at brow-beating Calvinism, were ambitious of placing him among the champions of their cause. He was the means of introducing some innovations amongst them, both as it respects doctrine and discipline; but whether they still listen to his instructions, I have not learnt. Mr. Smith has been a few years in Philadelphia, where he founded a small church, which has lately published a pamphlet, containing a number of very severe strictures upon his conduct; and he is now about settling again in New-England.

Seventh-Day Baptists.

As the brethren of this sentiment are not numerous, we shall, under this head, give a brief sketch of their history both in Europe and America. The Sabbatarians differ from the Baptists generally in no other article but that of the Sabbath. And upon that subject, as near as I can understand from their writings and conversation, they hold that the ten commandments are all still binding on Christians, and of course, that the *Seventh* day of the week instead of the *First*, ought to be observed as the Christian Sabbath; that there is no account in the New-Testament, that there ever has been, by divine appointment, a change of the Sabbath; and that it is inconsistent for Christians to profess to obey the ten commandments, and still make an exception of the fourth, which contains the solemn requisition, *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy*, &c. They plead that it was designed by the Former of the Universe, that the Seventh day should be observed as the Sabbath, or day of rest, from the creation to the end of the world. They also contend, that whatever respect the early Christians paid to the First day of the week, on account of the resurrection of the Saviour, yet that they then, and in after ages, observed the ancient Sabbath, and that this practice of observing two days, was continued to the time of Constantine, when, by an imperial law, the First day was established in preference to the Seventh; and that from that period the observation of the Seventh day fell generally into disuse. They suppose,

however, that there have been Christians in every age, who have kept holy the Seventh day, but they do not pretend that they can prove this point by historical evidence. The following passage seems much to their purpose, and is the only one of the kind which I have met with in history:

"It was Constantine the Great, who first made a law for the observation of *Sunday*; and who, according to Eusebius, appointed it should be regularly celebrated throughout the Roman Empire. Before him, and even in his time, they observed the Jewish Sabbath as well as Sunday, both to satisfy the law of Moses and to imitate the Apostles, who used to meet together on the First day. Indeed, some are of opinion, that the Lord's day, mentioned in the Apocalypse, is our Sunday, which they will have to have been so early instituted by the Apostles. Be this as it will, it is certain a regard was had to this day, even in the earliest ages of the church, as appears from the first Apology of Justin Martyr, where he describes the exercise of the day not much unlike to ours.

"By Constantine's law, made in 321, it was decreed, that for the future, the Sunday should be kept a day of rest in all cities and towns; but he allowed the country people to follow their work. In 538, the Council of Orleans prohibited this country labour; but in regard there were still abundance of Jews in the Gauls, and that the people gave in to a good many superstitious usages in the celebration of the new Sabbath, like those of the Jews among that of the old, the Council declares, that to hold it unlawful to travel with horses, cattle, and carriages, to prepare foods, or to do any thing necessary to the cleanliness and decency of houses or persons, savours more of Judaism than Christianity."*

Mosheim makes mention of some Christians in the second century, who assembled on the *Seventh day* for worship, but he also intimates that the greater part met on the *First day*. We find that the Waldenses were sometimes called Insabathos, that is, regardless of Sabbaths. Mr. Milner† supposes this name was given to them. because they observed not the Komish festivals, and rested from their ordinary occupations only on Sundays. A Sabbatarian would suppose that it was because they met for worship on the Seventh day, and did regard not the First day Sabbath.

Robinson gives an account of some of the Waldenses of the Alps, who were called *Sabbati*, *Sabbatati*, *Insabbatati*, but more frequently *Insabbatati*. "One says they were so named from the Hebrew word Sabbath, because they kept the Saturday for the Lord's day. Another says they were so called because they rejected all the festivals, or Sabbaths, in the low Latin sense of the word, which the Catholicks religiously observed."‡ Mosheim informs us they were so called from their wearing wooden shoes, which, in the French language, are termed *Sabats*, which had imprinted on them the sign of the cross, to distinguish them from other Christians, &c. § "But is it likely," says Robinson, "that people who could not descend from their mountains into

* Chambers' Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Article *Sunday*.

† Church History, Vol. iii. p. 423.

‡ Researches, p. 30[illegible].

§ Vol. iii. p. 117.

neighbouring States without hazarding their lives through the furious zeal of inquisitors, should tempt danger by affixing a visible mark on their shoes? Besides, the shoe of the peasants in this country was called Abarca." It is the opinion of this writer, that the meaning of Insabbatati was, inhabitants of hills, mountaineers, &c.* But after all, there appears to be a peculiar obscurity attending the history of these people, and every one must form his opinion for himself respecting them. It is evident that they were numerous, and were terribly harassed by the Romish inquisitors. The following oath was required of those, who were suspected of their heresy. "I, Sancho, swear by Almighty God, and by these holy gospels of God, which I hold in my hand, before you lord Garcia Archbishop, and before others your assistants, that I am not, nor ever have been, an Inzabbatate Waldense, or poor person of Lyons, or an heretick of any sect of heresy condemned by the church; nor do I believe, nor have I ever believed, their errors, nor will I believe them in any future time of my life. Moreover, I profess and protest, that I do believe, and that I will always hereafter believe, the Catholick faith, which the Apostolical church of Rome publickly holds, teaches, and preaches, and you, my lord Archbishop, and other prelates of the Catholick church publickly hold, preach, and teach."†

Mosheim gives an account of another sect in the twelfth century, in Lombardy, who were called *Pasaginians*, or the *circumcised*; that they circumcised their followers, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath.‡ The account of their practising circumcision is undoubtedly a slanderous story forged by their enemies, and probably arose in this way. Because they observed the Seventh day, they were called, by way of derision, Jews, as the Sabbatarians are frequently at this day; and if they were Jews, it followed of course, that they either did or ought to circumcise their followers. This was probably the reasoning of their enemies; but that they actually practised the bloody rite, is altogether improbable. Robinson supposes that these Pasaginians were a branch of the Waldenses, and were so called from their living near the passages of the mountains.§

These are a few of the historical facts, which lie scattered on the pages of ecclesiastical history, respecting the people, who have observed the ancient Sabbath. We have seen in the history of Transylvania, that Francis Davidis, first chaplain to the court of Sigismund, the prince of that kingdom, and afterwards superintendant of all the Transylvanian churches, was of this opinion.

We shall now proceed to some brief sketches of the history of the Sabbatarians in England and America.

Seventh-Day Baptists in England.

At what time the Seventh-day Baptists began to form churches in this kingdom does not appear; but probably it was at an early period; and although their churches have never been numerous, yet there have been among them, almost for two hundred years past, some very eminent men. The famous family of the Stennetts, for three generations

* Researches, p. 304.
† Ibid. p. 323.
‡ Vol. iii. p. 123.
§ Researches, p. 305.

at least, were of this belief, as were a number of other distinguished members of the Baptist community. Of a few of these characters we shall now give some brief account.

Edward Stennett is the first of the family of which we have any information. The time or place of his birth does not appear, but it is probable he was born in the early part of the sixteenth century. In the time of the civil wars he took the side of Parliament, and thereby exposed himself to the neglect of his near relations. When he dissented from the established church and united with the Baptists, he, like all others of those times, fell under the oppressions of the ruling party; and being deprived of the means of subsistence, he applied himself to the study of physick, and became a medical character of some distinction. One very singular escape from the malicious designs of his enemies is thus related by Crosby:—"He dwelt in the castle of Wallingford, a place where no warrant could make forcible entrance, but that of a lord chief justice; and the house was so situated, that assemblies could meet, and every part of religious worship be exercised in it, without any danger of a legal conviction, unless informers were admitted, which care was taken to prevent; so that for a long time he kept a constant and undisturbed meeting in his hall. A gentleman who was in the commission of the peace, and his very near neighbour, being highly incensed at the continuance of an assembly of this kind so near him; after having made several fruitless attempts to get his emissaries admitted into the house in order to a conviction, in the rage of a disappointment resolved, together with a neighbouring clergyman, upon doing it by a subornation of witnesses. They accordingly hired some persons fit for their purpose, to swear they had been at those assemblies, and heard prayer and preaching there, though they had never been in the house on those occasions. The clergyman's conduct in this affair was the more censured, because he had professed a great friendship for Mr. Stennett, and was under considerable obligations to him; having often had his assistance in the way of his profession as a physician, for his family, without any reward. Mr. Stennett finding an indictment was laid against him on the conventicle act, founded upon the oaths of several witnesses, and being well assured that nothing but perjury could support it, was resolved to traverse it, and accordingly did so. The assizes were held at Newbury, and when the time drew near, there was great triumph in the success these gentlemen proposed to themselves, when on a sudden the scene was changed; news came to the justice, that his son, whom he had lately placed at Oxford, was gone off with a player; the concern whereof, and the riding in search of him, prevented his attendance in the court. The clergyman, a few days before the assizes, boasted much of the service which would be done to the church and the neighbourhood by this prosecution, and of his own determination to be at Newbury to help carry it on; but to the surprise of many, his design was frustrated by sudden death. One of the witnesses, who lived at Cromish, was also prevented, by being seized with violent and sad disease, of which he died. Another of them fell down and broke his leg, and was so hindered. In short, of seven or eight persons engaged in this wicked design, there was but one left who was capable of appearing; he was a gardener, who had been

frequently employed by Mr. Stennett at day-labour, but never lodged in his house, nor was admitted to the religious assemblies held there. They thought to make him, as he was a servant to the family, a very material evidence; and kept him in liquor for several days to that purpose. But coming to his reason just as the assizes drew on, he went about the town, exclaiming against himself for his ingratitude and perjury, as well as against those who had employed him; and absolutely refused to go. So that when Mr. Stennett came to Newbury, neither prosecutor nor witness appearing against him, he was discharged of course."

Joseph Stennett, one of the sons of this worthy man, was born 1663, and was early brought to the knowledge of the truth; he went to London in 1685, and about five years after became pastor of the Seventh day church at Pinner's Hall, which had been deprived of its pastor by the death of Mr. Francis Bampfield. Mr. Stennet was a minister very eminent in his day; his learning and abilities were great, and he rendered essential services to the Baptist cause in London and its vicinity. He preached much among the churches of the First day order, and took an active and successful part in all their concerns. His son Joseph, D. D. retained his opinion respecting the Sabbath, but became pastor of a church of a different belief. The fourth in descent from the ancient Edward Stennett, was the late Samuel Stennett, D. D. and the fifth is the present Joseph Stennett, of Oxfordshire. Whether this distinguished succession have all observed the Seventh day, I am not informed.

Francis Bampfield was one of the most eminent ministers of his time; he was educated at Oxford University, and was a number of years a minister of good repute in the established church. He, different from the father of the Stennetts, in the time of the civil wars, was against the Parliament, opposed the Protector's usurpation, and suffered on that account. At what time he became a Baptist is not known; but on the restoration of Charles, all his former loyalty was disregarded, and he was, through the remainder of his life, treated with unrelenting severities, and constantly followed with persecution and distress. In one prison he was confined eight years. After that he was released, went to London, gathered a church, which kept the Seventh day; but he finally died in Newgate, in 1683. He published a number of tracts, among which was one on the observation of the Seventh day Sabbath.*

John James, the minister of a church of Sabbatarian Baptists in London, was put to death in a most barbarous manner, in 1661. To take away his life was not sufficient to satisfy the rage of his bloodthirsty enemies; but after being hung at Tyburn, he was drawn and quartered; his quarters were carried back to Newgate on the sledge, which carried him to the gallows; they were afterwards placed on the gates of the city, and his head was set on a pole opposite his meeting-house. This innocent man was exposed to these terrible sufferings on the charge of speaking treasonable words against his Majesty's royal person at a private meeting, &c. Some of the treasonable words were, that the king was "a bloody tyrant, a blood-sucker, a blood-thirsty

* Crosby, Vol. i. p. 363—367.

man, and his nobles the same; and that they had shed the blood of the saints," &c. To these charges he pleaded not guilty, neither in form nor matter; but had he acknowledged these charges against the infamous Charles II. and his bloody associates, they would have been the words of truth and soberness.

But there appears to have been a malicious combination against this harmless man, and he was convicted upon evidence, which the court, with all its prejudices, at first thought not worth regarding. It was proved afterwards, by four respectable persons, that one Bernard Osburn confessed that he had sworn against Mr. James, he knew not what. His wife, by the advice of her friends, presented a petition to the king, stating her husband's innocency, and the character of the witness. When his inexorable majesty saw the paper endorsed *The humble request of Elizabeth James*, he replied, holding up his finger, "Oh! Mr. James—he is a sweet gentleman!" And when the afflicted woman followed him to get some further answer, the door was shut against her. The next morning, as the king entered the park, the distressed wife again entreated his majesty to answer her request, and pardon her husband; but deaf to her cries, he again replied, "He is a rogue, and shall be hanged!" Thus the poor woman was obliged to retire, without even being heard by her pitiless sovereign. Mr. James went to the gallows with Christian fortitude, and finished his course in a joyful manner. "If," says Crosby, "there was any undue combination against this poor man; if it was for some reason of State rather than for any real guilt on his part; if his judgment and conscience, rather than any just crime, were the cause of his sufferings, his blood must be innocent blood."*

Robert Shalder, mentioned in the history of the English Baptists, vol. i. p. 210, who was taken out of his grave by his rude persecutors, appears to have been a Seventh-day Baptist, as was John Maulden, a pious and worthy minister, who was persecuted much for non-conformity, in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. Mr. Maulden published three small pieces, one of which was on this question, "Whether the *Seventh* or *First* day of the week be the Sabbath of the Lord?"†

These are a few of the Sabbatarians who bore a share among the sufferings of the English Baptists.

An account of the number of churches of this sentiment, and also a brief vindication of their opinions, are contained in the following letter from Dr. Edward Stennett, whose name has already been mentioned. It is dated Bell-Lane, London, February 2, 1668, and directed to the Sabbath-keepers in Rhode-Island.

"*Dearly Beloved,*

"I rejoice in the Lord on your behalf, in that he hath been graciously pleased to make known to you his holy Sabbath, in such a day as this, when truth falleth in the streets, and equity cannot enter. And with us, we can scarcely find a man that is really willing to know whether the Sabbath be a truth or not; and those who have the

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 165. Ivimey, p. 320—327.

† Crosby, vol. iii. p. 139, 140.

greatest parts, have the least anxiety to meddle with it. We have passed through great opposition for this truth's sake, especially from our brethren, which made the affliction heavier: I dare not say how heavy, lest it should seem incredible. But the opposers of truth seem much withered, and at present the opposition seems to be dying away; for truth is strong. This spiritual fiery law will burn up all those things that men do set before it; for was there ever any ceremonial law given us? This law was given from the mouth of God, in the care of so many thousands; wrote on tables of stone with his own finger; promised to be wrote on the tables of their hearts; and confirmed by a miracle for the space of forty years, in the wilderness. The manna not keeping good any day but the Sabbath, God gave them the bread of two days, because he gave them the Sabbath. But whatever was gathered on the other days, and kept until the next, stank, and was full of worms. And no ceremonial law had the penalty of death annexed to it, to be inflicted by the magistrate; but the wilful profaner of the Sabbath was to be put to death by the magistrate, as the wilful murderer; which clearly proves it to be a moral law; as may be seen Exod. 16th chap. and elsewhere: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Luke xvi. 31.

"Here is in England about nine or ten churches that keep the Sabbath; besides many scattered disciples, who have been eminently preserved in this tottering day, when many eminent churches have been shattered to pieces."*

About this time, a number of letters were sent to America by Peter Chamberlain, senior Doctor of both Universities, and Physician in ordinary to his Majesty's person, who was a Sabbatarian.†

By Mr. Stennett's letter it appears that the number of Seventh-day churches was greater at this early period, than it has been since. At present, as near as I can learn, there are but three churches in England, which observe the Seventh day. Two of them are in London, and the third in the country, at a place called Natton. Two of them, viz. one in London and the one in Natton, are, in their doctrinal sentiments, Particular Baptists, and the other in London is of the General persuasion.

Seventh-Day Baptists in America.

RHODE-ISLAND was the early resort of Baptists, who kept holy the Seventh day; and it now contains not far from a thousand communicants of this belief. They are also found in a number of the other States.

The first Sabbatarian church in America was formed in Newport in 1671, and originated in the following manner: In the year 1665, Stephen Mumford came over from England, and brought with him the opinion that the whole of the Ten Commandments, as they were delivered from Mount Sinai, are moral and immutable, and that it was an anti-christian power that changed the Sabbath from the Seventh to

* History of the Sabbatarians, &c. by Henry Clarke, pastor of a church of that order, in Brookfield county, New-York, p. 10, 11.

† Backus, Clarke.

the First day of the week.* Mr. Mumford appears to have joined Mr. Clarke's church, and Messrs. Hiscox, Hubbard, and others of that community soon fell in with his opinion of observing the Seventh day. These brethren travelled in communion with that church until 1671, when some of their number fell back to the observation of the First day as the Sabbath. This the Sabbatarians called apostasy, and could no longer travel with the church, except they were expelled. The church counted their change a reformation, and could not therefore bring them under censure.† This was truly an inconvenient posture of affairs, and the Sabbatarians seemed to have no alternative but to withdraw. Their number was seven; their names were William Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard, Stephen Mumford, Roger Baster, and three sisters. These persons formed themselves into a church, and William Hiscox became their pastor. He died in 1704, aged 66, and was succeeded by William Gibson, who died in 1717, aged 79. He came from London, where he had been ordained before his arrival in Newport;‡ is said to have been a scholar, and left behind him a good character as a preacher and Christian. Next to him was Joseph Crandal, who had also been his colleague. This is the same Crandal, who was apprehended with Messrs. Clark and Holmes at Lynn, in 1651. He died in 1737. After him was John Maxon, who died in 1778. Successor to him was the late venerable Elder William Bliss, who died in 1808, aged 81. The church is now under the care of his son Arnold Bliss and Henry Burdick. Besides these pastors, this church has sent forth a considerable number of preachers, who have laboured as assistants at home, and also in different places abroad.

From some of the early members of this church have proceeded a number of the principal characters, in Rhode-Island, and among its communicants were the two governors, Richard and Samuel Ward.§

The Hopkinton church is the largest in the Sabbatarian connexion, and indeed in almost any other, and contains about nine hundred members. It was formed at Westerly in 1708, of members from Newport, who had removed and settled in this region. Westerly, at that time, comprehended all the southwest corner of the State. It was afterwards divided into Hopkinton, Charlestown, &c. This large church has three meeting-houses, at two of which the communion is administered. It has had a succession of worthy pastors, most of whom were remarkable for longevity. It has also sent forth many successful preachers. Its members have filled various different civil offices in the State, and Deacon Babcock is now (1813) one of its senators.

Though this church has its seat in Hopkinton, yet its members are scattered in a number of the adjoining towns. They are an amiable, pious people, pretty much inclined to the Arminian system. Laying-on-of-hands they generally practise, but do not make it a bar to communion. They have lately had a precious revival among them, in which between one and two hundred were added to their number. Their pastors, till lately, were Abram Coon and Matthew Stillman. Elder Coon died a short time since, and who succeeds him I have not learnt.

* Clarke's History of the Sabbatarians, p. 8.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 411. M. Edwards's MS. History of Rhode-Island, p. 107.

‡ Edwards's MS. Hist. of Rhode-Island, p. 109.

§ Backus, vol. iii. p. 384.

The Rhode-Island Sabbatarians, like the school of the prophets, finding their place too small for them, have emigrated to other parts, but mostly to the State of New-York; and by them foundations have been laid for a number of churches of their order, which are in a flourishing condition, and some of them are large. Their names, pastors and numbers will be given in the general table.

In New-Jersey are two churches of the Seventh-day Baptists, which are ancient and respectable. The oldest was formed at Piscataway, about thirty miles from the city of New-York, in 1705, and arose in the following manner: "About 1701, one Edmund Dunham, a member of the old First-day church in that town, admonished one Bonham, who was doing some servile work on Sunday Bonham put him on proving that the first day of the week was holy by divine appointment. This set Dunham on examining the point; the consequence was, rejecting the first day, and receiving the fourth commandment as moral and therefore unchangeable."* In a short time, seventeen of the old body sided with Dunham; and in 1705, they were formed into a church, chose Dunham for their pastor, and sent him to Westerly to be ordained, by the Sabbatarian church in that place.

From this church originated the one at Cohansey, in 1737, which has since become much larger than the mother body. It is situated about forty miles south-west from Philadelphia. Both of these churches have had, for the most part, worthy pastors; they were founded and still continue on the Calvinistick plan of doctrine.

A third church of Sabbatarian Baptists was formed in this State at a place called Squan, in Monmouth county, upwards of sixty miles east by north of Philadelphia, in 1745, of brethren from Stonington, Connecticut, and Westerly, Rhode-Island. After remaining here upwards of forty years, they bartered their estates for new lands somewhere towards the Ohio river. This church was Calvinistick, and by it was probably formed the one in the Red-stone country of the same faith, of which Mr. Clarke, their historian, seems to have obtained no distinct account.

In Pennsylvania we find some at different times, who have united with believers' baptism the observation of the Seventh day. The Tunker church at Ephrata is of this belief, as will be shown in the history of that people. In the time so many Keithian Quakers (of whom an account will soon be given) became Baptists, many of them fell in with the observation of the Seventh day, principally by the influence of one Abel Noble, who was at that time the only Sabbatarian Baptist in Pennsylvania. He arrived here, from what place I do not find, in 1684; he baptized the first Keithian Quaker in 1697, and by him many others were gained over to the Sabbatarian faith. About 1700, four churches of Sabbatarian Baptists were formed at Newtown, twenty-four miles from Philadelphia; at Pennepek, nine miles ditto; at Nottingham, fifty miles ditto; and at French-Creek, thirty-two miles from that city. At this last place they built a meeting-house in 1762, 30 feet by 22, on a lot of one acre, the gift of David Rogers; at the other places they met in private houses. Respecting the progress of these communities, I do not find much information. In 1770, there

* Edwards's Materials towards the History of the Baptists in New-Jersey, p. 30, Clarke's History of the Sabbatarians, p. 31.

were, in all four of them, but thirty-one communicants, and but one preacher, whose name was Enoch David.*

In Virginia are three churches of the Seventh-day Baptists; two of them belong to the Sabbatarian Conference; the third, because it admits to membership some brethren who keep the First day, has not been received into that body.

In 1754, a church of this order of Baptists was begun on Broad River, in the parish of St. Mark, South-Carolina, about 180 miles from Charleston. The leading members in it were Thomas Owen and Victor Nelly, from French-Creek, Pennsylvania, and John Gregory and his two sons, Richard and John, from Piscataway, New-Jersey. They were Calvinistick in sentiment, and in 1770, had increased to eighteen families, whereof twenty-four persons were baptized. They had for their preacher one Israel Zeymore, while he behaved well; but he afterwards became the master of a vessel, and next went into the army. "He was," says M. Edwards, "a man of wit and learning, but unstable as water."

Besides this Sabbatarian church, there were, at the same time, some of the Tunker Baptists at Beaver-Creek, Cloud's-Creek, and Edisto, who observed the Seventh day.

In 1759, eight families of the Seventh-day Baptists passed over from South-Carolina, and settled near Tuckaseeking, in Georgia. They had for their leader Richard Gregory, the son of John Gregory, at Broad River. Another of their preachers was named Clayton, who was fined *a mark* for saying, "that no man could be a Christian who kept a concubine, were the keeper a king, and the concubine a countess;" this was construed a reflection on the late king and the countess of Yarmouth. After residing here about five years, this company retired to Edisto, and left but few proselytes behind them.†

Thus we see that the Seventh-day Baptists have been found in almost every part of the United States. There are at present eleven churches of them united in an Association by the name of the Sabbatarian General Conference, which holds its anniversaries in different places, as best suits the convenience of the churches. It is said there are, besides the churches already named, one or two in the western States, of which no distinct accounts have been obtained.

The number of communicants in the Sabbatarian connexion is a little less than two thousand. But it is supposed by Mr. Clarke, their historian, that the Seventh-day Sabbath is observed by a population of not less than fifteen thousand.

In baptism, church discipline, &c. the Sabbatarians differ in nothing from their First-day brethren; in doctrine, some of them are Calvinists, but perhaps a greater part are inclined to the Arminian system; which, however, they wish to define for themselves.

Of their distinguishing sentiment respecting the Seventh day, they are peculiarly tenacious; and as they consider all, who do not regard this day, violators of the Sabbath of the Lord, they cannot, in their opinion, consistently receive them into their churches, nor sit down with them at the communion-table. Yet they are willing to unite with them in preaching, and in all other acts of devotion and brotherly love.

* Edwards's Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, p. 60, 63.

† Edwards's MS. Materials for South-Carolina and Georgia.

As to the strictness of observing the Sabbath, their writers seem to differ a little in their rules. Some contend that they ought to keep it according to the spirit of the fourth commandment. Others plead that the rigorous ceremonies enjoined in the Old Testament, are, with the rest of the ceremonial laws, done away under the new dispensation; so that they may lawfully ride their horses to meeting, and do other things on the Sabbath, which the Jews were forbidden to do on their peril.

Rogerene Baptists.

This sect took its rise at New-London, in Connecticut, about the year 1674; for in that year one John Rogers and James his brother, and an Indian by the name of Japheth, were baptized by a Mr. Crandal, then a colleague pastor of the Seventh-day Baptist church in Newport (R. I.) The next year, by the request of these persons, William Hiscox, the senior pastor of the same church, and two of his brethren, viz. Samuel Hubbard and his son Clarke, made them a visit; when another brother, by the name of Jonathan, was baptized, and these four persons were received as members of the Sabbatarian church, in Newport, in their usual form, by prayer and the laying-on-of-hands. Soon after this, John Rogers's father-in-law (for what reason I do not find) took from him his wife and children, with whom he was never afterwards united.* Thus John Rogers not only lost his wife and children in the outset of his career, but upon her complaints against him, he was carried before the Deputy-Governor of Connecticut, by whom he was sentenced to Hartford gaol, where he remained a considerable time.

In September, 1676, the three Rogerses and Japheth, the Indian, went in a boat and brought Messrs. Hiscox and Hubbard to New-London again, when the father and mother of one of the sisters of the Rogerses were all baptized by Mr. Hiscox, and were also added to the church with which they had united. These frequent visits and administrations of the Baptists, awakened the jealousies and resentment of the people of the town, and the power of the magistrate was soon exerted in rigorous measures, against this new and obnoxious sect. These few persons, having adopted the *Seventh day* of the week for their *Sabbath*, continued to pursue their worldly business on the *First*, a practice very common with people of this belief; for which they soon began to be harassed, imprisoned and beaten. But opposition seemed only to inflame their zeal, and hurried them on to an extravagant and almost unexampled extreme. Hitherto these persons, who afterwards broke over all bounds of order and decency, were not known as a distinct set, but had a regular standing in the Seventh-day Baptist church at Newport. John Rogers, who afterwards became the fantastick leader of this deluded community, on the following occasion, began the wild and heedless career, by which he exposed himself so much to the censure of his friends and the persecuting violence of his enemies. In the year 1677, Messrs. Hiscox and his companion Hubbard visited New-London a third time, and proposed to baptize the wife of Joseph Rogers, another brother of the Rogers family. Their meeting was held

* It is related by Morgan Edwards that she was afterwards married to a lawyer, by the name of Pratt.

two miles from the town, where it was proposed that baptism should be administered; but John was for no retirement; he must needs have the company go up to the town, and have the administration in sight and hearing of their enemies. John was finally listened to, and led on the procession. This provoking measure turned out as might have been expected in those days of intolerance and persecution; for while Mr. Hiscox was preaching, he was seized by the constable and immediately carried before the magistrate, where he was detained a short time, and then released. They now repaired to another place, and began to prepare for the administration; when, to the astonishment of the company, John stepped forward and prayed, and then led the woman down into the water, and baptized her. From this time this singular man took it upon him to baptize, and also to administer in other things in a ministerial capacity. His relatives, excepting his brother Jonathan, imbibed his spirit and followed his dictates. The church at Newport attempted to reform and regulate them; but their exertions proved ineffectual, and their connexion was soon dissolved.

Thus far the history of the Rogerenes has been compiled from Backus. The following is related in the words of Morgan Edwards, who took his account from Backus, and from John Rogers's own writings. After mentioning the baptism of the Rogers family, he says, "The most forward of the brothers was John; for he took upon him to form the family, and others that he baptized, into a church, and to make a creed, and to settle rules of discipline. The first act of discipline was the excommunication of his brother Jonathan, for using medicine, and refusing to do things which would bring on him the lash of the civil magistrate. And thus John Rogers was not only the founder of the sect, and the person from whom they were called *Rogerenes*, but the hero of the cause, in suffering, and writing, and defying; I say *defying*, for he had not been long at the head of the cause, before he printed and published the following proclamation: "I, John Rogers, a servant of Jesus Christ, doth here make an open declaration of war against the great red dragon; and against the beast to which he gives power; and against the false church which rides upon the beast; and against the false prophets, who are established by the dragon and the beast; and against the image of the beast: and, also, a proclamation of derision against the sword of the devil's spirit, which is prisons, stocks, whips, fines, and revilings, all which is to defend the doctrines of devils."—His theory, relative to baptism and the Lord's supper, is scriptural; for the Rogerenes baptize by immersing professed penitents and believers; the Lord's supper they administer in the evening, with its ancient appendages. Some other articles of Rogers's creed are as follow: "1st, All days are alike since the death of Christ. 2d, No medicines are to be used, nor doctors nor surgeons employed.* 3d, No grace at meals.

* This irrational sentiment they carried, with all the rest of their reveries, to an enthusiastick extreme, by refusing to have midwives for women in travail, holding that they were to be delivered and healed by the power of faith. Old Mr. Rogers, (Mr. Hubbard informs us) had the wheel of a loaded cart run over his leg, by which it was very much bruised; and that he had, when he saw him, remained six weeks in a most deplorable condition, but still strenuously refused the use of any means. BACKUS.

Although the descendants of the Rogerenes have generally relinquished the peculiarities of their ancestors, yet some of them are still tinctured with their

4th, All prayers to be mental, and not vocal, except when the spirit of prayer compels to the use of the voice. 5th, All unscriptural parts of religious worship are idols. 6th, All good Christians should exert themselves against idols," &c. Among these idols they placed the first day of the week, infant baptism, &c. The First-day Sabbath they called the *New-England idol.* The methods they took to demolish this idol were, they would be at work near meeting-houses, and in the ways to meeting-houses; and take work into meeting-houses, the women knitting, and the men whittling and making splits for baskets, and every now and then contradicting the preachers; this was seeking persecution, and they had plenty of it; insomuch that the New-Englanders left some of them neither liberty, nor property, nor whole skins.

John Rogers was an author. He published a commentary on the Revelation: he that hath patience to read it, let him read it. He also published a *Midnight Cry*, a *Narrative of Sufferings*, &c. These last are of some use; for out of them I have extracted some sketches of his history; and others from Backus."*

Such was the beginning of the sect of the Rogerenes. Had they enjoyed a free toleration in their wild speculations, and been exposed to no more legal coercion than a judicious magistracy would have inflicted, their zeal might have soon abated, and their sect become extinct. But their intolerant neighbours and rulers could exercise no degree of patience or forbearance towards them. But they were scrupulous to mark every provocation (and the Rogerenes were certainly guilty of many;) and being clothed with power, they pursued with unrelenting severity, by frequently haling before magistrates, imprisoning, and unmercifully whipping a people whose mistaken zeal ought certainly to have excited some degree of compassion as well as resentment. But the Rogerenes gloried in tribulation: they often published accounts of their persecutions and sufferings, and most fully demonstrated to their enemies, "that persecution is the surest way to increase its objects."

John Rogers, the founder of this extraordinary sect, (than whom Diogenes was not more churlish and *contrary to all men)* after prosecuting his ministry for more than forty years, died at his own house in New-London, in 1721, in the 73d year of his age. The occasion of his death was as follows: The small-pox raged terribly in Boston, (Mass.) and spread an alarm in all the country around. Rogers was confident that he could mingle with the diseased, and that the strength of his faith would preserve him safe from the mortal contagion. Accordingly he was presumptuous enough to travel 100 miles to Boston, to bring his faith to the test, where he caught the infection, came home, died with it, and spread it in his family. Thus ended this singular man. This event, so confounding in its nature, had no apparent effect on the minds of his followers, unless it were to increase their zeal. Shortly

notions about the use of medicine; and one of them lately, (in R. I.) when violently attacked with a fever, strenuously refused any medical assistance. He consented that a physician, who was a member of the church with him, should visit him as a brother, but not as a doctor. And it was not until his case was thought to be helpless and hopeless, that he consented to employ a physician; which he finally did, and recovered.

* Edwards's History of the Baptists in New-Jersey.

after, Joseph Bolles published a second edition of Rogers's book, entitled, "*A Midnight Cry* from the temple of God to the ten virgins slumbering and sleeping; awake, awake, arise! and gird your loins, and trim your lamps, for behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye therefore out to meet him!" Bolles also wrote a preface to the "*Midnight Cry*," in which he says of Rogers, "For his religion he lost his wife and children, and suffered continual persecution, being nearly one third of his life-time, after his conversion, in prisons!" This piece seemed to inspire with fresh ardour this wild community. A son of John Rogers succeeded his father in his deluded ministry, who, with many others of his brethren, set out with redoubled zeal to pull down the dagon of the land, the idol Sabbath.

In the year 1725, a company of the Rogerenes were taken up on the Sabbath, in Norwich, while on their way from their place of residence to Lebanon, where they were treated with much abuse and severity, and many of them whipped in a most merciless manner. This occasioned Governor Joseph Jenks (of R.I.) to write a spirited piece against their persecutors, in which he not only blames the unnecessary severity which they inflicted on the Rogerenes, but he also reprobates their provoking and disorderly conduct. This friendly interposition of the Governor involved him in a dispute with one Joseph Backus, Esq. the magistrate before whom the Rogerenes were arraigned, which was probably the means of abating, in some measure, the legal persecutions which continually fell to the lot of this deluded and persecuted people. The Connecticut rulers, after inflicting on the Rogerenes, for almost a century, their fruitless severities, learnt, at length, what they ought to have learnt at first, that the wisest way to deal with them, when they came to disturb them, and proclaim against the idol Sabbath, was to remove them away, until their worship was ended, and then release them without fine or correction. This method they finally adopted, which had a much better effect than their former punishments.

One family of these Rogerenes were Colvers or *Culvers*,* consisting of the father, John Colver and his wife, (who were part of the company which was treated so roughly at Norwich, &c.) and five sons and five daughters, who, with their families, made up the number of 21 souls. This large family, in the year 1734, removed from New-London, and settled in New-Jersey. The place they pitched upon for residence was on the east side of Schooly Mountain, in Morris county. They continued here about three years, and then went in a body to Barnagot, in the county of Monmouth: they continued there about eleven years, and then returned to Morris county, and settled on the west side of the mountain from which they had removed.

In the year 1790, the Rogerenes (in N. J.) were reduced to two old persons, whose names were Thomas Colver and Sarah Mann; but the posterity of John Colver are yet numerous in Morris county, and have, most of them, become reputable members of other religious societies.

"I do not find (says Mr. Edwards) that the Rogerenes have suffer-

* Mr. Edwards spells it Colver, but I find in Governor Jenks's MS. it is spelt Culver.

ed by fines and corporal punishment in New-Jersey, more than once; and that was for disturbing a Presbyterian congregation at Basking-ridge: in other places, they have been taken out of meeting-houses, with much pleasantry, and shut up in stables, pen-folds, (and once in a hog-pen) till worship was over. Paul speaks of some people, *who pleased not God, and were contrary to all men;* it were uncharitable to apply this to the Rogerenes; but facts, for the course of 116 years, look too much like being *contrary to all men;* and as for the spirit that actuated them, it was as different from the meek and humble spirit of Jesus, as any two things could be. It is surprising how principles, or education, or custom, or something, will make people differ from others so greatly, that it is hard to think they are of the same common nature, or are the work of the same Maker. Had the Rogerenes lived in the time of the Cynicks, they would have been ranked with them."

Mr. Backus says of John Rogers, that "he intermixed a number of precious truths with many things of a contrary nature."

The Rogerenes, in their language and some other peculiarities, resembled the Quakers; hence they were often called Quaker Baptists. They have, some time ago, become extinct as a society. But their posterity, under the names of Rogers, Bolles, &c. are still numerous; and many of them are not only respectable, but some of them are distinguished members of many of the Baptist churches in different parts of New-England and some of the other States.

Since the above was written, I have learnt that there is yet a small company of the Rogerenes in Groton, near New-London.

Indian Churches.

Of these there have been a few of the Baptist denomination, but most of them, at present, are either extinct or in a declining state. The oldest churches of the red brethren were formed on the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, which are included in the State of Massachusetts. A short time previous to 1680, some of Mr. Mayhew's converts on Martha's Vineyard embraced the principles of the Baptists, and joined to the churches in Newport. And with the Indian converts to believers' baptism came an Englishman by the name of Peter Folger, who was a school-master among them. In 1694, two Indian churches had been formed, one on the Vineyard, and the other at Nantucket. Their pastor was Stephen Tackamason, who died in 1708, and is said to have borne an excellent character, both as a preacher and Christian. The church at the Vineyard appears to have been formed at Gayhead; in process of time it branched out to Chappaquidick on the east end of the island. It is difficult to trace the progress of these three churches, which have become reduced to one at Gayhead, and that in a feeble, declining state. Their preachers, at different times, have been Isaac Decamy, Jonas Horswet, Ephraim Abraham, Samuel Kakenehew, Peter Gilbert, Silas Paul, and Thomas Jeffer; the last of whom is now pastor at Gayhead, and is esteemed a sober, worthy man. All these were ordained Indian preachers, who have left good characters behind them; and besides these there have been, at different times, many unordained preachers and exhorters, whose names are not known.

Peter Folger, though not a preacher, was a successful promoter of piety, learning, and believers' baptism, among the red men of the islands, and a daughter of his was the mother of the famous Dr. Benjamin Franklin.*

At Charlestown in the Narraganset country, in the south part of Rhode-Island, near Point Judith, an Indian church was formed probably about 1750. It arose out of a Pedobaptist church of the Separate order, which was gathered there in the New-Light stir, under the ministry of a Mr. Park. Its first pastor was James Simons, and after him was the famous Samuel Niles, who was, in his day, one of the most eminent Indian preachers in America. Other preachers have succeeded him, but at present they are in a destitute and broken condition. In a visit, which I paid them a short time since, I found a number of venerable red sisters, who were much engaged in the things of the kingdom; three of them were about seventy years of age. The men were all absent on a fishing voyage. These Indians are the descendants of the Nyantick tribe, whose chief, Ninegret, refused to join in king Philip's war.† They were once a powerful tribe, but are now reduced to a handful. The State has secured to them a tract of land in Charlestown, which, however, they do not know how to manage to advantage.

Morgan Edwards supposes that the forefathers of this congregation were converted by the labours of Roger Williams, which is not improbable, as it is known that he laboured among them with much assiduity and some success.‡

Among the Mohegan Indians, near New-London, according to Asplund, two churches were formed about 1770: they were upon the open communion plan, and consisted of Baptists and Pedobaptists. Connected with these, if I am rightly informed, was the famous Samson Occom, who afterwards went to New-Stockbridge, in New-York.

At a place called Brotherton, now in Oneida county, New-York, an Indian church was formed of baptized believers in 1798. It arose in the following manner. Not far from 1770, the Oneidas, one of the Six Nations, granted to their destitute brethren of other tribes a large tract of land for their settlement. To it Indians repaired from Stockbridge, Long-Island, from the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, and a number of other tribes. The tract was six miles square, and was called New-Stockbridge. Rev. M. Sargeant, a Pedobaptist missionary, has long been employed among them. Brotherton is an Indian village adjoining New-Stockbridge, in which David Fowler, a pious Indian of the Baptist persuasion, settled in 1776. Five others of his brethren settled with him, and by them a meeting was maintained without any church estate, until 1798; then their number had increased to twelve, which were organized into a church by their neighbouring white brethren. Mr. Fowler became its deacon, and was its principal leader till his death, which happened about 1807. Since that time they have been in a broken condition, and have, in a measure, lost their visibility as a church. Deacon Fowler was from Long-

* Backus, vol. i. p. 437, 439, and ii. p. 166.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 437, 439, and ii. p. 145.

‡ MS. Hist. of Rhode-Island, p. 47.

Island, and sustained an excellent character through life. On the same ground is a Baptist church on the open communion plan, which is considerably large, and is under the care of a preacher by the name of Wawby or Wabby.

No great success has hitherto attended the means used to convert the American Indians. Their want of a written language has, in most cases, proved an insurmountable barrier to those benevolent white men, who have ardently desired their salvation. Our aged brother Elkanah Holmes laboured for some years amongst the Tuscaroras and others of the Six Nations. Most of their chiefs and many of the rest showed a favourable disposition towards the gospel, but very few conversions were effected among them.

Keithian Baptists.

Soon after the settlement of Pennsylvania, a difference arose among the Quakers, touching *the sufficiency of what every man has within himself for the purpose of his own salvation.* Some denied that sufficiency, and consequently magnified the external Word, Christ, &c. above Barclay's measure. These were headed by the famous George Keith, and therefore called *Keithians.* The difference rose to a division in the year 1691, when separate meetings were set up in divers parts of the country, and a general one at Burlington in opposition to that of Philadelphia. This year they published a *Confession of Faith*, containing twelve articles, much in Barclay's strain, and signed by George Keith, Thomas Budd, John Hart, Richard Hilliard, Thomas Hooten, and Henry Furnis, in the behalf of the rest. They also published *the reasons of the separation*, &c. signed by the same persons and others, to the number of 48. About the same time, and afterward, were published several other pieces. The design of those publications was,

1st. To inform the world of the principles of the Separate Quakers.

2d. To fix the blame of the separation on the opposite party.

3d. To complain of the unfair treatment, slanders, fines, imprisonments, and other species of persecution, which they endured from their brethren.

Whether these complaints be just or not, is neither my business nor inclination to determine. If just, the Quakers have also shown, "That every sect would persecute, had they but power." I know but one exception to this satyrical remark, and that is the Baptists; they have had civil power in their hands in Rhode-Island government, for an hundred and thirty-six, (now one hundred and seventy-eight) years, and yet have never abused it in this manner, their enemies themselves being judges. And it is remarkable that John Holmes, Esq. the only Baptist magistrate in Philadelphia, at the time referred to, refused to act with the Quaker magistrates against the Keithians, alleging, "That it was a religious dispute, and therefore not fit for a civil court." Nay, he openly blamed the court, held at Philadelphia, Dec. 6—12, 1692, for refusing to admit the exceptions, which the prisoners made to their jury. However, the Keithian Quakers soon declined; their head deserted them and went over to the Episcopalians. Some followed him thither; some returned to the Penn Quakers; and some went to other societies. Nevertheless, many persisted in the separation, particularly at Upper

Providence; at Philadelphia; at Southampton; and at Lower Dublin. These, by resigning themselves to the guidance of Scripture, began to find water in the commission; bread and wine in the command; community of goods, love feast, kiss of charity, right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, and washing the disciples' feet; and therefore were determined to practise accordingly.

The society of Keithians, most forward in these matters, was that kept at the house of Thomas Powell, in Upper Providence; which forwardness, it is said, was owing to one Abel Noble, who visited them, and was a Seventh-day Baptist minister when he arrived in this country. The time they began to put their designs in practice, was Jan. 28, 1697, when the said Abel Noble baptized a publick Friend, whose name was Thomas Martin, in Redley-Creek. Afterwards Mr. Martin baptized other Quakers, to the number of 16. To them joined one William Beckingham, who broke off from the church at Cohansey. These 17 persons did, October 12, 1697, incorporate; and proceeded to choose a minister by lot. Three were put in nomination, William Beckingham, Thomas Budd, and Thomas Martin. The lot fell on the last, who, the same day, administered the Lord's supper to them, for the first time. Shortly after, 15 more of the Quakers were baptized, some of whom lived in other parts of the country. But in 1700 a difference arose among them, touching the Sabbath, which broke up the society. Such as adhered to the observation of the Seventh day, kept together at Newtown, where some of their posterity are to this day. The rest lay scattered in the neighbourhood, till Mr. Abel Morgan gathered together 15 of them, and formed them into a society, now called the *church of Brandywine*, belonging to the Philadelphia Association.

Another society of Keithian Quakers, who kept together, was that of Philadelphia, where they built a meeting-house in 1692. Of these, two publick persons were baptized in 1697, by Rev. Thomas Killingworth, of Cohansey. Their names were William Davis and Thomas Rutter. The first joined Pennepek; the other kept preaching in Philadelphia, where he baptized one Henry Bernard Hoster, Thomas Peart, and seven others, whose names are not on record. These 9 persons united in communion, June 12, 1698, having Thomas Rutter to their minister. They increased, and continued together for 9 years. But some removing to the country, and the unbaptized Keithians falling off, the society in a manner broke up in 1707; for then the few that remained, invited the regular Baptists to join them, and were incorporated with them.

A third society of Keithian Quakers was at Southampton, in Burk's county; and a fourth at Lower Dublin. But many of these societies, soon also found water in the commission, and were baptized; and having become Baptists, they were soon divided again, on the disputed point respecting the Sabbath. Those who adhered to the observance of the First-day Sabbath, in both societies, united with the church at Pennepek.

Thus have we seen that the Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists: they were also called Quaker Baptists, because they still retained the language, dress, and man-

ners of the Quakers. We have seen also, that the Keithian or Quaker Baptists ended in another kind of transformation into Seventh-day Baptists, though some went among the First-day Baptists and other societies. However, these were the beginning of the Sabbatarians in Pennsylvania. A confession of faith was published by the Keithian Baptists in 1697: it consists chiefly of the articles in the Apostles' creed. The additions are articles which relate to baptism by immersion, the Lord's supper; distinguishing days and months by numerical names, plainness of language and dress, not swearing, not fighting, &c. *Morgan Edwards.*

Tunker Baptists.

"THEY are called *Tunkers** in derision; which is as much as to say, *Sops*, from *tunker*, *to put a morsel into sauce*; but as the term signifies *Dippers*, they may rest content with the nick-name, since it is the fate of Baptists, in all countries, to bear some cross or other. They are also called *Tumblers*, from the manner in which they perform baptism, which is by putting the party's head forward under water, while kneeling, so as to resemble the motion of the body in the action of tumbling. The Germans sound the letters *t* and *b* like *d* and *p*; hence, the words *Tunkers* and *Tumblers* have been corruptly written *Dunkers* and *Dumplers*.

"The first appearing of these people in America, was in the fall of the year 1719, when about 20 families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed themselves, some to Germantown, some to Skippeck, some to Oley, some to Connestogo, and elsewhere. This dispersion incapacitated them to meet for publick worship; and, therefore, they soon began to grow lukewarm in religion. But in the year 1722, Messrs. Baker, Gomery, Gantz, and the Trautrs, visited their scattered brethren, which was attended with a great revival, insomuch that societies were formed wherever a number of families were within reach one of another. But this lasted not above three years. They settled on their lees again, till about thirty families more of their persecuted brethren arrived in the fall of the year 1729, which both quickened them again, and increased their number every where. These two companies had been members of one and the same church which originated at Schwardzenau in the year 1708. The first constituents were Alexander Mack and wife, John Kipin and wife, George Grevy, Andreas Bhoney, Lucas Fetter, and Joanna Nethigeim. These had been bred Presbyterians, except Kipin, who was a Lutheran; and, being neighbours, they consorted together to read the Bible, and edify one another in the way they had been brought up; for as yet they did not know there were any Baptists in the world. However, believers' baptism and a congregational church soon gained upon them, insomuch that they were determined to obey the gospel in these matters. They desired Alexander Mack to baptize them; but he, deeming himself in reality unbaptized, refused. Upon which they cast lots to find who should be administrator. On whom the lot fell hath been carefully concealed. However, baptized they were in the river Eder by Schwardzenau, and then formed themselves into a church; choosing

* The word *Tunkers*, in German, and the word *Baptists*, in Greek, and the word *Dippers*, in English, are exactly of the same signification. *Edwards.*

Alexander Mack to be their minister. They increased fast, and began to spread their branches to Merienborn and Epstein, having John Naass, and Christian Levy to their ministers in those places. But persecution quickly drove them thence, some to Holland and some to Creyfelt. Soon after, the mother church voluntarily removed from Schwardzenau to Serustervin in Friezland, and from thence migrated towards America, in 1719. And in 1729, those of Creyfelt and Holland followed their brethren.

"Thus we see that all the Tunker churches in America sprang from the church at Schwardzenau in Germany; that that church began in 1708, with only seven souls, and that in a place where no Baptist had been in the memory of man, nor any now are. In 62 years that *little one became a thousand, and that small one a great nation.*

"It is very hard to give a true account of the principles of these Tunkers, as they have not published any system or creed, except what two individuals have put forth, which have not been publickly avowed. However, I may assert the following things concerning them from my own knowledge. They are *General Baptists*, in the sense which that phrase bears in Great-Britain; but not Arians nor Socinians, as most of their brethren in Holland are. General redemption they certainly hold; and, withal, general salvation; which tenets, though wrong, are consistent. They use great plainness of language and dress, like the Quakers; and like them they will neither swear nor fight. They will not go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend. They commonly wear their beards; and keep the First-day Sabbath, except one congregation. They have the Lord's supper, with its ancient attendants of love-feasts, washing feet, kiss of charity, and right hand of fellowship. They anoint the sick with oil for recovery; and use the trine immersion of laying-on-of-hands and prayer, even while the person baptized is in the water; which may easily be done, as the party kneels down to be baptized, and continues in that posture till both prayer and imposition of hands be performed. But though their baptism be well contrived for trine immersion, yet it loses its resemblance of a *burial.* Their church government is purely republican, and their discipline the same with those of the English Baptists, except that in Maryland they have a superintendant, whose name is Daniel Leatherman: to him is referred the decision of variances among the ministers and people; and as the Tunkers call all their ordained ministers *Bishops*, it follows that Leatherman holds the rank of *Archbishop.* Every brother is allowed to stand up in the congregation to speak, in a way of exhortation and expounding; and when by these means they find a man eminent for *knowledge* and *aptness* to teach, they choose him to be a minister, and ordain him with imposition of hands, attended with fasting and prayer, and giving the right hand of fellowship. They also have deacons; and ancient women for deaconesses; and exhorters, who are licensed to use their gifts statedly. They pay not their ministers, unless it be in the way of presents, though they admit their right to pay; neither do the ministers assert the right, esteeming it *more blessed to give than to receive.* Their acquaintance with the Bible is admirable. In a word, they are meek and pious Christians, and have justly acquired the character of the *Harmless Tunkers.*

"Of these there are in Pennsylvania 15 churches; to which appertain 8 ordained ministers, and 13 exhorters or probationers, and 4 meeting-houses. The reason of their having no more places of worship is, that they choose rather to meet from house to house, in imitation of the primitive Christians. Their number of families is about 419, which, allowing five to a family, contain about 2095 souls, whereof 763 are baptized and in communion."

These Tunker churches were situated at different distances, in a western direction from Philadelphia, and but few of them were over a hundred miles from that city. Mr. Edwards has given a particular history of each of them, the most remarkable of which, and the only one whose history we shall here relate, is that at Ephrata.

"This church is distinguished by the above name, which is the name of the village where it exists, in Cocolico township, and Lancaster county, 60 miles to the westward of Philadelphia. The same village is frequently called *Tunkers town*. It consists of between 30 and 40 buildings, and stands on a parcel of land containing 155 acres. The land is formed into a triangle by the crossings of the Paxton and Lancaster roads, and Cocolico river. The places of worship in the village are three. One, called *Sharon*, adjoins the sisters' apartment by way of chapel. The other, called *Bethany*, is a chapel belonging to the apartments of the brethren, where they resort to worship, morning and evening, and sometimes in the night, as the sisters also do in the other chapel. The third is a common church, called *Zion*, built on the summit of a little hill, about 200 yards distant from the other. Here the single brethren and single sisters, the married people and their children, meet once a week for publick worship. The brethren have adopted the dress of the white friars, with some alteration, and the sisters that of the nuns; and both, like them, have taken the vow of celibacy. But some break through the vow: then they quit their cells, and go to the neighbourhood among the married people. All the fraternity wear their beards. Their livelihood they get by cultivating the land, by a printing-office, by a grist-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, &c. and the sisters by spinning, weaving, sewing, &c. They slept at first on board couches with blocks for pillows, but now sleep on beds, and have otherwise abated much of the severity of their order. They keep the seventh day of the week for Sabbath, to which their founder had been proselyted by the remains of the Keithian Baptists, particularly Rev. Thomas Rutter, who, in this affair, was the disciple of Abel Noble.

"From the uncouth dress, the recluse and ascetick life of these people, sour aspects and rough manners might be expected; but on the contrary, a smiling innocence and meekness grace their countenances, and a softness of tone and accent adorn their conversation, and make their deportment gentle and obliging. Their singing is charming, partly owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the variety of parts they carry on together, and the devout manner of performance. The families belonging to the society are about 40, whereof about 135 persons, including the single brethren and sisters, are baptized and in communion. This was their state in 1770. They had their existence as a society, on Nov. 12, 1724, when Conrad Beissel, Joseph Shaffer, John Moyer and wife, Henrick Hehn and wife, and Veronica Frederick, were bap-

tized in Pequea river by Rev. Peter Baker. The same day, these seven incorporated into a church, and chose Conrad Beissel to be their minister. After this, they continued some time at Mill-Creek; and then, removing about three miles northward, pitched on the land of Rudolph Neagley, in Earl township. Here they continued about seven years, and hither resorted many to see them, some of which joined their society. Here they began their economy, the men living by themselves on the fore-mentioned lands, and the women also by themselves on the adjoining lands of John Moyly. Here Conrad Beissel appointed two elders and a matron to preside over his church in the wilderness, binding them by a solemn promise, and at the same time giving to each a Testament, to govern according to the rules of that book. Then he withdrew, and made as though they should see him no more. This was done in 1733. He travelled northward till he came to the spot where Ephrata or Tunkerstown now stands, and with his hoe planted Indian corn and roots for his subsistence. But he had not been long in the place, before the society found him out, and repaired to his little cot; the brethren settling with him on the west banks of Cocolico, and the sisters on the east, all in sight of one another, with the river running between them. The next year they set about building their village, beginning with a place of worship. The village is inclosed with a large ditch, and fortified with posts, and rails, and quicksets."

The author of the foregoing account has also given biographical sketches of the ministers by which these churches were supplied. The most distinguished of which, were Alexander Mack, Conrad Beissel, and Peter Miller.

"Alexander Mack, was born in the year 1680 at Schrisheim, in Germany. He was educated a Calvinist, but embraced the Baptist principles, in 1708, arrived in this country, with many of his congregation, in 1729, and became a minister of Beggarstown, in the township of Germantown, near Philadelphia, the same year, where he continued till he died, in 1735. Mr. Mack was a man of real piety. He had a handsome patrimony at Schrisheim, with a profitable mill and vineyards thereon; but he spent all in raising and maintaining his church at Schwardzenau, whereof he was father, and father of all the Tunkers.

"Conrad Beissel, founder of the society at Ephrata. This was his real name; but when he became a Baptist, he assumed the name of Freidsam Gottrecht, and gave new names to all the brethren and sisters. He was born in 1690, at Eberback, in Germany. Bred a Presbyterian. Arrived in Boston, in 1720. Thence he and his two companions, Stunts and Steiffel, travelled westward to Pennsylvania, and lived as hermits about Mill-Creek, and the Swede-Spring in Lancaster county. He embraced the principles of the Baptists in 1724. Died July 6, 1768, and was buried at Ephrata.

As for his character, I give it in the words of one who knew him well. "He was very strict in his morals, and practised self-denial

and mortification to an uncommon degree. Enthusiastick and whimsical, he certainly was; but an apparent devoutness and sincerity ran through all his oddities. He was not an adept in any of the liberal arts and sciences, except musick, in which he excelled. He composed and set to musick. in three, four, six, and eight parts, a folio volume of hymns, and another of anthems. He published a dissertation on the fall of man, in the mysterious strain; also a volume of letters. He left behind, several books in manuscript, curiously written and embellished."

Peter Miller. He was born in 1709, in the bailiwick of Kaiferlautern, in Germany; had his education in the University at Heildeberg; came to this country in 1730, and settled with the Dutch Presbyterians in Philadelphia: there he was ordained by Rev. Messrs. Tennant Boyd, and Andrews, the same year. He embraced the principles of the Baptists in 1735. and in 1744 received another ordination from Rev. Conrad Beissel, to be *prior* of the society at Ephrata. Dr. Douglas, in his history of the provinces, saith, that he is a good scholar, and writes fine latin."*

The main body of Tunker Baptists in America are, at present, as they ever have been, in Pennsylvania. But besides those in that State, there were, in the year 1770, according to Mr. Edwards, (who took unwearied pains to learn their history, and ascertain their numbers) in Maryland, 4 churches of these people, in which were 9 ministers, and 382 members. The number of families, out of which the 4 churches were collected was 169.

In Virginia were 2 churches which contained together 56 members: The number of ministers was 3, and the families 100.

In North-Carolina were 3 churches, 4 ministers, 88 families, and 100 members.

In South-Carolina, there were at the same time 3 churches, but one minister, whose name was David Martin. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and is said to have been a man of some distinction, and to have borne an excellent character. The families were 63, and the number of members 108.

There was, also, a church of the Tunkers at Amwell, in New-Jersey, which was formed in the year 1733; it is now in a comfortable condition.

From the whole, it appears by Mr. Edwards, that there were of the Tunkers, in America, about 40 years ago, 28 churches, in which (excepting the one in New-Jersey) were 1455 communicants; and that to these churches, appertained upwards of 20 ordained ministers or bishops, and nearly the same number of exhorters. And the number of Tunker families was 669, which, allowing five to a family, Mr. Edwards's uniform and probably correct mode of computation, makes the whole population of the Tunkers 3345.

By a statement of Mr. Edwards for 1790, it appears, that of the Tunker Baptists there was at that time one church in New-Jersey, 15 in Pennsylvania, 7 in Maryland, and in the more southern States,

* Edwards's History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, p. 64—90.

10; making in all 33;* so that they had received the addition of five churches in 20 years. But what has been their progress since the last-mentioned date, or what is their present situation as to numbers, &c. I have not been able to learn. I am informed by Dr. Rogers of Philadelphia, and others, that "it is, at present, a fixed principle with them, to make no communication; and that they feel hurt when interrogated respecting their society." Indeed, they have always been shy of the English, and suspicious of encroachment and exposure; and under these circumstances, it is surprising how Mr. Edwards, without an acquaintance with the German language, could gain such correct and extensive information respecting them, as he has recorded in his historical works.

Many of the churches mentioned by him have become extinct, and others have suffered great diminutions, and it is generally believed that their society is declining; but still they are considerably numerous in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and small detachments of them are to be found in most of the southern and western States. While they have declined in some places, and become extinct in others, they have emigrated to remoter regions, and formed new establishments, some of which are very large. One of these is in the Allegany Mountains, in Somerset county, Pennsylvania, in a place called Brothers' Valley, near the town of Berlin, about 200 miles westward of Philadelphia. There is, also, another large society in the Red-stone county, beyond the mountains, on Jacob's-Creek, in the counties of Fayette and Westmoreland. It is believed, that some other societies have been formed in Pennsylvania, since Mr. Edwards's account was taken; but I have been able to learn nothing respecting them.

These people have also become adventurers to the western States of Ohio and Kentucky; and some of them, I have been informed, have settled not far from Detroit, in the Michigan Territory.

The following anecdote of a preacher from that country, by the name of John Messemer, was related to me by the Rev. David Jones, of the Great Valley, Pennsylvania, to whom it was related by Mr. Messemer himself.

"While visiting my brethren in these parts," (said the Tunker in his broken English) "I thought I would go to de city of Philadelphia, and hear some of de preachers dere. I first went to hear de Universalists; and I found dey preach no *hell* dere, but dey seem have no religion too. I next go to hear de Methodists, and dey preach *all hell*, but dey seem have good deal religion too. I next go to hear de Baptists, and dey preach some *hell* and some *heaven*, and this I thought was de rightest way."

It is difficult to say what are the definite doctrinal sentiments of the Tunkers; it is said, however, that they hold the doctrine of universal salvation, and hence they are often called Universalists; but this sentiment they are not forward to advance, nor strenuous to defend; and it is probable they maintain it with some peculiar qualifications.

The Tunkers still maintain their former simplicity, and most of those distinguished religious maxims and peculiar domestick habits,

* Edwards's History of the Baptists in New-Jersey, p. 145.

which Mr. Edwards ascribes to them. But by the best information I can gain, they have much depreciated as to vital religion, and appear too generally contented with keeping up their external forms, while but little of the power of godliness is to be found amongst them. But as they have not conformed to the unscriptural traditions of men, but have, in the midst of their lukewarmness and declension, preserved essentially the primitive mode of administering the ordinance of Baptism, we shall give them a place among the American Baptists.

Mennonites.

"THESE have their denomination from the personal name of Menno Simon, a native of Witmars, and a man of parts and learning, who carried the reformation one step farther than either Luther or Calvin; and who, no doubt, would have been ranked with the chief reformers, had there not been some cross-grained fatality attending the laudable deeds of Baptists, to prevent their having, in this world, the praise they deserve. He was born in the year 1505. Got into orders in 1528. Continued a famous preacher and disputer to 1531, when he began to suspect the validity of many things in the church of Rome, and among the rest, that of *infant baptism*. He discovered his suspicions first to the doctors of his own fraternity; but they, resolving all to the authority of the church, relieved him not. Then he visited Luther and many besides, who had, at the time, avowed the word of God to be the only rule of faith and practice in religious concernments. What satisfaction they gave him, touching other matters, I do not find; but their grounding infant baptism on consequences and expedience, rather than on any express precept or precedent, increased his suspicion. He then betook himself to the close study of the New-Testament and ecclesiastical history; and finding no traces of it in the first and second century, nor yet in the word of God; and strong indications of *believers' baptism* in both, he renounced the former, and embraced the principles of the Baptists, notwithstanding the disgrace which the profession had been brought under by the appearance of some Baptists in the insurrection of those times, which were common throughout most parts of Germany.* These insurrections were not of the religious kind, but struggles of the people for civil liberty against the tyranny and oppression of the princes. In some of these, not a Protestant of any denomination was found. In none of them were the Protestant Baptists either the agitators or the most numerous; no, not in that of Munster. The contrivers of this, and the first that appeared in it, are well known to be of other denominations; and though three Baptists, one by his wealth, and the other two by their superior skill and courage, became principals in fighting the tyrant and defending the town, yet, had they not the guilt of the plotters nor of the first insurgents; nor were the Baptists, under their command, many, in comparison of the other citizens and boors which made the whole body of the *madmen of Munster*, as they are called. Nevertheless, the blame of the whole, is fixed on the Baptists, contrary to all fair dealing and the historical evidence of

* Ad omnes fere germaniæ partes hac contagio pervasit.
Sleidan's Hist. b. 4. p. 116.

facts, and follows them to this day even in foreign countries. Menno continued preaching and planting churches in the various parts of the low countries, for a course of about thirty years, and died in peace, January 31, 1561, after having been hunted like a partridge on the mountain by both Protestants and Papists. The faith and order of this eminent reformer may in some measure be gathered from the fragments of his works which are now extant. A *General Baptist*, as that character is understood in Great-Britain, he certainly was; but I have not seen sufficient evidence of his being what is now called an Arian or Socinian. I rather think that the term Arminian or Remonstrant, would better suit his religious sentiments. But the Mennonites in Pennsylvania, and in other parts of the world, have somewhat deviated from Menno, in matters both of faith and practice; particularly in that of baptism. He, in his Declaration concerning Christian baptism in water, printed in 1539, page 24, expressly saith, "After we have searched ever so diligently, we shall find no other baptism besides *dipping in water*, which is acceptable to God, and maintained in his word." After which he adds, page 39, "Let who will oppose, this is the only mode of baptism that Christ Jesus instituted, and the Apostles taught and practised." Accordingly Menno was dipped, and did dip others. His successors did the same, except when they made proselytes in prisons, or were hindered from going to rivers; and this they excused from a consideration of necessity; just as Cyprian, in his 69th epistle, excuses the usage of *sprinkling* or *pouring* instead of *dipping*, because the subjects were confined to their beds, which made it be called *Clinical Baptism*. But, as in Africa so in Europe, what was done at first, out of a supposed necessity, became afterwards to be practised out of choice. What excused the Mennonites in Europe, excuse them not in Pennsylvania. In the former they made converts in prisons, whom they could not lead to the water, and therefore fetched water to them. In the former they were hindered from going to rivers, and therefore did as well as they could in the inner chambers; but in Pennsylvania, every one may do what is right in his own sight, without either fear or shame. It is earnestly prayed, therefore, that the Mennonites of America will return to follow Menno in an affair wherein he was so eminent a follower of Christ, and his Apostles; especially as so many of the common people have desired a restoration of *immersion*, and have gone off to the Tunkers for the want of it. Touching the subjects of baptism, the Mennonites still retain their integrity, by administering the ordinance to none but those who profess faith and repentance, and make vows of subjection to the Gospel of Christ; which keeps up the distinction between *world* and *church*; for where baptizing infants prevails, there can be no world, all are church; but they do not prefer *dipping*. Their common method is this: The person to be baptized kneels; the minister holds his hands over him, into which the deacon pours water, and through which it runs on the crown of the kneeling person's head; after which follow imposition of hands, and prayer. The parents sometimes insist on their children's being baptized before they will consent to their marriage; which I wish they would not, lest any be forced to a thing, which should be a matter of personal choice, following convictions and calls of conscience; for then only is baptism what it should be, *the answer of a good conscience towards God.* 1 Peter, iii. 21.

"The principles and practices of the Mennonites in Pennsylvania may be seen in their Confession of Faith, published at Philadelphia, in 1727. This confession, as far as it goes, is orthodox; and is no other than a translation of that framed and published at Dordrecht, in 1632, by deputies from all the Mennonites in Europe. But as the book is scarce, I may be allowed to mention some particulars.

"The Mennonites do not, like the Tunkers, hold the doctrine of *general salvation*; yet, like them, they will neither swear nor fight, nor bear any civil office, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend, (though many break through this last.) Some of them yet wear their beards; nor are the ancient rites of *washing feet*, &c. wholly out of use among them. They, like the Tunkers, use great plainness of speech and dress. This last is so capital a point with them, that some have been expelled from their societies, for having buckles to their shoes, and pocket-holes to their coats. Their church government, like that of all Baptists, is wholly democratical or republican. Their ministers they choose by balloting; and when two or more are thus nominated, they leave it to the decision of lots, which shall be the man. They do not pay them; nor do their ministers assert their right to a livelihood from the Gospel. They are put into their office by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, attended with fasting and prayer. They call their ordained ministers bishops, which term, though as scriptural as pastor, elder, &c. other dissenters avoid, as if they were conscious that the proper office of bishop is not among them. The brothers are allowed to speak in the church by way of exhortation or expounding, but are not permitted to preach publickly, till they obtain license from the church. These they call preachers, helps, exhorters. Their aim in America, is to have a *pious* ministry rather than a *learned* one; but in Europe they covet both, and have a college among them for the purpose.* The epithets which these people give themselves in their writings are, *Harmless Christians*, *Revengeless Christians*, *Weaponless Christians*, &c. and as such are they considered by the rulers of the province, and by those of other States. Remarkable, on this subject are the words of the Dutch ambassador (Van Benning) to Monsieur de Turenne: "The Mennonites are good people, and the most commodious to a State of any in the world; partly because they do not aspire to places of dignity; partly because they edify the community by the simplicity of their manners, and application to arts and industry; and partly because we fear no rebellion from a sect, who make it an article of their faith never to bear arms." Their industry and frugality they carried with them to Pennsylvania, and thereby are become very wealthy. Some Mennonite families were in the province as early as the year 1692, who came hither from New-York government, which at first belonged to the Dutch, and was called New-Netherlands, extending from the river Delaware to the river of Connecticut. They settled in the neighbourhood, now called Germantown and Frankfort, &c. Other families soon followed; and after them many came directly from Europe, insomuch that May 23, 1708, there was a church settled at Germantown, consisting of 52 members, which exists to this day, and is not only the first in the province, but, in some sort, the mother of all

* At Amsterdam.

the rest. In about 16 years after, this church had branched out to Skippek, Conestogo, Great-Swamp, and Monatony, and become five churches; to which appertained 16 ministers, viz. Rev. Messrs. Jacob Goottschalk, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Cleas Johnsen, Michael Zeigler, John Gorgas, John Conerads, Cleas Rittinghausen, Hans Burghaltzer, Christian Heer, Benedict Hirchy, Martin Beer, Johnnes Bowman, Velter Clemer, Daniel Langanecker, and Jacob Beghtly. The present (1770) state of the Mennonites in this province is as follows: 1st, Their churches, which contain many branches, are 13. 2d, The meeting-houses belonging to them are 42. 3d, Their ordained ministers or bishops are 15. 4th, Their probationary or licensed preachers are 53. 5th, The families are about 810, which, allowing 5 to a family, contain 4050 souls; whereof 1448 persons are baptized and members of their churches. This account, I believe, is pretty exact, except the county of Lancaster hath introduced any error into it; for in that county I have not met with as much readiness to give me the information I sought, as in the other counties; owing, I believe to a suspicion, that a knowledge of their state would some way or other be to their prejudice.

"In the year 1743, the Mennonites began a settlement in Frederick county, Maryland, 56 miles N.W. from Annapolis, and 122 S.W. from Philadelphia; and in 1770, according to Mr. Edwards's account, their society had increased to about 400 families, in which, allowing 5 to a family, were 2000 souls, whereof 861 were baptized. In this large community were five ordained ministers or bishops. The Mennonites, also founded a society in Augusta county, Virginia, in the year 1752. which, at the time above-mentioned, had increased to about 100 families, whereof 52 were baptized."*

From the foregoing accounts it appears, that there were of the Mennonites in America, in the year 1770, 15 churches; about 20 ordained ministers or bishops, as they call them; between 50 and 60 probationary or licensed preachers; 2361 communicants; 1310 families; and, allowing 5 to a family, 6550 souls. Their number has probably decreased since that period, although they are at present considerably numerous. But as they have changed the administration of baptism, from immersion to affusion, and thereby not only departed from the only scriptural mode of administering this ordinance, but also from the example of the noble founder of this sect, we shall wholly leave them out in our enumeration of the American Baptists.

* Edwards's History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, p. 90—93.

CHAP. XIX.

Missionary Societies.

THE most considerable institution of this kind among the Baptists in America was formed at Boston in 1802. It must be considered as an appendage of the Warren Association, as its principal promoters were members of that body. Since the Boston Association has been formed, it has been patronized by both of these communities. About the time this society arose, there were many Macedonian cries from different parts of the country, and a number of zealous preachers stood ready to go forth to labour among the destitute, provided they could have some assistance to bear them on the way. In this posture of affairs, proposition was made by Dr. Baldwin and others for establishing a society upon a missionary plan. Many were fearful of engaging in the undertaking; but an attempt was made, which has been crowned with abundant success. The first year they received but about 150 dollars, but their receipts have increased yearly, so that they have now in eleven years received about 12,000 dollars; most of which has been expended in sending missionaries in the District of Maine, in Nova-Scotia, in the Canadas, and in the back settlements of New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, and some other States.

The ministers who have been employed by this society, are Elders Isaac Case, Joseph Cornell, Peter P. Roots, Lemuel Covel, John Tripp, David Irish, Jesse Hartwell, Phinehas Pilsbury, Henry Hale, Barnabas Perkins, Samuel Rowly, Clark Kendrick, Samuel Ambrose, Stephen Parsons, Hezekiah Pettet, Samuel Churchill, Samuel Nelson, Simeon Coombs, John Chadburn, Henry Kendall, and others. Of these missionaries, Messrs. Case and Roots have been almost constantly in the employ of this society for six or eight years past. The first has laboured mostly in the District of Maine, New-Brunswick, and Nova-Scotia; the other in the back settlements of New-York and in Upper Cannada. This society, in 1811, had twenty missionaries in its employ; they laboured upon an average almost four months each, and the sum total of their services was over six years; their salaries amounted to 1600 dollars, that is, 260 dollars a year, or five dollars a week, for each missionary.

This society received at one time 600 dollars from the late Richard Devens, Esq. a Congregationalist of Charlestown. Besides this, very considerable assistance was received at other times from that liberal gentleman. A number of Female Mite Societies have been distinguished auxiliaries of this evangelical institution. The first society of this kind was formed in Boston in 1809. This has contributed 500 dollars; the Boston Cent Society about 400; and a society of little children in the same town 85 dollars. The Providence Mite Society has forwarded to this missionary board about 550 dollars; the one in Salem over 400; and another in Haverhill 394. Similar Societies have been formed in Newton, Attleborough, Rehoboth or Seekonk, Warren, Newport, and other places, by which sums of considerable amount have been contributed. These Societies are formed of religious women, and of those who are favourably disposed towards the propagation of the gospel abroad; their rule is to give a cent a week, that

is, fifty-two cents a year: those who are disposed, give more. They make their collections quarterly, and by their laudable exertions, by this new and unprecedented economy of raising money in a way which no one can feel, these societies have, together, within a very few years past, contributed for missionary purposes between two and three thousand dollars.

The Baptists in New-York began to exert themselves in the missionary cause, in connexion with the Presbyterians in that city, about the beginning of the present century. By their united efforts, sums of considerable amount were raised, and missionaries were sent out in different directions. Mr. Holmes, of the Baptist order, was stationed among the Six Nations, where he laboured a number of years to some effect. But our brethren not finding matters to go on according to their minds, in 1806 withdrew, formed a society by themselves, and very good success has attended their exertions. Since they began their operations, the sum total of their receipts amounts to about 5500 dollars. They expect, in the spring of 1814, to receive a thousand dollars, lately bequeathed the society. The missionaries they have employed are Messrs. Charles Lahatt, Elkanah Holmes, Luke Davis, William Pierce, Daniel Steers, Samuel West, James Harris, Enoch Ferris, and Edmund J. Reis.

Since the late unhappy divisions in New-York, the First church in that city has operated in missionary affairs in a distinct, individual capacity, and has collected between four and five hundred dollars.

The Philadelphia Association set on foot a missionary plan about 1800. Their receipts for some years at first were not large, but there has been a promising increase of their means; so that they have been enabled to send the Gospel to many destitute places in the back parts of Pennsylvania and in the north-east parts of Ohio. They have employed as missionaries Messrs. Thomas G. Jones, Thomas Smiley, Henry George, William West, and others.

The New-Jersey Association, at the time that it came out of the Philadelphia, established a Missionary Society within its bounds; and in the year 1812, its receipts from different sources amounted to about 200 dollars. What it has received this present year I have not learnt, but it is hoped not a less sum.

The Virginia Baptists, with all their ample means, do not yet seem to have interested themselves in missionary concerns.

In North Carolina a few years since an institution was formed by the name of the Philanthropick Baptist Missionary Society; but it does not appear that any thing considerable has yet been effected by it.

By the Charleston Association a Missionary Society was begun in 1803. It had for its principal object the sending of the gospel to the Catawba Indians, who inhabit their State, of whom, and also of the success of the mission to them, some account is given in Vol. II. p. 146, 147. In 1810, this society had collected by annual contributions $1896:60 of which $1850:78 had been expended in paying the salaries of their missionary and school-master, purchasing books, &c.* It has probably received about $200 a year since, which would now (1813) make the sum total of its receipts, about $2500. It appears

* Furman's Hist. of the Charleston Association, p. 52.

by the Minutes of the Association for 1812, that in that year $122 : 50 were received from the Wadmalaw and Edisto Female Mite Society, by the hands of Mrs. Eliza A. Adams, and Mrs. Hepzibah Townsend.

When we go back from the seaport towns, we find a considerable number of missionary establishments. The Shaftsbury Association, early in the beginning of this century, began to make exertions to send the Gospel to the destitute. Elders Blood, Warren, Covel, and others of their most distinguished preachers, before that period, had made many evangelical excursions into remote regions on their own expense. In 1801, it appears by their Minutes, that Mr. Covel made "a proposition for raising a fund, by contribution, for sending missionaries to preach the Gospel in destitute parts of the frontier settlements, and as far as they should have opportunity, among the natives of the wilderness." The next year some small sums were sent in; the year after, their contributions amounted to almost 80 dollars; and from that period they have made annual collections from churches, mite societies, and individuals, from 90 to 180 dollars. The sum total of their contributions, from 1802 to the present time, must amount to upwards of 1500 dollars.

In the bounds of the Otsego, Madison, and Franklin Associations, has been formed an institution for missionary purposes, by the name of the Hamilton Missionary Society. It was begun in 1807, and had, in 1811, sent out missionaries into different parts, to the amount of almost seventy weeks. Auxiliary to this is a society of religious and benevolent ladies, in the town of Hamilton, who, by taking hold of the distaff, have furnished clothing for their missionary brethren. In February 1812, they presented the missionary board with *twenty* yards of fine woollen cloth of their own manufacture. In the town of Carenovia a similar society has been formed, who have, with their own hands, manufactured *thirty* yards of fine linen, and about as much of woollen, for the clothing and the comfort of their brethren, who expose themselves to the summer's heat and winter's cold, to bear the glad tidings of peace to those who are perishing for lack of knowledge. When these accounts were received, similar societies were forming in Fabius, Onondaga, Pompey, German, Homer, &c.

On the west of this region an institution was formed some years ago, called the Lake Missionary Society; but of its origin and movements I have obtained no accounts. There is also a missionary establishment in the District of Maine, called the Maine Missionary Society, which was formed in 1804. By the year 1810, they had collected, in various ways, between five and six hundred dollars, which they had appropriated to the design of their institution.

In addition to these societies, the several Associations of Sturbridge, Leyden, Woodstock, Vermont, Saratoga, Cayuga, and Black-River, in New-England and New-York, have some years past made annual collections of from about forty to considerably over a hundred dollars. About eighty dollars a year are generally collected. These monies they generally appropriate to their own ministers, who are disposed to itinerate, in places remote and destitute. All these institutions are called missionary, though most of them more properly deserve the name of itinerant. Their effects have been peculiarly useful and promising,

Many, who had previously a zeal for itinerating, have been enabled to do it without injury to their families or embarrassment to themselves. Many new and destitute places in this wide-spread country have been blessed with the dispensation of the precious word of life; many of the saints, who have removed far from their brethren, have been refreshed; many sinners have, by the labours of the missionaries, been hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and by their means a considerable number of churches have been planted.

As near as I can ascertain there has been collected by all the different Baptist Missionary Institutions since about 1803, that is, in the ten last years, not far from *thirty thousand dollars*. In this sum I do not include what the New-York brethren contributed while they were in connexion with the Presbyterians, nor the monies, which have been sent to India formerly, or have lately been raised towards supporting Messrs. Judson and Rice in that region. More that one third of this sum, we have seen, has been raised by the Massachusetts Baptist Society, and very few of our brethren comparatively have been concerned in raising the remainder. What might we expect if they would unite their efforts in this evangelical undertaking?

Literary Institutions, and Education Funds.

BROWN UNIVERSITY is the most important literary establishment among the Baptists in America. It was projected, according to Morgan Edwards, in 1762, by the Philadelphia Association. The year after, Mr. James Manning, who afterwards became its president, landed at Newport on his way to Halifax, Nova-Scotia, "and made a motion to several gentlemen of the Baptist denomination, (of whom Col. Gardner, the Deputy-Governor was one,) relative to a seminary of polite literature, subject to the government of the Baptists. The motion was properly attended to, which brought together about fifteen gentlemen of the same denomination at the Deputy's house, who requested Mr. Manning to draw a sketch of the design against the day following." The plan was formed according to desire, and the next day Governor Lyndon and Col. Job Bennet were appointed to draw a charter; but they pleading unskilfulness in the business, solicited the aid of Rev. Ezra, afterwards Dr. Styles, president of Yale College, New-Haven. Before the business was matured, Mr. Manning was obliged to go on board the vessel for Halifax. "The object for fixing on Rhode-Island for a Baptist College was, that that Legislature was chiefly in the hands of their denomination, and was therefore the likeliest place to have one established by law." But so unsuspicious were the Baptists, that they came very near being defeated in their design. The charter was so artfully drawn by Dr. Styles, that the Presbyterians would have had the power of controlling the institution, had it received the sanction of the Legislature in its original form. "When Governor Lyndon inquired of the Doctor, why he had perverted the design of the charter? he answered, *I gave you timely warning to take care of yourselves, for that we had done so with regard to our society*, observing at the same time that *he was not the rogue.*" The history of this sectarian intrigue is thus stated by Daniel Jenks, Esq. "While I attended the business of the Assembly, (held August, 1763) Capt. William Rogers

came to the council-chamber and presented me with a paper, with a design I should sign it, adding, "that as it was a petition for a Baptist College he knew I would not refuse." Business not permitting me to attend to him immediately, I requested he would leave with me the petition and charter. Meanwhile the serjeant made proclamation, requesting the members to take their seats; in my seat I began to read the papers, but had not done, before the petition and charter were called for, which I gave to the serjeant, and he to the speaker at the board. The petition being read, a motion was made to receive it and grant the charter. After some time I stood up to oppose proceeding immedately on the petition, giving my reason in words to this effect. "I understood that the college in question was sought for by the Baptists, and that it was to be under their government and direction, with admission only of a few of other religious denominations, to share with them therein, that they might appear as catholick as could be, consistent with their main design; but on the contrary, I perceived, by glancing over the charter while I sat in my place just now, that the main power of goverment and direction is vested in twelve fellows, and that eight out of the twelve are to be Presbyterians, and that the others may or may not be of the same denomination, but of necessity none of them is to be a Baptist. If so, there is treachery somewhere, and a design of grossly imposing on the honest people, who first moved for the institution; I therefore desire that the matter may lie by till the afternoon." This was granted. In the afternoon the matter was resumed, with a seeming resolution in some to push it through at all events; but I had influence enough to stop proceeding then also. That evening and next morning I made it my business to see Governor Lyndon and Col. Bennet, and to inform them of the construction of the charter. They could not believe me, for the confidence they had in Dr. Styles's honour and integrity, until seeing convinced them. What reflections followed may be better concealed than published. However, we all agreed to postpone passing the charter into a law, and did effect our purpose for that session, notwithstanding the attempts of Mr. Ellery and others of the Presbyterians to the contrary. Before the breaking up of the Assembly, the House, at my request, directed the speaker to deliver the charter to me, after I had made a promise it should be forth-coming at the next meeting of the Assembly. I took the charter to Providence, and showed it to many who came to my house; others borrowed it to peruse at home. Meanwhile the messengers,* from the Philadelphia Association arrived in Newport, which occasioned the committee of Newport to send to me for the charter. I asked for it of Dr. Ephrahim Bowen, who had borrowed it last. The Dr. said he lent it to Samuel Nightingale, Esq. Search was made for it there, but it could not be found; neither do I know to this day what became of it. When the next General Assembly met (last Wednesday in October, 1763,) the second charter was presented, which was much faulted and opposed by the gentry, who concerned themselves so warmly about the other. And one in particular demanded that the first charter, which had been entrusted with me,

* One of these messengers was Dr. Samuel Jones, who, hearing of the difficulty his brethren were in, came on to their assistance.

might be produced. Then I related (as above) that it was lost, and the manner how it was lost; but the party, instead of believing this, very rudely suggested, that I had secreted the charter, and, in the face of the court, charged me with a breach of trust, which brought on very disagreeable altercations and bickerings, till at last I was necessitated to say, "that if there had been any foul doings, it was among them of their own denomination at Providence." Their clamours continued, and we gave way to them that session, for peace sake. Meanwhile, Dr. Bowen, who is a man of strict honour and integrity, used all means to recover the former charter, posting an advertisement in the most publick places of the town, and making diligent inquiry, but to no purpose. At the next Assembly, which met in February, 1764, the new charter was again brought on the carpet, and the same clamour against it, and unjust reproaches against me, were repeated. It was said that the new charter was not like the old; and was constructed to deprive the Presbyterians of the benefit of the institution. To which it was replied, "That it was agreeable to the design of the first undertakers; and if calculated to deprive the Presbyterians of the power they wanted, it was no more than what they themselves had attempted to do to the Baptists." After much and warm debate, the question was put, and carried in favour of the new charter, by a great majority."*

The charter is too lengthy to be transcribed, but the following is a summary of its contents. The institution was named the "Trustees and Fellows of the College or University, in the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations." The corporation consists of two separate branches, with distinct, separate, and respective powers. The number of Trustees is thirty-six, of whom twenty-two are Baptists, five of Friends or Quakers, five Episcopalians, and four Congregationalists, frequently called Presbyterians. The same proportion of different denominations to continue *in perpetuum*. The number of Fellows, (including the President, who is a Fellow, *ex officio*) is twelve, of whom eight are Baptists, the others may be chosen indiscriminately from any denomination. The concurrence of both branches by a majority of each is necessary for the validity of an act, except the adjudging and conferring degrees, which exclusively belongs to the Fellowship as a learned faculty. The President must be a Baptist; Professors and other officers of instruction are not limited to any particular denomination. The annual commencement is on the first Wednesday of Sept. when there is a general meeting of the Corporation.

For a few years after the charter was granted, the institution moved on but slowly towards maturity. Mr. Manning was chosen President, and in 1766, began with a small class at Warren, where it was at first proposed the college should be located. The year after, Mr. Morgan Edwards, of Philadelphia, set sail for England, to collect money towards paying the salary of the President and his assistant, for as yet they had no funds. Mr. Edwards met with very good success, "considering," as he says, "how angry the mother country then was with the colonies for opposing the stamp-act."

Afterwards, the late Dr. Hezekiah Smith and others collected sums of considerable amount for the purpose of endowing the institution.

* Edwards's MS. History of Rhode-Island, p. 323—327.

In 1769 proposals were made for building a college edifice; but serious difficulties arose respecting the place where it should be erected. The four towns of Warren, Providence, Newport and East-Greenwich, in four different counties, were named as eligible situations. In this posture of affairs, it was proposed by the Corporation, that the county, which should raise the most money, should have the college. Providence bid the highest, and of course obtained it. Here an edifice was begun in May, 1770, which was roofed in the autumn of that year. It was built under the superintendence of "the adventurous and resolute Browns," of Providence, viz. Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses, who were then united in trade under the firm of Nicholas Brown & Co. They each subscribed two hundred pounds, L. M.* but in the end, the building cost them much more.

The college edifice is of brick, four stories high, exclusive of the cellar, which is partly above ground, 150 feet long, and 46 wide, with a projection of ten feet on each side. It has an entry lengthwise, with rooms on each side. There are 52 rooms for the accommodation of students, and four larger ones for publick uses.

This elegant building, which was erected wholly by the generous donations of individuals, mostly of the town of Providence, is situated on a hill to the east of the town, has a pure salubrious air, and commands a delightful prospect of the town of Providence, the Narraganset Bay and the islands, and of an extensive country around, variegated with hills, dales, plains, wood-lands, &c.† The college lot contains about five acres, originally the property of Chad Brown,‡ one of Roger Williams's associates and his successor in the care of the church of which they were both constituent members. Near the college are the President's house, a commodious brick building for a Grammar School and the Medical Lectures, and out-buildings for the accommodation of the President and steward.

The Library belonging to this University amounts now to near three thousand volumes, many of which were collected by Morgan Edwards in England, and many others have been presented by the Baptists in that kingdom, and by benefactors of different denominations, both there and in different parts of the United States. A valuable Law Library, supposed to be worth about eight hundred dollars, is the gift of Nicholas Brown, Esq. who has presented besides a great number of books of different kinds. We ought furthermore to add that this distinguished benefactor, a few years ago, agreed to give five hundred dollars towards increasing the Library, if the corporation would appropriate as much more. This liberal proposition was accepted; a part of this thousand dollars has been expended, but a considerable sum yet remains to be laid out.

* §666—67.

† In full view of the top of the College, is the Seekhonk plain, in Rehoboth, where Roger Williams first pitched his tent among the Indians, when banished, from Massachusetts, and from which he was warned by the men of Plymouth, to remove across the Narraganset Bay, &c.

‡ This circumstance was first suggested to me by Friend Moses Brown; I have since found it noticed by Morgan Edwards, so that I think there can be no doubt, but that Brown University stands on land originally owned by the ancient Chad Brown, although it received its name from one of his posterity of the sixth generation.

Fifteen or twenty volumes of Grammars and Translations of the Scriptures in the Oriental languages, have lately been received from the Baptist Missionaries in India.

The Philosophical Apparatus, though not so large as those of older Universities, is yet respectable for its extent. It consists of an Orrery, a Theodolite, a reflecting Telescope, solar and double Microscopes, convex and concave Mirrors, Lenses, Globes, an Air Pump, the gift of the late Nicholas Brown, Esq. Machinery for Hydrostaticks, Electricity, and Mechanicks, together with such other articles as are necessary to a respectable course of experiments on modern philosophy. A number of these articles were purchased with a donation of five hundred dollars from the late Samuel Elam, Esq.

The officers of this University are as follow:

Hon. JABEZ BOWEN, LL. D. *Chancellor.*
Rev. ASA MESSER, S.T.D. LL.D. *Pres.*
Hon. DAV. HOWELL, LL.D. *Prof. Law.*
Rev. CALVIN PARK, A. M. *Professor Moral Philosophy and Metaphysicks.*
WILLIAM INGALLS, M. D. *Professor Anatomy and Surgery.*
SOLOMON DROWN, M. D. *Professor Materia Medica and Botany.*
JOHN BAILEY, A. M. *Tutor and Librarian.*
JOSEPHUS WHEATON, A. B. *Tutor.*
GEORGE FISHER, A. B. *Preceptor of the Grammar School.*

William C. Bowen, M.D. former Professor of Chemistry, has lately resigned. It is expected a new Professor will soon be appointed.

The Medical Establishment was begun in 1810, and bids fair to be an important acquisition to the Institution. A Professorship of the Theory and Practice of Physick has been established, but a Professor has not yet been appointed. A Botanical Garden is in contemplation.

The number of students is over a hundred and twenty; in the summer of 1813, they were a hundred and thirty-five, of all denominations; and the same religious freedom reigns in the College as in the State. The students do not repair here to study divinity, but to acquire a knowledge of the arts and sciences, that they may be qualified to engage in whatever profession their views and feelings shall dictate.

The funds of the University, according to a report of the Treasurer in 1811, were over fifteen thousand dollars; and as the establishment has, for some time past, supported itself, they are yearly accumulating.

The foundation for these funds was laid by the collections of Morgan Edwards, Dr. Hezekiah Smith, and others. Two thousand dollars of it were granted by Congress in consideration of the damages the edifice sustained during the Revolutionary War. This grant was obtained by means of John Brown, Esq. who was at the time a Representative from the State.*

Exclusive of these endowments is a foundation for a Professorship of Oratory and Belles Lettres, which was laid in 1804, by Nicholas Brown, Esq. in consequence of which the University received its name.† This was at first five thousand dollars; in 1811 it had in-

* For six years during the war, this Seat of the Muses became the Camp of Mars; that is, from December 1776 to June 1782, the college edifice was used, by the French and American troops, for a hospital and barracks; so that the course of education was interrupted during that period. No degrees were conferred from 1776 to 1786.

† The institution had no specifick name previous to this period; it had been called Rhode-Island College, the College at Providence, &c. The privilege of

creased to over seven thousand. A Professor is to be appointed when the interest of this fund shall be sufficient to afford him a competent salary.

This institution has had three Presidents. Dr. Manning, its founder, held this office about twenty-five years. His character has been given in the biographical department.

Successor to him was Jonathan Maxcy, D. D. now President of the College at Columbia, South-Carolina. He was born at Attleborough, Massachusetts, a few miles from Providence, 1768, was chosen President of this institution soon after Dr. Manning's death, and held the office about eleven years, when he was chosen President of Union College, Skenectady, (New-York) where he officiated a few years before his removal to his present situation.

Asa Messer, D. D. LL. D. was elevated to the presidential chair in 1802. He was born in Methuen, near Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1769, and was brought up under the ministry of the late Dr. Hezekiah Smith. He has now been in the University in different stations, twenty-six years, that is, from the age of eighteen.

In speaking of the other literary institutions, which it may be proper to notice, we shall pursue the order, of the States, beginning with

The District of Maine.

In the winter of 1812, the Baptists in this District obtained of the Massachusetts Legislature a grant of a township of publick unsettled land, for the purpose of erecting a College. The township contains over 20,000 acres, which it is expected will sell for as many thousand dollars. This was a new thing under the sun, and is believed to have been the first publick grant, that was ever made by any court or legislature to our denomination. The Baptists, as citizens of the Commonwealth, had a righteous claim for their part of its publick property; but their petition was much opposed, and it is doubted whether it would have been granted, had it not been for the assiduous exertions of Rev. Daniel Merrill, of Sedgwick, who was, at that time, a member of the House of Representatives.

Sums of considerable amount had been subscribed towards this intended College, before the grant was obtained; but I do not learn that much has yet been done towards setting it in operation.

Mr. Williams's Academy.

In 1776, Mr. William Williams, pastor of the church in Wrentham, Massachusetts, one of the first graduates of Brown University, opened an Academy for teaching the Languages, Arts and Sciences, &c. Mr. Williams has had over a hundred scholars under his tuition, most of whom have finished their education at the University at Provi-

giving it a name was reserved for some generous benefactor.—The sum had never before been specified; but at the date above mentioned, the Corporation fixed it at five thousand dollars, which was immediately presented by Mr. Brown, who conferred on the institution his own name.

dence. Among these students were President Maxcy, and the Hon. David R. Williams, of South-Carolina. About twenty out of the whole number, have become Baptist ministers, most of whom are yet living. A few have entered the ministry in the Congregational connexion, and most of the remainder studied physick or engaged in the law.

Mr. Eaton's Academy, at Hopewell, New-Jersey.

"Mr. Eaton was the first man among the American Baptists, who opened a school for the education of youth for the ministry." This school was begun in 1756, and closed in 1767. Towards the support of it the churches in the Philadelphia Association raised a fund of about four hundred pounds, which was afterwards mostly annihilated by the ravages of continental money. Among the ministers who received the rudiments of their education at this Academy, were President Manning, Dr. Samuel Jones, Dr. Hezekiah Smith, Dr. Isaac Skillman, and Messrs. David Thomas, John Davis, William Williams, Robert Keith, Charles Thompson, David Jones, John Sutton, David Sutton, James Talbot, John Blackwell, Joseph Powell, William Worth, and Levi Bonnell.

A considerable number of his students engaged in the professions of physick and law, and of this last class was Judge Howel of Providence, Rhode-Island.

Dr. Jones's Academy, at Lower-Dublin, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Jones, we have seen, was one of Mr. Eaton's students; he finished his education in the College at Philadelphia, opened the Academy in question in 1766, and closed it in 1794. The number of his students amounts to 69 in all; fourteen of them became Baptist preachers. Dr. Jones, out of the abundance of his wealth, has, as he informs me, resolved on leaving a thousand dollars in the hands of the trustees of his church and congregation, with directions to apply the interest towards educating young men, who are promising for the ministry.

Baptist Education Society of the Middle States.

This Society was formed at Philadelphia in 1812. "Its avowed and explicit design is, with a divine blessing, the assisting of young men in obtaining such literary and theological aid, as shall enable them, with greater ease to themselves and usefulness to the churches, to fulfil the duties of the Christian ministry. Such persons only shall be considered as eligible to the privileges of the society as are regular members of Baptist churches, and as have been licensed to the ministry, and are by the trustees of the society considered as possessing talents likely to contribute to ministerial usefulness." This society has collected funds to the amount of about fifteen hundred dollars. Dr. Staughton, of Philadelphia, has been chosen tutor, and a small class of young gentlemen of the character above described are studying at his house. A building, suitable to the designs of this Society, is in contemplation, and should the brethren of the Middle States

make a liberal advance of the abundant means they possess, this institution may prove a valuable acquisition to the churches, whose benefit it has in view.

Mr. Roberts's Academy, at Statesburg, South-Carolina.

THIS seminary was opened in 1800. Some accounts of its students will be given in the history of the Education Fund belonging to the Charleston Association. Mr. Roberts is a graduate of Brown University, and was approbated as a preacher by the church in Providence.

Mount Enon Academy.

THIS Academy is not far from the city of Augusta, in Georgia, 140 miles from the Atlantick. It was begun about 1806, principally by the exertions of Dr. Holcombe, now of Philadelphia, by whom collections to a considerable amount were made in different parts of the State. This Academy is under the direction of a board of trustees, who have obtained an act of incorporation. They have funds to the amount of about three thousand dollars, besides unsold lots on Mount Enon, supposed to be worth about a thousand dollars. The President of this institution is Mr. Thomas H. Dixon, the number of students is about forty. Should the Georgia brethren increase in their relish for literature, and contribute freely of their pecuniary means, this seminary may, at some future day, arise into a College, according to the original design of its founders.

Besides the Academies we have named, Mr. Stanford's in New-York, Dr. Burgis Allison's of Bordentown, Mr. Nelson's at Mount Pleasant,* and a number of others, have been conducted by Baptist ministers, and in them many, who are now preachers of the denomination, received much literary assistance. Buildings have been erected for Academies at Westfield and Middleborough, both in Massachusetts, which have just began their operations.

Education Funds.

THE one belonging to the Charleston Association, on many accounts, demands our first attention.

"This institution, which has for 'its object the gratuitous education of pious young men for the ministry,' commenced in 1791. In consequence of previous recommendation and arrangement by the Association, nine churches, viz. Charleston, Ewhaw, Welsh Neck, Ebenezer, High-Hills of Santee, Lynch's Creek, Cheraw Hill, Black Swamp, and Lower Fork of Lynch's Creek, sent delegates and contributions to the annual meeting held that year at the Welch Neck. Mr. Furman was chosen Chairman, and Mr. Holcombe, Clerk.

"A system of rules submitted to the Chairman was taken into consideration, and underwent several amendments. The ratification was deferred till the next meeting, and a proposition for the incorporation

* At this Academy the author began his classical studies, in 1802.

of the committee referred to the association for its concurrence. Mr. Matthew M'Cullers was recommended by Mr. Holcombe as a candidate for the patronage of the Committee, examined and approved. The Chairman was requested to contract for and superintend his education. A part of the money collected was appropriated to assist in the education of the late Rev. Joseph Cook's son, who it was agreed should afterwards be examined whether he came under the 'description of persons to be benefited by this institution.' Mr. Cuttino of Georgetown was requested to act as Treasurer till the next meeting.

"In 1792 the rules were re-considered, and after some further amendments, ratified and signed. A petition to the Legislature for incorporation was also signed, and committed to the Chairman to be forwarded. It was accordingly presented and incorporation obtained.

A SUMMARY OF THE RULES.

"This Committee shall be known and distinguished by the name of the General Committee for the Charleston Baptist Education Fund."

"Once a year, a Charity Sermon shall be preached in each church; at which time and place, collections shall be made from the congregation, and the money so collected, together with any donations or bequests received for the purpose, shall be applied towards forming and supporting a fund, to assist pious young men, designed for the work of the ministry, and destitute of other assistance, in obtaining education; together with such other religious and publick uses, as may be approved by the churches, should the fund finally prove sufficient."

"A committee consisting of a delegate from each church, chosen for the purpose, shall convene at the same time and place with the Association. They may be members of that body, but invested with distinct powers as members of the committee. They shall receive the collections, determine on the manner of applying the fund, according to the foregoing Rule, and examine candidates for the churches' bounty. The management of the fund is exclusively invested in those churches which contribute to it. The committee thus formed is to continue one year, or to continue till a new election. A President, Secretary, and two Assistants, shall be annually chosen, and form a select committee to transact, when the General Committee is not in session, such business as the General Committee shall judge necessary."

"The President shall contract for the education of such persons as are taken on the churches' bounty, and the expenses consequent thereon shall be paid by the Treasurer, on the President's written order."

"The Treasurer shall give bond to the President, in double the value of all monies or specialties in his hands."

"No person shall be admitted on the bounty, but such as come well recommended, and appear, on examination, to be truly pious, of evangelical principles, of good natural abilities, and desirous of devoting themselves to the work of the ministry. Each person so admitted, shall be under the Committee, while pursuing a course of studies, and be liable to refund the money, expended on his education, within four years after the completion of it, if he does not, within that time, enter on the ministry to the satisfaction of the Committee. When there are more candidates than can be received on the bounty, preference will be given to those who are members of churches in this Association:

secondly, to those who are most promising. If any person, while obtaining education under the patronage and direction of this body, shall embrace principles subversive of the great truths of the gospel, or abandon himself to an irreligious course of life, he shall, on proper evidence of the fact, and after suitable endeavours to reclaim him, if ineffectual, be dismissed."

"It shall be the duty of the Committee to use its best endeavours to obtain and apply for the general benefit of the churches, all property of the churches in this union, when the said churches are become extinct, and the property liable to revert to the publick or become private property. And in making such appropriations, they shall consult the Association. The Committee shall have no power to interfere in any concern of a church, either spiritual or temporal, where power is not expressly delegated to them by the churches."

"Signed Nov. 7, 1792, by Richard Furman, Henry Holcombe, Edmund Botsford, Alexander Scott, Bradley Khame, Benjamin Mosely, Stephen Nixon, Isham Gardiner, James Sweat.

"After the adoption of these rules, the following officers were chosen—Reverend Richard Furman, President; Rev. Henry Holcombe, Secretary; Col. Thomas Screven, Treasurer; Messrs. Thomas Kivers, sen. and John Gourlay, Asssistants.

"Agreeably to a resolve of the last year, Mr. Joseph B. Cook was examined. He was regularly received on the establishment; and in the year following Mr. John M. Roberts. In 1794 they were sent to Rhode-Island College, (now Brown University) where the latter graduated in 1796, the former in 1797. Rev. Jesse Mercer, of Georgia, was assisted, in 1792, with £ 10, and afterwards supplied with books.

"In 1800, Mr. Sydenham Morton and Mr. William Jones were admitted, and placed at the Academy of Rev. Mr. Roberts, near Stateburg. The same year a legacy of £ 100 was left the fund by Mrs. Frances Legare, a member of the Independent or Congregational church in Charleston.

"In 1802 it was resolved to fix the period of students' continuing at their studies, at the time of their admission.

"In 1803 Rev. Samuel Eccles was admitted, and Rev. Davis Collins, who had been some time studying under the patronage of the committee, retired. In this year a valuable library, consisting of works of theology and general science, was purchased for the use of students, and deposited with the Rev. Mr. Roberts for that purpose. Mr. Ezra Courtney, reccommended by the Ebenezer church, was examined and approved; 100 dollars was voted for his use this year.

"In 1804 died Col. Screven, who, from the first choice of officers, had acted as Treasurer. The Committee testified respect for his memory, approbation of his conduct, and sorrow for the loss of "so excellent a man, who did honour to his Christian profession, by a life of eminent piety and extensive usefulness."

"In 1805, Mr. William T. Brantley, who had been studying at Mr. Park's Academy, at Jeffer's Creek, was recommended by Mr. Woods and Gen. Thomas; on which it was agreed, that the expenses of his education and board for the current year should be paid. Mr. Brantley was soon after examined in Charleston, by the Special Com-

mittee; approved, and placed under the care of Mr. Roberts. In the course of the year following he was admitted into the South-Carolina College, where he graduated in 1808.

"Mr. Richard Todd, of Lane's-Creek church, was examined and approved in 1806. The thanks of the Committee were presented to Rev. Mr. Roberts for his gratuitous instruction of the students, placed under his care by the Committee.

"In 1808, Mr. James M'Kellar was examined as a candidate for the churches' bounty, and unanimously approved.

"In 1809, Messrs. Jesse Pope and John Ellis were admitted; and Mr. Belcher in 1810.

STATE OF THE FUND.

	Dols.	Cts.
"Contributions from the churches from 1791 to 1810	6831	63
Donation from the Religious Society - - -	161	61
Donation from individuals - - - - -	21	00
Legacy by Mrs. Frances Legare - - - -	428	57
	7450	81
Interest	1029	21
	8480	02
"Expended in the purchase of a library, and in the education, board, &c. of students - - - -	3397	70
"Amount of the Fund in money, bonds, and notes, Nov. 1810 - - - - - - - -	5082	32
"Besides the above amount are two tracts of land on Little Pedee, the gift of Jeremiah Brown, containing together near 2000 acres, and valued at upwards of - -	900	00

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE, FROM ITS FORMATION.

"*President*, Richard Furman.

"*Treasurers*, Thomas Screven, William Inglesby, Henry Jones.

"*Secretaries*, Henry Holcombe, John Waldo, John M. Roberts.

"*Assistants*, Thomas Rivers, John Gourlay, John Hart, Henry Inglesby, William Inglesby, David Adams."*

By the Minutes of this Association for 1811, it appears there were received for this fund for that year, 436 dollars. In 1812, the collections amounted to 292 dollars. The receipts for this year I have not learnt, as the Minutes have not yet come to hand.

The Philadelphia Association, as we have seen, began to raise a fund for the assistance of promising young men, &c. about half a century ago. In 1763, Mrs. Elizabeth Hobbs bequeathed to this fund, or to the Association by whom it was managed, three hundred and fifty pounds. Fifty more pounds were raised probably by contribution, and a number, whose names I have not obtained, were assisted by it. Had it not been for what Edwards calls the *O Tempora* of the war, and the *O Mores* of continental money, this fund, in 1790, would have

* Furman's History of the Charleston Association, p. 44—51.

amounted to eight hundred pounds.* What remains of it, which is a little over a thousand dollars, will probably be used as an auxiliary to the Education Society already described.

About 1791, a proposition was laid before the Warren Association for raising a fund for the same purpose as the others we have mentioned. The measure was approved of, but not much appears to have been done until two years after, when the patrons of the undertaking obtained an Act of Incorporation.

By bequests, donations, and contributions, &c. this fund has been augmented to about three thousand dollars: it is nominally more, but it is doubtful whether some notes will be collected. A thousand dollars of this fund came from the late Richard Devens, Esq. a member of Dr. Morse's church in Charlestown, the same liberal gentleman who gave so much to our Missionary Society. Generous donations have also been made to this institution by Nicholas Brown, Esq. of Providence, Col. Dana, of Newton, Dea. Goodwin, of Charlestown, Ebenezer Seccomb, Esq. of Salem, and many others. The names of those who have been assisted by it, are Joshua Bradley, Thomas Rand, Jeremiah Chaplin, Nathaniel Kendrick, David Curtis, Thomas Power, Charles Wheeler, Samuel Glover, George Phippen, David Pease, and Joseph Bailey, all of whom, except the two last, finished their educations at Providence. Messrs. Power, and Bailey have engaged in secular pursuits; the other ten are acting a respectable part in the Christian ministry. Although the dividends of this fund have not been great, yet they have afforded peculiar assistance to those above named towards defraying the expenses of their education. Elijah F. Willey and Herbert Marshall, now members of Brown University, are under its patronage.

A few years since, Levi Peirce, Esq. of Middleborough, presented to the Trustees of this fund an Academy, which he had built at his own expense. It stands near his house, at a place called the Four Corners, is 50 feet by 30, two stories high, and with the lot on which it stands cost about 2500 dollars. This liberal gentleman has given assurances of endowing this Academy with 2000 dollars, should the patrons of the fund and the brethren generally make exertions to forward his design. It is hoped that other funds will be added to the princely endowment contemplated by this distinguished benefactor; that a library will be collected, and things set in order, that we may have just what we want, viz. an Institution where brethren, who are not under circumstances to go the whole round of classical studies, may devote to literary pursuits what time they can spare.

* Materials towards a History of the Baptists in New-Jersey, p. 47—49.

CHAP. XX.

General Observations, Miscellaneous Articles, &c.

THIS chapter will not be so lengthy as was expected, since many of the observations and articles, which it was to contain, have been anticipated in the preceding narratives.

Morgan Edwards, about forty years ago, observed that the Baptists were more agreed as to the *credendi* than the *agendi* of their order; that is, they were more united in their doctrinal sentiments, than in modes of practice. At present there is some diversity on both of these points. But when we consider that they are spread over an extent of country more than two thousand miles in length, and from five hundred to more than a thousand in width; that they have rapidly increased from a small community to a numerous host; that among them are persons from almost every nation in Europe, and from nearly every religious persuasion in Christendom; that they are not bound to subscribe to any Articles or Confessions; that every church is a distinct, independent body, governed by its own laws and amenable to no foreign tribunal; that they admit of no dictating synods, nor controlling assemblies; I say, when all these things are considered, instead of being surprized at any diversity in smaller matters, it is rather a subject of wonder that there is such an agreement in their doctrinal views, and such a correspondence in their maxims and modes of procedure.

It must be understood, that the observations we are here making, regard the Associated Baptists, and those, who are in communion with them. The minor sects of baptized believers, have been described under their respective heads.

Throughout America and in England and its dependencies, the Baptists form but one body. A brother from the farthest churches on the American continent, or from the remotest part of the British dominions, need only produce a certificate of his regular standing, to be admitted to the communion and fellowship of any church where his lot may be cast. And by messengers from one Association to another, by the interchange of minutes, by epistolary communications, &c. there is a correspondence constantly maintained throughout this wide connexion.

There is, generally speaking, a great similarity of manners among all the churches on the American continent; and the same, I conclude, may be said of them elsewhere; yet there are some differences arising from local habits, and from that cameleon disposition of taking the colour of the nearest object. In many parts of the New-England States, there is a dull, unanimating manner, among both ministers and private Christians, which they seem to have borrowed from their Pedobaptists neighbours. In most parts of the Southern and Western States, you find among them much of the fervour, the ado, and amen, of the Methodists. Among the country churches in all the States a cordial and unaffected hospitality prevails; every house is a welcome home for ministers and brethren, who may call. The churches in towns and cities for the most part exercise hospitality to a good degree, and some at the southward pay a marked attention to visiting brethren, especially ministers. A few cities and principal towns, in

different sections of this wide-spread empire, are visited by so many brethren and even ministers on business of a secular nature, who, as it is right they should, provide lodgings for themselves, that it sometimes happens that those, who are on religious or preaching visits only are left to provide for themselves.

Take this denomination at large, I believe the following will be found a pretty correct statement of their views of doctrine. They hold that man in his natural condition is entirely depraved and sinful; that unless he is born again—changed by grace—or made alive unto God—he cannot be fitted for the communion of saints on earth, nor the enjoyment of God in Heaven; that where God hath begun a good work, he will carry it on to the end; that there is an election of grace—an effectual calling, &c. and that the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked will both be eternal.

The doctrines* of Arius and Socinus, with their concomitant train of errors, have found scarce any advocates among them; if any embrace these, they are by a general consent disowned and excluded from fellowship.

The doctrine of the Atonement has been differently understood. The old churches pretty uniformerly held that it was *particular*; that is, that Christ died for the *elect* only, and that in his stupendous sufferings, no respect was had to, nor any provision made for, any others of Adam's ruined race. This was called the strict Calvinistick or Gillite plan. Yet there have been some all along, who found this meat too strong for their appetite and digestion. These brethren, notwithstanding they disclaimed all merit in the creature, and held that salvation was by grace alone, were generally denominated Arminians, as it was thought there could be no medium between the systems of John of Geneva, and James of Amsterdam. The latitudinarian principles of such brethren, had, however, gained ground considerably previous to the importation of Dr. Fuller's piece, entitled, *The Gospel worthy of all acceptation*, which represents the Atonement as general in its nature but particular in its application. This new explanation was by many considered as affording peculiar relief to the embarrassments of the Gillite plan; multitudes every where became the disciples of our famous English divine; so that now it is probable the greater part of the American churches have fallen in with his views. There are some, however, who find considerable difficulties attending both Gill's and Fuller's definitions of this mysterious subject, and who, without either sceptical indefference, or a strenuous attachment to systems of human arrangement, content themselves with believing merely, that God *so loved the world*, that he gave his only begotton Son, that *whosoever believeth on him*, should not perish, but have everlasting life.

* It will be observed by the attentive reader, that throughout this work, the author has never used the word doctrines as applied to such sentiments as our denomination generally acknowledge to be true. I know our best writers use the expressions *Doctrines of the Gospel—Doctrines of Grace, &c.* I do not say they are wrong, but I can say I see no propriety in them. The multifarious errors of human and infernal invention are denominated *the doctrines of men—the doctrines of devils, &c.* but as if to represent the unity of the gospel plan, this noun, when applied to divine principles, is not once in the New-Testament used in the plural, but always in the singular number. Hence we read of sound *doctrine*, the *doctrine* or teaching of God—of Christ—of the Apostles, &c.

The ministers of this connexion are, for the most part, a set of plain laborious preachers, who strive more to address themselves to the consciences of their hearers, than to amuse them with the flowers of rhetorick and the embellishments of style. But a small portion of them have any considerable share of human learning, but they are capable of speaking to the understanding and comfort of their brethren: no set of preachers, except the Methodists, are more incessant in their labours; none preach with greater effect; and, with not many exceptions, they have and do now support a character becoming their sacred profession: and if some have turned out bad, let the denomination that is without sin, cast the first stone. When it is considered how little they have received for their services, and how straitened their circumstances have been, it is a matter of surprise that they have continued so incessant in their labours. Some may ascribe their zeal to party and proselyting motives; but those who know them best, will trace it to a higher and more respectable origin.

As a body, the temporal circumstances of our brethren, notwithstanding their scanty allowances, have been bettered more than a hundred per cent. within twenty or thirty years past. I am inclined to think, considerably over five hundred churches have arisen on ground which was in a wilderness state at the close of the last war. Most of the preachers who emigrated early to these settlements, have, by taking up new lands at a cheap rate, and by clearing them by their own exertions, and by the assistance of their brethren, obtained estates which afford them a comfortable subsistence; and some, by this means have acquired a considerable degree of opulence. Many of those in older settlements, have, from necessity, found out expedients, by which they have obtained a competent supply of the meat that perisheth; some have acquired good estates by inheritance, but not one in a thousand has laid up riches to any considerable amount from his salary for preaching.

Of the great numbers of Baptist ministers in America, twenty or thirty are probably worth twenty thousand dollars, or upwards; a very few are reputed to be worth from three to five times that sum. From fifty to seventy-five, may be worth ten thousand; four or five hundred, five thousand; probably about two hundred* are absolutely poor, and the rest have estates of every variety of value under the sum last mentioned. The acquisition of the knowledge necessary to make this statement was not a constituent part of the original plan of this work; but having the curiosity to learn the circumstances of my brethren, I made inquiries, not of them, but of their neighbours, and am confident I have not overrated their temporal abilities.

A great portion of these ministers are in the middle and advanced stages of life; those who are young in the ministry, and such as may hereafter engage in it, have a three-fold prospect before them: 1st, they must engage in a systematick course of secular concerns for a livelihood, which cannot but obstruct their ministerial usefulness; or, 2dly, they must be contented to sit down under the pressure of penury and want; or, 3dly, the churches must come forward upon a more liberal plan, and show by their conduct that they believe what their Bibles teach them on this important subject, viz. that the labourer is

* In this number we do not include those who are not yet settled. Counting them, there are probably more who have no estate of any kind.

worthy of his hire, and that they, who preach the gospel, shall live of the same. These sentiments, our churches uniformly profess to believe, and yet too generally conduct as though they had but little influence on their minds. Their parsimonious habits with regard to the support of the gospel, were acquired at an early period of their existence, and mostly by means of their ministers, who declaimed much against hirelings, salary-men, &c. and many had to feel through life the ill effects of their instructions.

In New-England, the business of parish taxes for the support of the established clergy, was pushed forward with rigour, and ministers and brethren united to cry down the offensive and unrighteous economy, but took no pains to establish a better one in its room. The tobacco salaries of the Episcopal clergy in Virginia became obnoxious to all dissenters, and to none more than the Baptists; but in arguing against them, they, like the New-Englanders, forgot, or at least made no provision for a gospel method of supporting their own ministers. Neglectful habits in both cases ensued, which have had an extensive and unfriendly influence. Kentucky is nothing more than a part of Virginia moved over the mountains; and to the other western, and all the more southern States, Virginian brethren emigrated, and carried their calculations with them.

There is a line of old churches through New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, which never had any ecclesiastical establishments nor religious publicans to contend with, and which have, from their beginning, been better endowed, and made better provision for their ministers than any Baptist churches in America.

In the peculiar circumstances we have mentioned, and under the unfriendly biasses they produced, most of the early churches in this country began their career; and from the unseasonable indiscriminating discourses of their ministers, they became deeply instructed in a lesson, which covetous nature is apt enough to learn, the embarrassing effects of which are felt to this day. A deacon once said to his minister, *The Lord keep thee humble, and we'll keep thee poor.* A minister once said to his people, whom he was obliged to leave, *You love the gospel—but you love your money better.* But whatever inconveniences ministers feel from the parsimony of their brethren, they generally decline saying much on the subject. And indeed it is an unwelcome task for a minister to teach a lesson, which he is much interested to enforce, but his people to oppose and neglect. If a church cannot see and will not supply the needs of their pastor, let him give them a hint of it by a letter of resignation, and not be always begging for more salary.

The brethren in Virginia perhaps exceed those in any other State in withholding their carnal things from those who labour among them. One of their ministers, who is very thoroughly acquainted with their affairs, writes thus: "The support of preachers in Virginia is extremely precarious. By most it is viewed as a matter of alms, and of course afforded only to the needy. I doubt whether there is one, who averages 300 dollars per annum, and perhaps not ten, who get 150 regularly. Some of the most popular and laborious preachers in the State, often pass more than twelve months, without receiving a cent for their publick services. No man dare preach about it. He

is at once defamed as a money-hunter, &c." Similar observations may be made respecting the churches in many other parts of the United States. The same writer informs us, that "the preachers in Virginia, notwithstanding their scanty allowance, are generally upon a mediocrity in point of property; if any thing, rather below." Ten, he supposes, may be worth ten thousand dollars each, independent of their slaves; seventy or eighty, five thousand; and not more than twenty in the State may be called paupers. One minister in Chesterfield county is reputed worth a hundred thousand dollars.

As a further illustration of the views of many of our brethren, respecting their duty towards their ministers, we will quote the two following ingenious pieces, which were written about the same time, by men who lived about a thousand miles apart, and who appear to have been wholly unacquainted with each other. The first was published by Mr. John Leland, in his Budget of Scraps, in 1810. The other is part of a Circular Letter, which was published in the Minutes of the Georgia Association, for 1808. The letter, as appears by the Minutes, was written by Rev. Thomas Rhodes.

"MANY MEN OF MANY MINDS.

"How various are the opinions of men respecting the mode of supporting gospel ministers!

"*A* thinks that preachers of the gospel should be qualified, inducted, and supported in a mode to be prescribed by the statute laws.

"*B* is of opinion that a preacher is not entitled to any compensation for his services, unless he is poor and shiftless, and cannot live without the alms of the people.

"*C* says, that it takes him as long to go to meeting and hear the preacher, as it does for the preacher to go and preach, and their obligations are therefore reciprocal.

"*D* believes that a rich preacher is as much entitled to a reward for his labour as if he was poor.

"*E* believes a preacher should give the whole of his time to reading, meditating, preaching, praying, and visiting; and therefore he ought to be liberally supported; not in the light of alms, but in that of a gospel debt.

"*F* joins with *E*, with this proviso, that the liberal support be averaged on all the members of the church, according to property and privilege.

"*G* also agrees with *E*, provided the liberal support be raised by a free, publick contribution, without any knowledge or examination what each individual does.

"*H* chooses to tax himself, and constable his own money to his preacher, without consulting any other.

"*I* loves the preachers, and pays them with blessings; but the sound of money drives all good feelings from his heart.

"When *J* hears a man preach, that he does not believe is sent of God, he feels under no obligation to give him any thing; and when he hears a preacher that gives him evidence that he is in the service of the Lord and devoted to the work, he forms the conclusion that the Lord pays the preacher well for his work as he goes along.

"*K* likes preachers very well, but preaching rather better: he feels,

therefore, best pleased when the preacher fails coming, and a gap opens for himself; for he had rather work his passage, and take his turn at the helm, than pay a pilot.

"*L* argues, like a man, that the preacher ought to receive something handsome for his services; and laments that himself is in debt, and cannot communicate any thing without defrauding his creditors; at the same time, he takes special care to keep always in debt for cheap farms, wild land, or some other article of an increasing nature.

"*M* is a man of a thousand. He argues that the *mode* of supporting ministers is left blank in the New-Testament; because no *one mode* would be economical in all places: but that the *deed* itself is enjoined on all, who are taught by an ordinance of Heaven. If, therefore, a contribution is recommended, *M* will be foremost to the box. When a subscription is judged most advisable, his name will be first on the list. If averaging is considered most equitable, he will add a little to his bill, lest others should fail. And if *no mode* at all is agreed upon, still *M*, as an individual, will contribute by himself; for he reasons, that if others are remiss, it is neither precedent nor excuse for him. He does not give to be seen of men, but because his heart is in it: and these *gospel debts* (as he calls them) he pays with as much devotion, as he spreads his hands in prayer to God. The creed of his faith, which seems to be written on his heart, is, "That although all the money in the world cannot purchase pardon of sin, or the smiles of a reconciled God; yet religion always has cost money or worth, from Abel's lamb to the present day. And that the man who will not part with a little money, for the sake of him who parted with his blood for sinners, is a wicked disciple."

"*N* approves of the faith and profession of *M* in every particular, but reduces nothing of it to practice.

"*O*, like his make, believes nothing, does nothing, and is as near nothing as any thing can be."

From the Georgia Minutes.

"THE CHURCH IN CONFERENCE ASSEMBLED.

"The deacon arose and said, "It is time, brethren, to make up something for the support of our minister." *(Offering a subscription) Whereupon,*

"*A* said he thought it to be a matter of *mere charity*, and (as charity begins at home) he was bound to provide for his *own*; at any rate, he thought the minister to be as well off as he, and many of his brethren were; and therefore considered himself under no obligation.

"*B* replied, that it could not be a matter of charity *at all*, since the laws of nature and of God enjoined it; and their own *call* of the brother made it a matter of *moral* obligation.

"*C* alleged that he had subscribed *liberally* to a useful institution, and must be excused in that case.

"*D* said, he had assisted *freely* in building the meeting-house, and must have time to recover it.

"*E* rejoined, he had been building houses or mills, and had no money left for any purpose.

"*F* said he had a son lately married, and it had called for all he could raise.

"*G* stated, that he had made several contracts, and feared he should not be able to meet them, &c.

"*H* arose and said, he was very much astonished at the pleas urged; as if *liberalities* to other institutions, *aiding* to build meeting-houses, *erecting* costly houses, *making* sumptuous marriages, or contracts to amass wealth, could exonerate from a positive duty.

"*I* remarked, he had made a short crop, and had nothing to spare. To which agreed *J*, *K*, *L*, and *M*.

"*N* said, he was poor, and *though willing*, was unable to do any thing. With whom *O*, *P*, and *Q* agreed.

"*R* stated, that *short crops* and *poverty* might excuse from doing *much*, but could be no just plea for doing *nothing*; since it is required according to what he has, and not according to what he has not.

"*S* said, he never subscribed to any paper. To whom said *T*, "Yes, brother, I am for none of this *obligation*; if I get any thing *to spare*, I will give it, and be done with it."

"*V*, *W*, *X* and, *Y*, alleged, that they thought it rather *dangerous to give liberally*, lest they should make their minister *proud*, and so hinder his usefulness, &c.

"*Z*, rising soberly, said, he had attended to what had been said on the subject, and was *grieved in spirit* to hear so many objections to the discharge of a *reasonable* and *just* duty: he feared that a spirit of *pride* and *covetousness* had disposed them to serve themselves of the good things of God, without returning him *one* thankful offering: he wondered how Christians could expect the continuance of the blessings of life, who are more abusive of, and unthankful for them, than heathens who never use any of a *new* crop, till they have offered the first fruits to the great Giver of all good. To the brethren, who are so afraid of spoiling the minister by liberalities, he said, "are not your sons and daughters as lovely, and their souls as precious in your sight as your minister? If so, why do you not govern them by the same rule; and when the sons request *superfines* to wear, *high prized*, *gaily* horses, and *fifty* or *sixty* dollar saddles to ride, and the daughters *lutestring* dresses with trails from *three* to *five* feet in length, *fine bonnets* and *feathers*, and other *costly* equipage of dress; why do you not say, "no, my lovely children, these will make you proud and ruin you." No, your families can be and appear in all the *fashionable elegance of dress*, and your boards loaded with all the *luxuries of life*, without adverting to the evil consequences of such conduct. "I would, (said he) that brethren would be consistent."

"Dear brethren, the spirit and result of the above are often seen in the face of your subscription-papers. There we see annexed to some names ten dollars; to others, five; others, one; and others, nothing; some giving and others withholding more than is meet; by which it *much oftener* happens that the preacher is like the colt *tied where two ways met*, than likely to be exalted by the abundance of your liberality. And, indeed, if any of you think the standing and usefulness of your minister depend on his poverty, we would advise you to be liberal to him, that he may be *proven* and stand in his *true* light; and especially we recommend this measure, as thereby you will have done your duty, and relieved a poor minister of God on the one hand, or have *detected* a hypocrite, *freed* the church of a pest, and the world of an impostor,

on the other. The faithful servant of Christ, instead of being haughty, would be humbled by the abounding of your liberality. How relieved and comforted would the poor minister be, if his brethren were to say to him, as a late, meek old minister said to a young one on his commencing his ministry—"*Go on, brother, in the cause of your Master, and be not anxious about the family, for they shall never suffer as long as I live.*" But we speak not with respect to want, or that we desire a gift; but that you may have fruit, which may abound to your account, to praise and honour at the coming of Christ, the chief Shepherd. *Philipp.* iv. 11—17."

The churches in the cities and principal towns have generally devised means to afford their pastors a competent support: many of those in the country have reformed much of their former negligence, and a more liberal spirit is, in many places, prevailing.

A review of the progress of the gospel will convince us that churches are seldom on the gospel line with regard to the support of their ministers; and it is highly probable that upon a large scale the cause of Christ has been more injured by ministers' receiving too much than too little. A preacher, who has a princely salary, is tempted to adopt a style proportionate, and in consequence becomes inaccessible and unprofitable to the poor of his flock, who are generally the most numerous and better part of it.

There is a place somewhere between the palace and the alms-house, where the ministers of the gospel ought to reside; but it is a notorious fact, that the real servants of Christ, in all ages and countries, as John Leland somewhere observes, have been like the camels of Arabia, who, while they carry spices and jewels, feed on shrubs and thistles.

As to our connexion in America, we will not cast all the blame of this affair on the churches, since the ministers ought to bear no inconsiderable share of it. Many, we have shown, by their imprudent discourses, excited prejudices, which were hard to counteract; and some at this present time, who have a competency of worldly things, either by heirship or by the favourable turns of fortune, refuse to receive a reward for their ministerial services; and, to gain popularity, speak often on the subject, and rather discountenance the practice, not considering that but few of their brethren are in their circumstances. Many, who engage in the ministry, go directly into secular employments, before they try the experiment, whether they will be supported without them. They soon get so embarrassed in worldly pursuits, that they cannot devote much time to study nor visiting their flocks; so that if their people give them but little for preaching, they give as much as it is worth. And it may happen that those, who have competent salaries granted them, instead of being assiduous in the duties of their ministry, spend most of their time in indolence, or else in plans and pursuits to lay up money. We do not pretend that many of our ministers come under this last class, as but few of them are in the circumstances it describes.

The Baptists have constantly been accused of despising literature, and of teaching maxims unfriendly to its prevalence. This is an accusation in many respects groundless, in others it needs some qualification. The acquisition of the common rudiments of learning, they have certainly always encouraged; but they have so often seen Greek,

and Latin, and Hebrew, placed over the head of the Saviour, that it is not strange if they have carried their prejudices against learned ministers to an undue extreme. But a relish for literature is prevailing, and its usefulness to ministers is more generally acknowledged than formerly, though none of our churches nor any of our ministers, whether learned or unlearned, have adopted the most absurd of all absurd propositions, that a man of gifts and grace, who has a dispensation of the gospel committed to him, cannot be qualified for the work, until he has gone the round of academical studies—obtained a smattering of Greek and Latin—of Euclid and Algebra—Navigation and Surveying—been constituted Master of Arts—and studied divinity six months or a year. Should the period ever arrive in which Baptist churches shall confine the ministry to college-men only, then transmigration will be rapid, and other churches will be formed from them, as they have been built up from all others, who have adopted this practice.

That learning is useful for a preacher, none, who know its benefit or have felt its need, will deny; but the true church of Christ never has, and in my opinion never will, hold that gospel ministers may not guide their fellow-men in the path of salvation without it.

The Baptists in all countries and ages have allowed and encouraged all their brethren, who have gifts, whether set apart for the ministry or not, to exercise them in their assemblies; and, when they are alive in religion, have many conferences and social meetings for the purpose. Meetings for social worship will generally be found a good thermometer, by which the temperature of churches may be correctly ascertained: those which have no meetings except on Lord's days, and where none but the minister takes any part in devotional exercises, may be considered in a cold latitude.

Some of our churches approbate brethren to preach, whose gifts lie mostly in exhortation, and many have wished for some regulation of this matter. In churches where graces abound, and whose members stand at their proper posts, there will be a great variety of gifts, which ought to be encouraged as *helps*, both to the pastor and flock. These gifts ought to be examined by the church, and each brother advised to exercise himself in the duty, which he appears best qualified to perform. But none should be sent out in the ministerial character, nor be invested with the pastoral office, but such as are able both to unfold and defend the doctrine of the cross. A brother may be useful at home, who is poorly qualified to travel and preach abroad.

Our churches generally license (as it is called) those who have gifts promising for the ministry; and after standing as lincentiates a year or two, they are ordained as administrators. This custom they have probably slid into without much consideration. Some are of opinion that a man, who is fellowshipped as a preacher of the gospel, should at the same time be qualified to administer its ordinances. If it be said, a trial is necessary to determine whether he have gifts or not, they reply, Let this trial be sufficiently made before he receives his license or approbation, and let him be kept at home and under the eye of the church during the time. This measure would confine ordination to the church.

Most, who become preachers among the Baptists, do it with reluctance and with many fears of their insufficiency; and indeed I think no man should undertake to preach, if he can, with a good conscience, let it alone; or, to speak without paradox, those whom God designs for his service will find a necessity laid upon them; all their views, plans and calculations will centre in the service of the sanctuary, and all the anticipated scenes of future life will be placed in the gospel vineyard. When churches are in gospel order, those who are excited by the Divine Spirit to the sacred work of dispensing the word of life, will have no occasion to press their brethren for approbation: they will discover their gifts, will foster them, and lead them forward to their proper employment. There are, now and then, cases of brethren taking it into their heads they *must* preach, when no body else thinks they can; and some churches, instead of dealing plainly with them, and deciding according to their judgments, set them to work to keep them quiet. But these instances, we are glad to say, are not common.

Associations among the Baptists have arisen, in some cases, from necessity, in others from convenience, but in most from imitation. Their utility cannot be disputed; their powers are generally defined to be just none at all, and yet many fear that they may in time usurp too high a place. Many benefits have followed their operation, yet some difficulties have also attended their progress, as the preceding narratives will show. When they are held and managed as assemblies for edification and councils of advice, no harm can possibly result to the churches from them; their independency, in the strictest sense of the word, may be maintained in an associate connexion. There is, however, in the human mind, an anxious desire for a court of appeal; and some Associations, by listening to the complaints of individuals, by interfering and deciding in the controversies of churches, have embarrassed their progress, and taken stands which they could not maintain, consistent with their advisory principles. Churches in the same Association often fall into disputes, by which their fellowship is interrupted; and it is certainly preposterous and inconsistent for them to remain in an associated fellowship, when they are at variance at home. In such cases, all agree something should be done; but this something has never been clearly and satisfactorily defined. Some, because of these things, object to Associations altogether, as difficult in their management, dangerous in their consequences, and likely to do more hurt than good. It is oftener much easier to find fault with others than amend ourselves: those very persons, who object to Associations, form, notwithstanding, ecclesiastical combinations much of the same nature. As naturally as animals of the same species flock together, so will Christians of the same sentiments gather into churches, and churches of the same faith and order form into combinations or Associations of some kind or other. Most heads have horns, which may be misused; all have places where they may be planted, and the business of those who fear their effects, is to bind them fast, or keep them from growing. A duly organized church of Christ is the highest ecclesiastical tribunal on earth, from whose decisions there is no appeal. If Associations cannot be maintained without infringing upon this principle, they had better be given up: but those, who have been the longest concerned in them, and who are best qualified to give a judgment in the case, believe they can.

The word Society is used in different senses by different portions of the American Baptists. It is frequently applied in all places to the denomination at large. In Kentucky and some other parts, when they speak of members in society, they mean church members only. In some places, particularly in New-York, by society meetings are generally understood meetings for social worship; but throughout New-England, and in many places in a number of other States, the term Society is applied to a body of men, who profess an attachment to Baptist principles, and who are associated in a distinct capacity to co-operate with the churches. The laws of New-England make it necessary for every dissenter to take shelter somewhere; the Baptists, at an early period, set apart outward sanctuaries, like the court of the Gentiles, hard by the porches of their temples, in which those, who were inclined to their sentiments, might find protection. And now a multitude of churches in New-England, and many elsewhere, have attached to their interests large fraternities of adherents called society-men. They have no voice in the churches, nor any concern in their discipline or spiritual affairs; in outward concerns they take a part, and often do the most. These societies are regulated by rules of their own, and no very rigorous requirements are made of candidates for admission. The brethren of churches generally are members of them, some others are hopefully men of piety, who have not professed religion, and of the rest many are worthy characters, who are sincerely attached to the Baptist cause, and do much for its support; but some are like rough or rolling stones in a building; they have no conviction of Baptist sentiments, care nothing for them or their cause, laugh at their zeal, and after having christened themselves with their name, ridicule all their distinguishing sentiments and practices; in some instances, they have been chased into this Baptist out-house by the parish assessors, in others they have come from political motives, many from whim and caprice, but nobody can tell why many of the rest have taken a stand on the Baptist side. These observations must be understood as applying to this social system at large. These societies are not always set in motion by church members, but are often formed before any churches arise, and cases are not unfrequent for them to exist many years without any church near them. Many of these societies are now found in Connecticut; they must take some name, and as the Baptists are the most popular dissenting sect, they choose theirs, but they are often about as clear of Baptist principles as the Saybrook Platform. They are mere bodies politick, and are founded from motives not purely religious. In most cases, Church and Society are like the two branches of a legislature, only one legislates on spirituals and the other on temporals; the concurrence of both branches, however, is generally sought for in the settlement of ministers, and all important undertakings, which regard the community at large. Between these two branches a good degree of harmony generally subsists, but in some instances the church is thwarted, embarrassed, and overruled in its measures by the more numerous and wealthy society-men, especially in the settlement of ministers. All the Pedobaptist establishments in New-England exist under the firm of Church and Society, and many of the Baptists and Methodists, and almost all other dissenters have adopted the economy. These societies have enabled many

of our churches to build costly meeting-houses, and do many other great things, which might not have been done without them; but after all that may be said in their favour, it is sincerely believed, that it would have been more for their reputation and comfort, if they had never existed. If I am rightly informed, our brethren in England know nothing of this economy; and I am certain, that more than half the churches in the United States have none of these curious appendages. Real friends and adherents do just as much in building meeting-houses, supporting ministers, &c. where they are not formed into societies, as where they are; and one peculiar advantage of being without them is, that houses of worship and other property for religious uses are and must be vested in the churches, and be under their direction and control. But the existence of these bodies has led to an embarrassing tenure of possessions of this kind, which many of our churches are heartily sick of, but which they cannot well reform. Those, who are beginning their measures, will do well to avoid it. Let houses of worship, and all possessions be held by the churches, and let them be contented with what they can do upon this principle. These reflections are not intended to have any bearing upon party disputes on this subject; they are the result of many observations I have made in my travels among the American churches.

In England, all must pay their tithes to the church, let them belong to what denomination they may; the New-England law-makers have provided an escape for dissenters, as we have already shown. The most we can say in favour of these societies is, that they have afforded a shelter for many characters, who would, without them, have been distrained upon for religious taxes to support a worship, which they did not attend, and in which they had no belief; but it ought also to be observed, that many have fled to these refuges, who have no principles only to save their money, and have been a dead weight upon the Baptist cause. In Massachusetts they can, by refusing certificates to such characters, turn them over again to the tormenters, which, however, is not done so frequently as it ought to be; in Connecticut, where they write their own certificates, this mode of redress does not exist.

The Baptists are by no means uniform in the appellations they give their ministers; but the greater part, both in their conversation and writings, denominate them elders; many, particularly in their writings, give them the title of Rev. while others use the common appellation of Mr. The Greek Presbuteros, the Latin Presbyter, and the English word Elder, are all synonimous, and signify one advanced in years. But as the ministers of God do or ought to possess the wisdom and gravity of seniors, the term Elder is frequently applied to them throughout the New-Testament, and is altogether proper to express their character. It is true, the word Elder is in some places in the New-Testament applied to persons on account of age, but more generally it regards their office.

The Greek Episkopos, the Latin Episcopus, and the English word Bishop, are also all of the same import; they literally mean an overseer, and no word is more proper to be applied to the pastor of a church; but it has so long been confined to a dignified set of ecclesiasticks, that dissenters have generally agreed to give it up to them.

The title of D. D. our ministers receive from home; it is considered in modern times merely an academical compliment, and as such

may not be very objectionable. Strictly speaking, every teacher is a doctor, as the word comes from the Latin doceo, to teach.

I know not where the term Reverend, as applied to ministers, came from, unless it was manufactured by Fastosus at Rome.* I do not say that it is an heretical or presumptuous title, as some have done; but yet there is something in the sound of it I do not like, notwithstanding it is frequently used in the foregoing narratives. Morgan Edwards, uniformly in all his writings, gives the title of Rev. to his ministers, whether Particular or General Baptists, Tunkers, Keithians, Mennonites, or Rogerenes. Many others pretty generally make all their ministers Reverends. In quoting from these writers, wherever this title has been found, I have let it stand, and have also, in conformity to custom, used it in some other cases.

The greater part of the American Baptists hold, that singing in publick worship ought to be led by church members, and practise accordingly. In some places, the sacred service is committed to a select choir of adepts in musick, whether professors of religion or not; and in some few instances, men of no religious pretensions are appointed to lead them. Preaching is rather an exhibition of gospel truth than an act of devotion; prayer and praise are the two chief parts of publick worship, and certainly none but Christians are fit to lead in either. I would not silence any, who are disposed to sing; but to set a man to lead in the solemn praises of God, who nobody supposes can join in the worship, is, in my opinion, preposterous and wrong. If church members cannot sing so well, let them do it as well as they can; and if no Christian is capable of conducting this service, let it be omitted, rather than employ an ungracious man for the purpose. In the cases we have supposed, singing is considered as an exhibition of musical skill rather than a devotional exercise. Let the sacred employment be performed with that holy solemnity, which becomes the devout worshippers of the august Jehovah; let it be viewed in the same light as prayer and other religious duties, and thoughtless, irreligious people will not be forward to engage in it.

I would not assume the dictatorial chair, nor act the censor's part, yet I will take the liberty of mentioning a few things more, which appear to me worthy of consideration.

Some churches, it is thought, carry their censures too far against those ministers, who have been guilty of faults which would be easily overlooked in a private brother; others restore to the holy office such ministers as ought never to be restored. A minister, who has been guilty of what may be considered a capital fall, who has committed crimes for which he has been, or would be, if prosecuted by human courts, condemned to severe penalties, may have repentance, and may be restored to church fellowship, but, in the opinion of many good judges, ought never to be reinstated in the ministry. They may preach as well as before; but the sad things against them will be in the minds of their hearers like the dead flies of the apothecary. Very few such characters have been restored, and it is hoped none will be in future.

Ministers, who have long borne the burden and heat of the day, who have exhausted the energies of their nature in the service of their

* See Vol. i. p 16.

brethren, who have sacrificed every worldly consideration to be incessantly engaged in the service of the sanctuary, are too often abandoned in the decline of life, by those very churches which they have been the instruments of building up, and shifted off to seek their living among their children and relatives, among sympathetick people of the world, or wherever they can find it. If the laws of nature and of God bind children to provide for their parents when they are old, what obligations are imposed on the children of the church, to comfort and support their spiritual fathers, while tottering down the declivity of age! But for this duty, and almost every other, where money is in question, many plead inability. But I have for the most part no belief in this plea; many, it is true, are poor, but there is among our brethren an abundance of worldly substance, which they are treasuring up for their heirs. When they came into the church, they professed to give up themselves, and all they had, to the Lord; but when called on to deal out of their substance for the support of the cause, their contributions are not like those of the rich, who cast into the treasury, but literally like the widow's two mites. Let the rich retrench their superfluities; let the poor double their economy; and let all conduct as if they believed they were stewards of the manifold bounties of God, and under an awful responsibility for their stewardship.

The neglect of aged ministers is a lamentable evil, but that of the widows and children of those who are gone, is, if possible, greater. An old servant of God, with his venerable hairs, will be remembered, and will be comforted by some of the compassionate sons of nature, if the churches neglect him; but the widow and fatherless are in danger of being entirely forgotten. There is the lonely consort of the man, who was once zealously engaged in the service of his God; but who was taken away in the meridian of his days. She was once respected and happy; her house was the resort of ministers and Christian friends, in whose prayers she was always remembered. But now, those for whom she toiled like Martha, pass her by. The churches have nothing of all their stores to spare for her comfort, and with her tender and fatherless babes, she is left in a wide world, forsaken and disconsolate. I cannot refrain from weeping while I write; and it is hoped that these suggestions will not be in vain.

It is proper here to observe, that the Warren Association, many years ago, adopted the benevolent custom of making an annual collection, at the close of the Association sermon, for the express purpose of assisting the widows and fatherless children of such ministers as have deceased in their connexion. Some of their collections have amounted to about an hundred dollars, though they are generally considerably under that sum. A committee of judicious brethren is immediately appointed to divide these collections according to their discretion, and distribute the dividends to their proper objects. The Boston Association has adopted the same custom, and these two bodies, after distributing sums to a considerable amount to the disconsolate objects of their compassionate regard, have on hand a fund of about three hundred dollars, which belongs to them jointly. If all Associations would adopt this custom, much good, we are confident, might be done.

Churches, and other religious institutions, often lose much of their funds for the want of those prudent measures, which every man thinks it necessary to use for the security of his own property.

Many of our churches, especially of late years, have built their large and costly houses of worship so much on credit, that they are obliged either to travel extensively to solicit aid, which has become an irksome task, or else remain long in debt and embarrassment. In most of these houses the pews are sold to the highest bidders, and the best of them are frequently taken up by the rich, who are seldom seen in them, while the greater part of those, for whose peculiar benefit the house was dedicated to the service of God, and who give a constant attendance on the service of the sanctuary, are obliged to retire to galleries and corners. If pews must be sold, (which it were better to avoid) let the church take up a certain portion of them in eligible situations, and hold them in reserve for those worthy poor of the flock, who are not able to purchase for themselves.

The circumstance of one minister's performing the pastoral office in two, three, or four churches, has already come under review. We proposed to make further observations on the subject; but if the churches so supplied are contented with the economy, we will say nothing more about it.

By reviewing the foregoing sketches, we see that the Baptists have spread over a wide extent of territory in this western world, and have increased to a numerous body. They now fill posts of honour and profit in every department of State. They officiate as Members of the Council of the Nation, Judges, Generals, Counsellors, and Magistrates; and in every branch of government, whether legislative, executive, or judiciary, they are found.

Under these considerations, two passages of scripture suggest themselves to our minds; *The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Be not high minded, but fear.*

Questions and Answers.

It is customary in all Associations, for all churches, which please, to send in questions on all subjects, concerning which they may desire the opinions of their brethren. Some of these questions regard local affairs, some are self-evident propositions, which admit of no dispute, while many are deserving of serious attention. Many of the Associations in the northern States hurry through their business so rapidly since they have become large, that they have but little time to say or think much upon any thing, and for that reason many questions, which merit a free and fair discussion, are disposed of in haste, and receive only vague, ambiguous, and unsatisfactory answers. In looking over the multitude of Minutes, which have fallen into my hands, the following questions, with their answers, have appeared to me worthy of being recorded, and may serve as a supplement to the preceding observations. From their nature, they admit of no particular plan of arrangement.

Question.—Is it consistent with the principles and conduct of a Christian, for a person to join himself to a lodge of free-masons? And if this be answered in the affirmative, Is it orderly for him to asso-

ciate with a lodge of the fraternity, who are evidently persons of immoral lives, and whose assembling together proves a mean of increasing immoral conduct?

Answer—First. As an essential part of the masonick constitution is secrecy, the Association find themselves greatly disqualified for giving a decided answer to the first part of the query. The universal benevolence professed by the members of that body; the acts of kindness and liberality actually performed in many instances by them; and the existence of persons professing Christianity in that connexion, make in favour of it; but on the other hand, the necessity a person is laid under, to bind himself by the most solemn engagements to secrecy, before he can receive the necessary information to enable him to form a regular and conscientious judgment on the subject, and which, should he finally disapprove it, must prove of the most embarrassing nature, appears to be so inconsistent both with reason and religion, that it should seem, at least, advisable for serious Christians to avoid the connexion; especially as we are amply furnished with directions, and aided by the most powerful and sublime motives to the purest benevolence, in the scheme of our holy religion, and as the principles of all the useful branches of science are open to the freest access. Yet we think the subject so intimately connected with the rights of private judgment, that a person should be left to his own conscientious determination respecting it.——Second. To associate with immoral persons, so as to give countenance to their immoralities, is certainly evil. Subjects of usefulness and duty, do at times, however, call us to act in connexion with such persons, which, though it exposes to danger and disgust, may be consistently done; while we carefully distinguish between the lawful transaction, by pursuing only that, and the incidental evil, which we avoid. But to associate with immoral persons, where duty in one form or other does not call, is to take part in their immoralities. The decision on the latter part of the query, therefore, must depend on the judgment which ought to be formed of the business of a masonick lodge, "Whether it is a matter of duty or not?"——*Minutes of Charleston Association for* 1798.

This question has been a great many times discussed in different Associations, but in no case has it received a more candid and satisfactory answer.

To the Roanoke Association in 1803, the following question was presented, viz. Will the word of God tolerate a minister of the gospel in sueing for a post of honour and profit in legislation, and retain the privileges of his ministerial office at the same time?

"For reasons unknown," says Mr. Sempie, "the Association never answered this question. We will," continues he, "offer a few reflections. For a real minister of God's word to become a candidate for a political office, seems to us more absurd, than for a man made prime minister, to sue for the office of constable. Doubtless, in the view of a sound mind, the disparity between the office of prime minister and that of constable, is not so great as between a legitimate stand in the pulpit and a seat in Congress. As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are God's honours above man's."

Quest. Can this Association receive churches into fellowship, who do not hold it a term of communion, that heads of families, in ordinary cases, attend daily family prayer?

Ans. In the negative.——*Minutes of the Otsego Association for* 1802.

Quest. Is it not wrong for a man, who is a member of a church, and the head of a family, wholly to neglect family worship on account of the smallness of his gifts in prayer?

Ans. It is wrong.——*Minutes of the Kehukee Association for* 1800.

Quest. How should dancing-schools and balls be formed and conducted, that they may accord with the Scriptures of the New-Testament, and that it may be found consistent with Christian good order to send our children to them, and encourage them?

Ans. As we have nothing to do in dancing-schools and balls, and have not made the regulation of them the subject of our studies, we are unprepared to answer this query.——*Minutes of the Charleston Association for* 1812.

This question was probably intended to have a bearing on such church members as send their children, or at least permit them to go, to those scenes of amusement described. The Association seems to intimate by its answer, that the evil did not exist among them; and happy for all if they could say the same.

Quest. How, and in what manner ought heads of families to deal with their households in regard to *frolicking?*

Ans. It is the opinion of this Association, that such a practice is contrary to the oracles of God, and ought to be restrained by family government; but the different circumstances attending such practices, render it difficult to be more particular.——*Minutes of the Vermont Association for* 1790.

Quest. What is the smallest number of members necessary for forming a church?

Ans. On this head different sentiments are entertained. Some have supposed *two* or *three* are sufficient; others have imagined *five*; some *ten*, and others *twelve*; because it would seem, that the church at Ephesus was formed of *twelve* men, Acts. xix. 7. The Association is of opinion, however, that much depends on the probability of the *persons* living *permanently* together, who may be about to be constituted. It appears desirable that there be in a new settlement where removals are frequent, at least *seven*, and that of these two or three be males.——*Minutes of the Philadelphia Association for* 1806.

Quest. Should a brother be continued in fellowship, who, though able, will not assist in supporting the gospel?

Ans. We are of opinion where the ability is *obvious* on the one hand, and the unwillingness *positive* on the other, and the brother cannot be brought to his duty by proper means, he ought to be excluded.——*Minutes of the Georgia Association for* 1808.

Questions on this subject have often been proposed to different Associations; they all give good answers, and yet covetous members meet with no great difficulty in pursuing their parsimonious habits.

Quest. Should a minister, who has been regularly ordained as an itinerant preacher, be called upon to take the pastoral care of a particular church, is there any thing necessary to be done on the occasion, more than the consent of each party?

Ans. Nothing more is necessary.——*Minutes of Kehukee Association in* 1799.

Quest. Is it the duty of a dissenter to acknowledge the right of

civil government, dictating in matters of religion, so far as to give a certificate to the clerk of a Presbyterian society what religion he is of?

Ans. We are of opinion, that it is oppression for one society to require certificates of another; but whether God requires us to say as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego did in another case; "Be it known to thee, O king, we will not," we leave for the present, for individuals to judge and determine for themselves, as they can answer it to God. ——*Minutes of the Danbury Association for* 1801.

Quest. Can a member of a Baptist church with impunity avail himself of the latitude the law allows, by defending suits, filing bills, appeals, &c. merely to procrastinate the payment of his just debts?

Ans. A member of a Baptist church cannot with impunity act in such a manner.—*Minutes of the Ketockton Association for* 1800.

Quest. Is that passage of St. Paul, in 1st Cor. xiv. 34, *Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak*, to be understood literally, or what are we to understand by it?

Ans. We conclude, that the Holy Spirit does not, in this, or any other passage of Scripture, prohibit women in the church to speak on all suitable occasions, respecting God's kind and gracious dealings with their souls; but forbids them to usurp authority as publick teachers, or to take upon them in any respect the government of the church.—— *Minutes of the Woodstock Association for* 1799.

Quest. Have we any duty to do as it respects members of sister churches, who remove into our vicinity, and feel themselves at liberty to live even in the negelect of gospel ordinances?

Ans. After due labour with them, report them to the church from which they came.——*Minutes of the Sturbridge Association for* 1806.

Quest. Is it gospel order for any person to use the office of a Deacon, before regularly ordained?

Ans. In the negative.——*Minutes of the Neuse Association, for* 1800.

This question has undergone frequent discussions, and is generally answered as here. Most agree that Deacons ought to be ordained, yet the practice is in a great measure neglected.

Quest. Is a church bound in duty to support their own poor, or depend on the provisions made in the towns or districts to which they belong?

Ans. We view it to be the indispensable duty of every church, to sympathize with, and see that their own are provided for. But if the church is agreed, and should avail themselves of assistance from the town treasury, we by no means think it a censurable evil.——*Minutes of the Shaftsbury Association for* 1790.

This important question deserves an explicit, unconditional answer. That the poor of a church ought to be supported by it, is a proposition which admits of no dispute. The assistance from town treasuries is an accidental affair: if any thing can be obtained, very well, but let not a church wait for help from that quarter till their poor members suffer.

Quest. Is the baptism of those persons considered valid, who have received it at the hands of *unbaptized* administrators?

Ans. No. Because three things are requisite to make gospel baptism, viz. a gospel *mode*, a gospel *subject* and *administrator*.——*Minutes of the Richmond Association for* 1809.

As persons are frequently applying for admission into Baptist churches, who have been immersed by Methodist and Congregational ministers, this question has, within a few years past, been often proposed, and most Associations have decided differently from this. All agree that it is an unadviseable measure, for a person to apply to unbaptized ministers to lead them into the water, but after they have been properly immersed on a profession of their faith, it is generally thought that it would be improper to immerse them a second time. It is difficult to conceive why they would not, in this case, come under the denomination of *Ana*-Baptists.

Quest. Has a member of our Society* a right to start to market, or travel when on the road, on the Sabbath day?

Ans. No.——*Minutes of the Edgefield Association for* 1809.

* Church members only, are here intended.

APPENDIX.

[No. I.]

A MEMORIAL AND REMONSTRANCE,

[Drawn by JAMES MADISON, now President of the U. S.]

Against the General Assessment, presented to the General Assembly of Virginia, at the Session for the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

TO THE HONORABLE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA.

WE the subscribers, citizens of the said Commonwealth, having taken into serious consideration a bill, printed by order of the last session of General Assembly, entitled, "A bill establishing a provision for teachers of the Christian Religion;" and conceiving, that the same, if finally armed with the sanction of a law, will be a dangerous abuse of power; are bound, as faithful members of a free State, to remonstrate against it, and to declare the reasons by which we are determined. We remonstrate against the said bill,

Because we hold it for a fundamental and unalienable truth, "that religion, or the duty which we owe to the Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence."* The religion, then, of every man, must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is, in its nature, an unalienable right. It is unalienable, because the opinions of men depending only on the evidence contemplated by their own minds, cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable, also, because what is here a right towards man, is a duty towards the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to him. This duty is precedent both in order and time, and in degree of obligation, to the claims of civil society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the Universe. And if a member of civil society, who enters into any subordinate association, must always do it with a reservation of his duty to the general authority; much more must every man, who becomes a member of any particular civil society, do it with a saving of his allegiance to the Universal Sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion, no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society; and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance. True it is, that no other rule exists, by which any question, which may divide society, can be ultimately determined, but by the will of a majority; but it is also true, that the majority may trespass on the rights of the minority.

Because if religion be exempt from the authority of the society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the legislative body. The latter are but the creatures and vicegerents of the former. Their jurisdiction is both derivative and limited. It is limited with regard to

* Declaration of Rights, article 16.

the co-ordinate departments; more necessarily, it is limited with regard to the constituents. The preservation of a free government requires, not merely that the metes and bounds which separate each department of power, be invariably maintained; but more especially, that neither of them be suffered to overleap the great barrier which defends the rights of the people. The rulers, who are guilty of such an encroachment, exceed the commission from which they derive their authority, and are tyrants. The people who submit to it, are governed by laws made neither by themselves, nor by an authority derived from them, and are slaves.

Because it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristicks of the late revolution. The freemen of America did not wait until usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much, soon to forget it. Who does not see that the same authority, which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects; that the same authority, which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property, for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment, in all cases whatsoever?

Because the bill violates that equality which ought to be the basis of every law; and which is more indispensable, in proportion as the validity or expediency of any law is more liable to be impeached. "If all men are, by nature, equally free and independent,"* all men are to be considered as entering into society on equal conditions, as relinquishing no more, and, therefore, retaining no less, one than another, of their natural rights; above all, are they to be considered as retaining an "*equal* title to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."† Whilst we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to those, whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offence against God, not against man. To God, therefore, and not to man, must an account of it be rendered.

As the bill violates equality, by subjecting some to peculiar burdens; so it violates the same principle, by granting to others peculiar exemptions. Are the Quakers and Menonists the only sects who think a compulsive support of their religions unnecessary and unwarrantable? Can their piety alone be entrusted with the care of publick worship? Ought their religions to be endowed, above all others, with extraordinary privileges, by which proselytes may be enticed from all others? We think too favourably of the justice and good sense of these denominations, to believe, that they either covet pre-eminences over their fellow-citizens, or that they will be seduced by them from the common opposition to the measure.

Because the bill implies, either that the civil magistrate is a competent judge of religious truths, or that he may employ religion as an

* Declaration of rights, art. 1. † Ditto, art. 16.

engine of civil policy. The first is an arrogant pretension, falsified by the extraordinary opinion of rulers, in all ages, and throughout the world; the second, an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation.

Because the establishment proposed by the bill, is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion. To say that it is, is a contradiction to the Christian religion itself; for every page of it disavows a dependence on the power of this world: it is a contradiction to fact, for it is known that this religion both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, but in spite of every opposition from them; and not only during the period of miraculous aid, but long after it had been left to its own evidence and the ordinary care of Providence: nay, it is a contradiction in terms; for a religion not invented by human policy, must have pre-existed and been supported, before it was established by human policy; it is, moreover, to weaken in those, who profess this religion, a pious confidence in its innate excellence, and the patronage of its Author; and to foster in those, who still reject it, a suspicion that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies, to trust it to its own merits.

Because experience witnesses that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation. During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity; in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution. Inquire of the teachers of Christianity for the ages in which it appeared in its greatest lustre; those of every sect point to the ages prior to its incorporation with civil policy. Propose a restoration of this primitive state, in which its teachers depended on the voluntary rewards of their flocks, many of them predict its downfal. On which side ought their testimony to have the greatest weight, when for, or when against their interest?

Because the establishment in question is not necessary for the support of civil government. If it be urged as necessary for the support of civil government, only as it is a means of supporting religion, and it be not necessary for the latter purpose, it cannot be necessary for the former. If religion be not within the cognizance of civil government, how can its legal establishment be said to be necessary to civil government? What influence, in fact, have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society? In some instances, they have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny on the ruins of the civil authority; in more instances, have they been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; in no instance have they been seen the guardians of the liberties of the people. Rulers who wished to subvert the publick liberty, may have found on established clergy convenient auxiliaries. A just government instituted to secure and perpetuate it, needs them not. Such a government will be best supported by protecting every citizen in the enjoyment of his religion, with the same equal hand which protects his person and property; by neither invading the equal rights of any sect, nor suffering any sect to invade those of another.

Because the proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy, which, offering an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion, promised a lustre to our country, and

an accession to the number of its citizens. What a melancholy mark is the bill, of sudden degeneracy? Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a signal of persecution. It degrades from the equal rank of citizens, all those whose opinions in religion do not bend to those of the legislative authority. Distant as it may be, in its present form, from the inquisition, it differs from it only in degree: the one is the first step, the other the last, in the career of intolerance. The magnanimous sufferer under the cruel scourge in foreign regions, must view the bill as a beacon on our coast, warning him to seek some other haven, where liberty and philanthropy in their due extent may offer a more certain repose for his troubles.

Because it will have a like tendency to banish our citizens. The allurements presented by other situations, are every day thinning their number. To superadd a fresh motive to emigration, by revoking the liberty which they now enjoy, would be the same species of folly, which has dishonoured and depopulated flourishing kingdoms.

Because it will destroy that moderation and harmony, which the forbearance of our laws to intermeddle with religion has produced among its several sects. Torrents of blood have been spilt in the old world, by vain attempts of the secular arm to extinguish religious discord, by proscribing all differences in religious opinion. Time has at length revealed the true remedy. Every relaxation of narrow and rigorous policy, wherever it has been tried, has been found to assuage the disease. The American theatre has exhibited proofs, that equal and complete liberty, if it does not wholly eradicate it, sufficiently destroys its malignant influence on the health and prosperity of the State. If, with the salutary effects of this system under our own eyes, we begin to contract the bounds of religious freedom, we know no name that will too severely reproach our folly. At least, let warning be taken at the first fruits of the threatened innovation. The very appearance of the bill has transformed that "Christian forbearance, love, and charity,"* which of late mutually prevailed, into animosities and jealousies, which may not soon be appeased. What mischiefs may not be dreaded, should this enemy to the publick quiet be armed with the force of law?

Because the policy of the bill is adverse to the diffusion of the light of Christianity. The first wish of those, who ought to enjoy this precious gift, ought to be, that it may be imparted to the whole race of mankind. Compare the number of those, who have as yet received it, with the number still remaining under the dominion of false religions, and how small is the former? Does the policy of the bill tend to lessen the disproportion? No; it at once discourages those who are strangers to the light of truth, from coming into the regions of it; and countenances, by example, the nations who continue in darkness, in shutting out those who might convey it to them. Instead of levelling, as far as possible, every obstacle to the victorious progress of truth, the bill, with an ignoble and unchristian timidity, would circumscribe it, with a wall of defence against the encroachments of error.

Because an attempt to enforce by legal sanctions, acts, obnexious to so great a portion of citizens, tends to enervate the laws in general,

* Declaration of Rights, art. 16.

and to slacken the bands of society. If it be difficult to execute any law, which is not generally deemed necessary nor salutary, what must be the case when it is deemed invalid and dangerous? And what may be the effect of so striking an example of impotency in the government on its general authority?

Because a measure of such singular magnitude and delicacy, ought not to be imposed without the clearest evidence that it is called for by a majority of citizens; and no satisfactory method is yet proposed, by which the voice of the majority in this case may be determined, or its influence secured. "The people of the respective counties are, indeed, requested to signify their opinion, respecting the adoption of the bill, to the next session of Assembly." But the representation must be made equal, before the voice, either of the representatives or of the counties, will be that of the people. Our hope is, that neither of the former will, after due consideration, espouse the dangerous principle of the bill. Should the event disappoint us, it will still leave us in full confidence, that a fair appeal to the latter will reverse the sentence against our liberties.

Because, finally, "the equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his religion according to the dictates of his conscience," is held by the same tenure with all our other rights. If we recur to its origin, it is equally the gift of nature; if we weigh its importance, it cannot be less dear to us; if we consult the "Declaration of those rights which pertain to the good people of Virginia, as the basis and foundation of government," it is enumerated with equal solemnity, or rather with studied emphasis. Either then we must say, that the will of the Legislature is the only measure of their authority; and that in the plenitude of this authority, they may sweep away all our fundamental rights; or, that they are bound to leave this particular right untouched and sacred: either we must say, that they may control the freedom of the press; may abolish the trial by jury; may swallow up the executive and judiciary powers of the State; nay, that they may annihilate our very right of suffrage, and erect themselves into an independent and hereditary assembly; or we must say that they have no authority to enact into a law, the bill under consideration. We the subscribers say, that the General Assembly of this Commonwealth have no such authority; and that no effort may be omitted on our part, against so dangerous an usurpation, we oppose to it this Remonstrance, earnestly praying, as we are in duty bound, that the Supreme Lawgiver of the Universe, by illuminating those to whom it is addressed, may, on the one hand, turn their councils from every act, which would affront his holy prerogative, or violate the trust committed to them; and, on the other, guide them into every measure which may be worthy of his blessing, may redound to their own praise, and may establish more firmly the liberties, the property, and the happiness of this Commonwealth.*

* The particular objects of the bill so often mentioned in this Remonstrance, and also some observations on this distinguished instrument, may be seen in Vol. II. p. 83, 84.

[No. II.]

The prayers and wishes of the Virginia people, about the time the foregoing Remonstrance was drawn, were presented to the Legislature in many different forms. And among the rest, the following lines, written by Rev. David Thomas, accompanied the petition sent by the Baptists, and was addressed as follows:

To the Honorable General Assembly, now sitting at Williamsburgh, the humble Petition of a Country Poet.

Now liberty is all the plan,
The chief pursuit of every man
Whose heart is right, and fills the mouth
Of patriots all, from north to south.
May a poor bard, from bushes sprung,
Who yet has but to rusticks sung,
Address your honorable House,
And not your angry passions rouse?
Hark! for a while, your business stop;
One word into your ears I'll drop:
No longer spend your needless pains,
To mend and polish o'er our chains;
But break them off before you rise,
Nor disappoint our watchful eyes.
What says great Washington and Lee?
"Our country is, and must be free."
What says great Henry, Pendleton,
And Liberty's minutest son?
'Tis all one voice—they all agree
"God made us, and we must be, free."
Freedom we crave, with ev'ry breath,
An equal freedom, or a death.
The heav'nly blessing freely give,
Or make an act we shall not live.
Tax all things; water, air, and light,
If need there be; yea, tax the *night*:
But let our brave heroick minds
Move freely as celestial winds.
Make vice and folly feel your rod;
But leave our consciences to God:
Leave each man free to choose his form
Of piety, nor at him storm.
And he who minds the civil law,
And keeps it whole, without a flaw,
Let him, just as he pleases, pray,
And seek for heav'n in his own way;
And if he miss, we all must own,
No man is wrong'd but he alone.

[No. III.]

The Address of the Committee of the United Baptist Churches in Virginia, assembled in the city of Richmond, August 8, 1789, to the President of the United States of America.

SIR,

AMONG the many shouts of congratulation that you receive from cities, societies, States, and the whole world, we wish to take an active part in the universal chorus, in expressing our great satisfaction in your appointment to the first office in the nation. When America, on a former occasion, was reduced to the necessity of appealing to arms, to defend her natural and civil rights, a Washington was found full adequate to the exigencies of the dangerous attempt; who, by the philanthropy of his heart, and prudence of his head, led forth her untutored troops into the field of battle; and, by the skilfulness of his hands, baffled the projects of the insulting foe, and pointed out the road to independence, even at a time when the energy of the cabinet was not sufficient to bring into action the natural aid of the confederation, from its respective sources.

The grand object being obtained, the independence of the States acknowledged, free from ambition, devoid of sanguine thirst of blood, our hero returned with those he commanded, and laid down the sword at the feet of those who gave it him. "Such an example to the world is new." Like other nations, we experience that it requires as great valour and wisdom to make an advantage of the conquest, as to gain one.

The want of efficacy in the confederation, the redundancy of laws, and their partial administration in the States, called aloud for a new arrangement of our systems. The wisdom of the States, for that purpose, was collected in a grand convention, over which you, Sir, had the honour to preside. A national government in all its parts was recommended, as the only preservative of the union, which plan of government is now in actual operation.

When the constitution first made its appearance in Virginia, we, as a society, had unusual strugglings of mind, fearing that the liberty of conscience (dearer to us than property and life) was not sufficiently secured. Perhaps our jealousies were heightened, on account of the usage we received in Virginia, under the regal government, when mobs, bonds, fines and prisons were our frequent repast.

Convinced, on the one hand, that without an effective National Government, the States would fall into disunion and all the consequent evils; and, on the other hand, fearing we should be accessary to some religious oppression, should any one society in the Union preponderate over all the rest. But amidst all the inquietudes of mind, our consolation arose from this consideration—the plan must be good, for it bears the signature of a tried, trusty friend; and if religious liberty is rather insecure in the Constitution, "the Administration will certainly prevent all oppression, for a *Washington* will preside." According to our wishes, the unanimous voice of the Union has called you Sir, from your beloved retreat, to launch forth again into the faithless seas of human affairs, to guide the helm of the States. May that Divine Munificence, which covered your head in battle, make you a

yet greater blessing to your admiring country, in time of peace. Should the horrid evils that have been so pestiferous in Asia and Europe, faction, ambition, war, perfidy, fraud, and persecution for conscience sake, ever approach the borders of our happy nation; may the name and administration of our beloved President, like the radiant source of day, scatter all those dark clouds from the American hemisphere.

And while we speak freely the language of our own hearts, we are satisfied that we express the sentiments of our brethren, whom we represent. The very name of Washington is musick in our ears; and although the great evil in the States, is the want of mutual confidence between rulers and people, yet, we all have the utmost confidence in the President of the States; and it is our fervent prayer to Almighty God, that the federal government, and the governments of the respective States, without rivalship, may so co-operate together, as to make the numerous people, over whom you preside, the happiest nation on earth; and you, Sir, the happiest man, in seeing the people, who, by the smiles of Providence, you saved from vassalage by your martial valour, and made wise by your maxims, sitting securely under their vines and fig-trees, enjoying the perfection of human felicity. May God long preserve your life and health for a blessing to the world in general, and the United States in particular; and when, like the sun, you have finished your course of great and unparalleled services, and you go the way of all the earth, may the Divine Being, who will reward every man according to his works, grant unto you a glorious admission into his everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ. This, Sir, is the prayer of your happy admirers.

By order of the Committee, SAMUEL HARRIS, *Chairman*,
REUBEN FORD, *Clerk*.

[No. IV]

To the General Committee, representing the United Baptist Churches in Virginia.

GENTLEMEN,

I REQUEST that you will accept my best acknowledgments for your congratulation on my appointment to the first office in the nation. The kind manner in which you mention my past conduct, equally claims the expression of my gratitude.

After we had, by the smiles of Divine Providence on our exertions, obtained the object for which we contended, I retired, at the conclusion of the war, with an idea that my country could have no farther occasion for my services, and with the intention of never entering again into publick life. But when the exigencies of my country seemed to require me once more to engage in publick affairs, an honest conviction of duty superseded my former resolution, and became my apology for deviating from the happy plan which I had adopted.

If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the constitution framed in the Convention where I had the honour to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I

could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself, to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution.

For you doubtless remember, I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience.

While I recollect with satisfaction that the religious society of which you are members, have been, throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious revolution; I cannot hesitate to believe, that they will be the faithful supporters of a free, yet efficient general government. Under this pleasing expectation, I rejoice to assure them, that they may rely upon my best wishes and endeavours to advance their prosperity.

In the mean time, be assured, gentlemen, that I entertain a proper sense of your fervent supplications to God for my temporal and eternal happiness.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[No. V.]

MR. LELAND'S SPEECH,

Delivered in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on the subject of Religious Freedom, 1811.

MR. SPEAKER,

THE right of private judgment, like sight and hearing, is inalienable in nature. Should an individual attempt to surrender it to society, it nevertheless would remain with him still, in all its vigour. Whatever individuals, from the source of private judgment, might be led to say on the subject now before the House, provided the House was in the capacity of a convention, assembled for the purpose of framing a constitution, I cannot determine; but at the present time, the House is on legislative ground, under the solemnity of an oath, to legislate according to the meaning of the Constitution, in their best judgments. The part of the Constitution, Sir, which the subject before the House has particular bearings upon, is contained in the 2d and 3d articles of the Declaration of Rights. It is well known, Mr. Speaker, that the inhabitants of this Commonwealth were, when the Constitution was framed, as well as at the present time, divided in sentiment about religion and the mode of its support. From the face of the Constitution, as well as from a knowledge of those times, there exists no doubt, that a decided majority believed that religious duties ought to be interwoven in the civil compact—that Protestant Christianity was the best religion in the world—and that all the inhabitants ought to be forced, by law, to support it with their money, as a necessary institute, for the good of the body politick, unless they did it voluntarily. While a respectable minority, equally firm in the belief of the divinity of

Christianity, and still more protestant in their views; conceiving of it to be a measure as presumptuous in a legislature as in a Pope, to lord it over consciences, or interfere either in the mode or support of Christianity. This minority, Mr. Speaker did *then*, and do, still believe that religion is a matter between individuals and their God—a right inalienable—an article not within the cognizance of civil government, nor any ways under its control. In this discordance of religious sentiments, the 2d and 3d articles of the Declaration of Rights, are evidently a compromise of parties, in which mutual concessions are made for a general union. The language of the Convention, in the Constitution appears to be as follows: 'Let those towns, parishes, precincts, and other religious societies, possessed of corporate powers, support their religion by force of law; but if there be any one residing within the limits of those corporate bodies, who attends other worship, and yet has no scruples of conscience in being *legally* taxed, his money when paid, if he requests it, shall be paid over, by the collector, to the minister of his choice. And whereas there are many religious societies, who have scruples of conscience about availing themselves of corporate powers; if such societies voluntarily, in their own mode, make suitable provision for the maintenance of their ministers, all such societies of Protestant Christians, properly demeaning themselves as peaceable citizens, shall not be forced by law to support the teachers or worship of any other society. But as we cannot well know how these principles will operate on experiment, we lay down one fundamental maxim as a pole-star, for the legislature:—*No subordination of one religious sect to another shall ever be established by law.*' Taking this, Sir, to be a good translation of those two articles, which seem to be somewhat obscure, the question is, whether the laws, made since the adoption of the Constitution, or more particularly whether the interpretation of that part of the Constitution and laws, have not affected a subordination of one religious sect to another? The Congregationalists, Sir, have no scruples about supporting their worship, in its various parts, by law; but some other societies have: some indeed have availed themselves of corporate powers, for no other purpose but to defend themselves from being taxed to support a worship in which they had no faith. In such instances they have been subordinate in time and expense, to extricate themselves from the clutches of the Congregationalists. Others are so well convinced of the all-sufficiency of Protestant Christianity, and the completeness of its code to govern in all things, that they will not—they cannot in good conscience, submit to a power, which they believe, in their best judgments, was never given to government to be exercised. These are peaceable subjects of State—ready to arm in defence of their country—freely contribute to support Protestant Christianity; but cannot pay a *legal* tax for *religious* services. This Sir, is one of the essentials which constitutes them a distinct sect: and what have these endured since the adoption of the Constitution?—Have they not been reduced to subordination? How many law-suits—how much cost—and how much property has been taken from them to support other societies?—Mr. Speaker, is not this subordination?

According to a late decision of the Bench, in the county of Cumberland, which, it is presumed, is to be a precedent for future decisions, these non-incorporated societies are nobody—can do nothing, and are

never to be known, except in shearing time, when their money is wanted to support the teachers that they never hear. And all this must be done for the *good of the State.* One hundred and seventeen years ago, wearing long hair was considered the crying sin of the land: a convention was called, March 18, 1694, in Boston, to prevent it: after a long expostulation, the convention close thus, 'If any man will now presume to wear long hair, let him know that God and man witness against him.' Our pious ancestors were for bobbing the hair, for the *good of the Colony;* but now Sir, not the hair, but the purses must be bobbed for the *good of the State.* If these bobbing decisions continue to be the order of the day, it is past calculation to say, whose heads will be first bobbed off, for the *good of the State.* The petitioners pray for the right of going to heaven in that way which they believe is the most direct; and shall this be denied them? Must they be obliged to pay legal toll for walking the king's high-way, which he has made free for all? Is not this a greater subordination than to sail under British licences? or to pay 3 pence on every pound of tea? In Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, of the old Colonies, and in Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, the new States, there has never been any legal establishment of religion, nor any assessment to support Protestant Christianity, for the *good of the States;* and yet, Sir, these States have stood and flourished as well as Massachusetts. Since the revolution, all the old States, except two or three in New-England, have established religious liberty upon its true bottom; and yet they are not sunk with earthquakes, or destroyed with fire and brimstone. Should this Commonwealth, Mr. Speaker, proceed so far as to distribute all settlements and meeting-houses which they procured by publick taxes, among all the inhabitants, without regard to denomination; it is probable that the outcry of sacrilege, profanity and infidelity would be echoed around; and yet, Sir, all this has been done, in a State which has given birth and education to a Henry, a Washington, a Jefferson, and a Madison; each of which contributed their aid, to effect the grand event, for which event the Presbyterians and others prayed and gained. It is there believed, Sir, that God hates robbery for burnt-offerings; and ought not Massachusetts to pay a decent respect to the voice of fifteen of her sister States? We should imagine that laudable pride would prevent any one religious society from forcing another to pay her labourers; and that the same principle would not admit a publick teacher to take money collected by distraint, from those who did not hear him; but in this particular, we find that religion is made a covert to do that which common honesty blushes at.

Sir, it is not our wish to disrobe towns, parishes, precincts or any religious society of their corporate powers: no—let them go to heaven in such turnpike-roads, and pay legal toll at every ministerial gate, which they choose; and what can they wish for more? According to our best judgments, we cannot pay *legal* taxes for *religious* services; descending even to the grade of a chaplain for the legislature. It is disrobing Christianity of her virgin beauty—turning the churches of Christ into creatures of State—and metamorphosing gospel ambassadors to state pensioners. If my information be correct, the town of Boston has enjoyed the liberty which we plead for, more than one hundred years; yet the inhabitants increase and are virtuous.—Fifteen

States now in the union, have all that we ask for; and is religion demolished in those States? Mr. Speaker, let gentlemen turn their eyes to the religious Magazines, published in this State, by those who plead for *law-regulated religion*; and they will find, that while the editors, in one page, plead for the old firm of Moses and Aaron—ruler and priest; where the language is, 'You comb my head, and I'll scratch your elbows—you make laws to support me, and I'll persuade the people to obey you;'—In the next page, they will narrate the wonderful works of God in those States wherein there are no religious laws; and indeed wherein the inhabitants know that religious establishments and assessments serve only to make one part of the community fools, and the other hypocrites—to support fraud, superstition and violence in the earth.

Let Christianity stand upon its own basis, it is the greatest blessing that ever was among men; but incorporate it into the civil code, and it becomes the mother of cruelties.

It is questioned, Mr. Speaker, by good judges, whether it is possible for the legislature to execute the power vested in them, in the 3d article of the Declaration of Rights, without defeating the provision in the same article, 'that no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law.' I know not, Sir, what can be done; but one thing is certain, it never has been done since the adoption of the Constitution. Supposing, Sir, it *cannot* be done, to which part of it ought the legislature to adhere? to that which supports partiality and injustice, or to that which secures right and equality? Can any gentleman be at a loss?

Tyranny, Mr. Speaker, always speaks the same language. The tyrant of Amon would be friendly to Israel, if he might put out their right eyes.—The tyrant on the Nile would let his subjects go free, provided they would leave their flocks and herds behind.

Mr. Chairman, if Christianity is *false*, it cannot be the duty of government to support imposture; but if it be true, the following extracts are true, 'The natural man receiveth not the things of God, neither *can he know them*—the world by wisdom knew not God—none of the princes of this world know the genius of Christ's kingdom.' If, Sir, Christianity is true, these sayings are true; and if these sayings are true, natural men, as such, with all the proficiency of science, cannot understand the religion of Christ; and if they cannot understand the subject, they must be very unfit to legislate about it. If, to escape this dilemma, we adopt the papal maxim, that *government is founded in grace*, and therefore none but gracious men have right to rule; and that these gracious rulers have both right and knowledge to legislate about religion, we shall find, what other nations have found; that these divine rulers will be the most cruel tyrants. Under this notion, Mr. Chairman, the crusades were formed in the XIth century, which lasted about two hundred years, and destroyed nearly two millions of lives. In view of all this, and ten thousand times as much, is it to be wondered at, that the present petitioners should be fearful of attaching corporate powers to religious societies? These petitioners, Sir, pay the civil list, and arm to defend their country as readily as others, and only ask for the liberty of forming their societies and paying their preachers in the only way that the Christians did for the first three

centuries after Christ. Any gentleman upon this floor is invited to produce an instance, that Christian societies were ever formed—Christian sabbaths ever enjoined—Christian salaries ever levied, or Christian worship ever enforced *by law*, before the reign of Constantine: yet Christianity did stand and flourish, not only without the aid of law and the schools, but in opposition to both. We therefore hope, Mr. Speaker, that the prayer of Thirty Thousand, on this occasion, will be heard, and that they will obtain the exemption for which they pray.

The 2d section of the Bill before the house, I object to. It recognizes principles which are inadmissible—invests all non-corporate societies with corporate powers—puts the mischievous dagger into their hands, which has done so much mischief in the world, and presents no balm for the wounds of those who cry for help.*

The petitioners do not ask to be known in law as corporate bodies, but to be so covered that religious corporate bodies shall not know and fleece them: but this section puts the knife into their hands against their will; a knife, Sir, which is more pestiferous than *Pandora's box*. The interference of legislatures and magistrates in the faith, worship, or support of religious worship, is the first step in the case which leads in regular progression to Inquisition: the principle is the same, the only difference is in the degree of usurpation.

The Bill has its beauties, and its deformities. One prominent defect of the bill is a crooked back; it makes a low stoop to his high mightiness Town-Clerk, to pray for the indulgence of worshipping God; which is, and ought to be guaranteed a natural and inalienable right, not a favour to be asked by the citizen or bestowed by the ruler. It has also a disagreeable squinting; it squints to a purse of money with as much intenseness as ever a drunkard did at the bottle, or as ever Eve did at the apple. Yes, Mr. Speaker, if there was no money to be got, we should never hear of these incorporations. How strange it is, Sir, that men, who make such noise about Christianity, should be afraid to trust the promise of God, unless they can have legal bondsmen, bound by incorporation.

Government should be so fixed, that Pagans, Turks, Jews and Christians should be equally protected in their rights. The government of Massachusetts is, however, differently formed; under the existing Constitution, it is not possible for the General Court to place religion upon its proper footing: it can be done, however, much better than it is done, either by the late decision of the Bench, or by the adoption of the present Bill, in its present shape; and the *best* which the Constitution will admit of, is all that we ask for at present. I shall therefore take the liberty, at a proper time, to offer an amendment to the Bill.

I shall no longer trespass on the patience of the house.

[No. VI.]

Additional Remarks on the Character of Roger Williams.

Towards the close of the history of Rhode-Island, we proposed to give, in the Appendix, a letter written by this distinguished man. It

* The objectionable part of this Bill was afterwards struck out.

is preceded by some very judicious remarks by Governor Hopkins, which are worthy of being recorded.

"All Christians," says the Governor, "from the beginning of the Reformation to these times, when they were disturbed and oppressed by the governing powers they lived under, on account of their religious principles or practices, had claimed this natural right, *a liberty of conscience in the worship of God.* And many of them had, with much learning and great strength of reason, shewn, that it was a right they were naurally and justly entitled to; and of which the civil magistrate could not deprive them, without departing from his proper duty and office. But all of them, when they came to be possessed of power, had denied that indulgence to those, who differed from them in religious sentiments, that they had pleaded so powerfully for, when they suffered themselves; and this had constantly and universally been the case throughout christendom for many hundred years. And Roger Williams justly claims the honour of having been the first legislator in the world, in its latter ages, that fully and effectually provided for and established a free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience. This beneficent principle he made the foundation, and, as it were, the chief corner-stone of his infant colony; this was made the test of admission to all new-comers: this was the chief cause that united the inhabitants of Rhode-Island and those of Providence, and made them one people and one colony. It was often objected to Mr. Williams, that such great liberty in religious matters tended to licentiousness and every kind of disorder. To such objections I will give the answer he himself made, in his own words; for thereby his real sentiments may be best discovered."

"*To the town of Providence.*

"LOVING FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS,

"It pleaseth God yet to continue this great liberty of our town-meetings, for which we ought to be humbly thankful, and to improve these liberties to the praise of the Giver, and to the peace and welfare of the town and colony, without our own private ends. I thought it my duty to present you this my impartial testimony, and answer to a paper sent you the other day from my brother, "*That it is blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the Gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors, against the publick or private weal.*" That ever I should speak or write a tittle, that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case:—There goes many a ship to sea, with many a hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and wo is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or an human combination, or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked into one ship. Upon which supposal, I do affirm, that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship; nor, secondly, compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course; yea,

and also to command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any seaman refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards the common charges, or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any shall preach or write, that there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishment—I say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of Lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes. I remain, studious of our common peace and liberty, ROGER WILLIAMS."

"This religious liberty was not only asserted in words, but uniformly adhered to and practised," &c.

It would be no strange event for a new State now to establish religious freedom, because many have set the example; but Roger Williams and the Rhode-Island Fathers claim the honour of maintaining this principle, while all other States and kingdoms in the world ridiculed and opposed it.

In the account of Mr. Williams's settlement in Rhode-Island, we made some observations on the uncommon influence he acquired over the irritated and ever jealous Indian tribes. We shall here give a connected view of the services which this influence enabled him to perform. His breaking up of their grand confederacy in 1637, has already been mentioned. Yet notwithstanding this interposition on the behalf of all his English neighbours, when he was about to embark for England in 1643 to obtain a charter for his colony, he was not permitted to pass through the coasts from which he had been banished, but was obliged to repair to the Dutch at New-York to take shipping. "Yea, it must needs be so," says Mr. Backus, "because the blessings of a peace-maker were to come upon him, among the Dutch as well as the English." At this time the Dutch at Aurana, (now Albany) and its vicinity, at Manhattan, (now New-York) and in many other places, both on the main land and Long-Island, were engaged in a bloody conflict with different Indian tribes. At Stamford, (now in Connecticut) the enraged savages killed many, and among the rest Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, who had been banished from Massachusetts, for what was called Antinomianism. "On Long-Island they assaulted the house of the lady Moody, who not long before moved from Lynn in the same government, on account of *Ana-baptism*: but she was defended by forty men, that gathered to her house, which they assaulted divers times. But the Long-Island Indians, by the mediation of Mr. Williams, (who was then there to take ship for England) were pacified, and *peace re-established* between the Dutch and them."*

In 1671, when king Philip was making preparations for his war, Governor Prince of Plymouth, and two of his assistants, met three

* Backus, vol. i. p. 147—8.

gentlemen from the Massachusetts colony at Taunton, to examine into the matter. Philip, Indian like, was suspicious of the manœuvres of white men; he kept in his camp at a distance, and sent for the commissioners to come to him. All solicitations were ineffectual, until Mr. Williams, then over 70, and Mr. Brown, supposed to be of Swansea, offered to remain as hostages in his camp; by which means he was prevailed with to meet the commissioners, to deliver up about 70 guns, and to promise future fidelity; which suspended the war four years."*

In 1676, while this bloody war was going on, tradition says, that when the Indians appeared on the hill north of Providence, near the place where Col. Smith's house now stands, Mr. Williams took his staff, and went over to meet them, hoping to pacify their rage, as he had often done before; but when some of the old men saw him, they came out to meet him—told him that those who had long known him would not hurt him, but that the young warriors could not be restrained; upon which he returned to the garrison.

"As the best and most useful men," says Governor Hopkins, "have ever, in all free States, been the subjects of popular clamour and censure, so we find that Mr. Williams did not escape the rude attacks of the licentious tongue of freedom," &c. By some he was accused of a bigoted attachment to his peculiar opinions; by others he was compared to a weathercock for instability. From the accusations of enemies, a true character cannot be obtained of him, nor of any other man. His friends uniformly maintain, that he lived and died a pattern of piety and benevolence. It is certain, however, from his own writings, that he was one of the few Baptists, whose minds have been bewildered about the doctrine of succession; and it was probably on that account he ceased travelling in the Baptist communion not long after he founded the church at Providence. But there is no evidence that he renounced the peculiar tenets of the Baptists; and it is certain he did not embrace those of any other sect. He had a long and sharp dispute with the Quakers, for which some of them feel not very well disposed towards him at this day. But it ought to be observed, at the same time, that Governor Hopkins, of that persuasion, has done ample justice to his character.

Although Mr. Williams was almost constantly engaged in the affairs of the colony, at home and abroad, yet we are assured that he preached frequently at Providence, and used to go once a month to Mr. Smith's in the Narraganset country, where many of those Narraganset Indians attended his ministry, who could not be prevailed on to hear the missionaries from other colonies.†

"Roger Williams," says Morgan Edwards, "for his singular excellencies and worthy deeds, deserves a statue, and will certainly have one, except there be some cross-grained fatality attending the noblest characters among Baptists, to prevent their having the praise they deserve. I could fancy," says this ingenious writer, "that I see his statue erected in the college-yard at Providence. His clothing a garment of camel's hair, tied about his loins with a leathern girdle. His

* Backus, vol. i. p. 413.

† Governour Hopkins. Callender.

feet are shod with sandals; and about his neck a little puritanical band. In his right hand is the gospel, as an emblem of the religious liberty he established, and the peace that followed. In his left, is a roll containing the charter of the colony, with as much of it unfolded as shows this paragraph: "To exhibit a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments; and that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay, in the hearts of men, the strongest obligations to true loyalty." On the pedestal are these words:

FATHER
OF THIS COLONY, WHICH WAS FOUNDED IN 1636,
AND WHOSE SPECIAL DISTINCTION IS THAT OF
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY;
AND, UNDER GOD, THE SAVIOUR
OF IT, AND OF THE NEIGHBOURING COLONIES, FROM
BEING EXTIRPATED BY THE CONFEDERATE INDIANS,
IN 1637, WAS THAT REVEREND BAPTIST
ROGER WILLIAMS."

It may be proper here to give a brief account of another of the fathers of the Rhode-Island colony, of whom nothing yet has been said. This was William Blaxton, or Blackstone. He was a minister in the Church of England, but came early to America. It appears by Johnson's history, that he was here in 1628; but not agreeing with Mr. Endicot and others in church affairs, he betook himself to agriculture. He planted himself on the neck of land where Boston now stands, which, from him was called Blaxton's point, when the Massachusetts company first arrived with their charter; and at a court in Boston, 1633, they made him a grant of fifty acres of land near his house. But with the maxims of this company he soon fell out. "I came from England," said he, "because I did not like the *Lord Bishops*; but I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the *Lord Brethren*." On this account, he removed and settled about three miles north of Pawtucket, on an estate which is now owned by Col. Simon Whipple. His residence was on what is now called Study Hill, where his library and buildings were burnt in king Philip's war. This was on the bank of Pawtucket river, which above takes the name of Blackstone from this early settler. He appears to have been intimate with Mr. Williams, preached frequently at Providence and places adjacent, and left behind him the character of a godly, pious man. His family is now extinct. He planted an orchard just east of Study Hill, which, we are told, was the first that bore fruit in the Rhode-Island colony. Some of the trees of this orchard were alive and thrifty 140 years after they were planted, but now all of them have gone to decay.*

* Backus, vol. 1. p. 58.

[No. VII.]

A Letter from the Baptists in Philadelphia to the Episcopalians.

[The contents of this letter will suggest to the reader the circumstances, under which it was written. But it may be proper to observe, that the Episcopalians had possessed themselves of a meeting-house and lot belonging to the Baptists in the township of Oxford, Pennsylvania. They afterwards attempted to do the same in Philadelphia: this letter was written, however, prior to that event, and at a time when a Mr. Clayton, an Episcopal minister in Philadelphia, to whom it was addressed, was labouring to possess himself of the Baptist congregation in that city.]

"SIR,

"WHEREAS we received a letter, invitatory from you to return to your Church of England, dated September 26, 1698, wherein you desire us to send you, in humility and without prejudice, the objections, why we may not be united in one communion; and withal, that you doubt not, but by the blessing and assistance of God, you will be able to shew them to be stumbling-blocks, made by our wills, and not by our reason; and some of us, in behalf of the rest, having, on the reception thereof, given you a visit, and had discourse with you concerning some of the ceremonies of your church, about which you gave no satisfaction, we knew not that you expected any other answer from us. But in your late letter to John Watts, you signify, that you have received no answer to your former letter; we, therefore, taking this into consideration, do signify, in answer to your foresaid invitation and proposal, that to rend from a rightly constituted church of Christ, is that which our souls abhor; and that, love, peace, and unity with all Christians, and concord and agreement in the true faith and worship of God, are that which we greatly desire; and we should be glad if yourself or others would inform us wherein we err from the truth and ways of Christ; nor are we at all averse to a reconciliation with the Church of England, provided it can be proved by the holy Scriptures, that her constitution, orders, officers, worship and service are of divine appointment, and not of human invention. And since you yourself are the person that hath given us the invitation, and hath promised to show us that *our objections are stumbling-blocks, made by our wills, and not by our reason;* and we understanding that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only head, king, lord and law-giver of his church, whom all are bound to hear and obey, under the severe penalty of an utter extirpation from among the people of God; and that his laws and will are only to be found in and known by the sacred Scriptures, which are the only supreme, sufficient, and standing rule of all faith and worship; and not understanding the constitution of your church, with all the orders, officers, worship and service, at this day in use and maintained therein, to be agreeable thereto and warranted thereby, hath been the cause of our separation from her, and is the objection we have to make, or the stumbling-block which lies in our way to such an union and communion as you desire; we, therefore, hope and expect, according to your promise, that you will endeavour its

removal, by showing us from holy Scripture, these two things as absolutely necessary in order thereunto: 1st. That the formation of your church, with all the orders, officers, rites, and ceremonies, now in use and practised therein, are of divine institution; particularly, that the church of Christ under the New-Testament, may consist or be made up of a mixed multitude, and their seed, even all that are members of a nation, who are willing to go under the denomination of Christians, whether they are godly or ungodly, holy or profane; that lords archbishops, and diocesan lords bishops, such as are now in England, are of divine institution and appointment; that the government of the church of Christ, under the Gospel, is to be prelatical, according as it is practised this day in your church; and that your ecclesiastical courts are of divine appointment; that particular churches or congregations, with their ministers or elders, who have power and authority to receive persons into membership, have not likewise authority, by Matthew xviii. 15—18, and Corinthians v. to execute church censures and excommunication upon miscreants, swearers, liars, drunkards, adulterers, thieves, atheists, &c.; but that it is of divine appointment, that they must be presented to their ordinaries, and only proceeded against in your ecclesiastical courts; that the several offices of deans, subdeans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chancellors, commissaries, officials, registers, canons, pettycanons, vicars, chorals, apparitors, organists, vergers, singing-men and boys, septins, epistlers, gospellers, and such like offices and officers of your church and ecclesiastical courts, are of divine institution, or have any Scripture warrant to justify them, and to bear them harmless in the last day; that unpreaching ministers may celebrate the sacraments by Scripture warrant; that their different apparel in time of divine service, such as hoods, tippets, surplices, &c. are of divine institution, or have any Scripture warrant under the New-Testament; that the manner of the publick service and liturgy of the Church of England, with the visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, churching of women, matrimony, &c. as now in use, are of divine appointment; that the people ought, by the rule of God's word, audibly with the ministers, to say the confession, Lord's prayer, and creed; and make such answers to the publick prayers, as are appointed in the book of common prayer; that it is God's holy will and pleasure, that saint days and holy days should be kept and observed by Christians, according to the use of the Church of England; that instruments of musick are to be used in God's worship, under the New-Testament; that infant baptism is a duty; that pouring or sprinkling water is the right manner of baptizing; that your manner of administering the sacraments, and signing with the sign of the cross in baptism are of divine appointment; that god-fathers and god-mothers are of divine appointment. These are some of the things we desire you to prove and make plain to us by the holy Scripture. But if the case be such that some or all of them cannot be thereby proved; then the 2d thing necessary to our reconciliation with your church is, That you will give us clear and infallible proof from God's holy word, such as will bear us harmless in the last day, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath given power and authority to any man, men, convocation, or synod, to make, constitute, and set up any other laws, orders, officers, rites and ceremonies, in his church, besides those which he hath

appointed in his holy word; or to alter or change those, which he hath therein appointed, according as may, from time to time, to them seem convenient; and that we are bound in conscience towards God, by the authority of his word, to yield obedience thereunto; or whether it will not rather be a sore reflection upon the sufficiency of the holy Scriptures, and a high defamation of the kingly and prophetical offices of Jesus Christ, to suppose such a thing.—Thus have we *in humility, and without prejudice,* sent you our objections; and if you can, according to your letter, show them to be *stumbling-blocks made by our wills, and not by our reason,* we shall be very thankful, and you shall not find us obstinate, but ready to accept your invitation. But until you do so, and prove the constitution, orders, officers, rites and ceremonies of your church to be of God, it is but reason that you should suspend all charge of *schism* against us, and desist from blaming us for our peaceable separation; which is all, at present, from your loving friends, who desire information, and unity among saints, and the church's peace; that God, in all things may be glorified through our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

"Subscribed by us, members of the general meeting, in behalf of the rest, March 11, 1699.

"John Watts, Joseph Wood, George Eaglesfield, Samuel Jones, George Eaton, Thomas Bibb."

The times, to which the above letter refers, were remarkable for the spirit of proselyting, excited chiefly by means of the Rev. George Keith, who, it is said, was admitted to orders, upon condition that he would return to Pennsylvania, and endeavour to bring his party over to the Church of England. He and his brethren met with success at first; but a copy of the above letter being made publick, they were somewhat embarrassed, and their progress retarded.*

[No. VIII.]

Civil State of Dissenters in England, 1793.

"Every dissenter in England is excluded from all civil and ecclesiastical employment of honour and profit in the kingdom. No dissenter can be admitted to command in the army or navy, were even his country invaded, nor to collect any part of the publick revenue, nor to act as a magistrate, nor to graduate in either of the universities, nor even to take a degree of Doctor of Musick or Physick, which employments do not seem to have any reference to the State. Nor will the affirmation of a Quaker be taken in any of our courts, in any criminal prosecution whatever; so that, if a man of this denomination were to see another murder his father or his wife, he could not prosecute the criminal without denying his religion. No Quaker can practise in any of the courts of law, not even as an attorney. This civil incapacity makes Dissenters be looked upon by the vulgar most unjustly, as rebels and enemies to government, and to a family which they placed on the throne; and in all seasons of alarm and tumult they have ex-

* Edwards's History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, p. 99—104.

perienced, and do experience great evils in this way. Every Dissenter who acknowledges the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, is *tolerated* in the exercise of religious worship; but he who denies the Trinity, is, on conviction, liable to *confiscation of goods and imprisonment.* Dissenters pay all taxes and tythes, and are obliged to serve offices in the church, which are attended only with labour and expense, as church-warden, &c. subject to heavy penalties if they do not serve, or find, at their own expense, a proper substitute!!"——*Ripton's Register, Vol.* 1. p. 524.

This statement will give the reader a view of the condition of Dissenters in England, and will sufficiently explain to him the reason why such multitudes are continually emigrating to America.

This kingdom abounds with good men of different persuasions; it has long been the nursery of genius and piety; every Christian land has reason to respect it, on account of its noble efforts in the cause of truth; but the maxims of its Cabinet, and its Ecclesiastical Constitution, no lover of liberty and equality can approve.

To the above statement we will subjoin the following account of the Church of England taken from Simpson's Plea for the Sacred Writings.

"There are about 18,000 clergymen in England and Wales of the established religion, and nearly 10,000 parishes. The rectories are 5,098; the vicarages 3,687; the livings of other descriptions 2,970; in all, 11,755.

"Twenty or thirty of those livings may be £4444 : 44 and upwards a year: four or five hundred of them $2222 : 22—two thousand of them $888 : 90--five thousand of them $444 : 45. The average value of livings is about $622 : 22.

"The whole income of the church and two Universities, is *six million, six hundred and sixty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-seven cents.*

"There are twenty-six bishops, whose annual income is $408,888 : 90; each bishop has therefore on an average $15,726 : 50, supposing he had no other preferment.

"There are 28 cathedrals, 26 deans, 60 arch-deacons, and 554 prebends, canons, &c. Besides these, there are in all about 300 in orders belonging to the different cathedrals, and about 900 lay officers, such as singing-men, organists, &c. who are all paid from the cathedral emoluments; so that there are about 1800 persons attached to the several cathedrals, and divide among them $622,222 : 22."

One man may possess several preferments at the same time, and may receive the enormous sum of $88,888 : 90, per annum!—"Law, bishop of Carlisle, possessed, at the time of his decease, *ten* or more preferments. He was a bishop, head of a college, prebend, rector, librarian, &c. &c. &c."

This picture is sufficient to convince Americans of the impropriety of a union of Church and State. Were it necessary, such a melancholy picture might be drawn from the statements of that worthy man and Christian, David Simpson, (who disdained to be considered an *hireling* of the corrupt Church of England, and of course withdrew) as would strike the mind with horror! Any one who wishes to be further acquainted with the history of them, may find it in a volume

written by David Simpson, A. M. entitled, "A plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings, addressed to the disciples of Thomas Paine, and to wavering Christians of every denomination."

[No. IX.]

Summary View of the Different Denominations of Christians in the United States.

The number of the Baptists will be exhibited in the following Table.

It is probable the Methodists count as many members in their society, if not more, than any one denomination in America. According to their Minutes, the sum total of their members this year amounts to 214,307; 42,809 of whom are people of colour. The preachers in full connexion are 678, those on trial are 178; making the sum total of preachers 856. The increase of their society this year is 18,950.* The members in Canada are not reckoned in this statement. Their number in both Provinces last year was a little short of 3000; but it is said great additions were made to them this year. In this statement are included all, who belong to the Methodist Classes; what proportion of these come up to their communion, one of their ministers informs me, cannot be ascertained with any degree of correctness. A gentleman, who was a number of years a preacher in their connexion, supposes, that, take the denomination at large, not more, if so many as half of those in Society, are communicants.

The total number of the Methodist Society in 1809, in Britain and Ireland, the West-Indies, British Dominions in America, and the United States, was 334,628.†

The Congregationlists are the most numerous denomination in New-England. Their congregations, in 1801, were over a thousand.‡ In 1796, according to Dr. Morse, their churches in Connecticut only, were 200, their pastors 170, and their communicants 20,000.§ In Massachusetts, their number of preachers now is over 400, the number of churches nearly 500.‖ The number of this denomination in other States I am not able to state, but it must be small conpared with New-England.

The number of Presbyterian congregations in America was, in 1788, computed to be 618: there were 226 ministers.** They have probably increased considerably since.††

The Independents are small compared with either of the formentioned sects.

* Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church, &c. for 1813.

† Lee's History of the Methodists, p. 359.

‡ Hannah Adams's View of Religions, p. 449.

§ Geography, vol. 1. p. 453.

‖ Massachusetts Register for 1813.

** View of Religions, p. 451.

†† The Congregationalists and Presbyterians are so often blended together, especially in New-England, that those who have not studied their rules of discipline, know not in what the difference between them consists. The Presbyte-

The Friends have, in the United States, 505 meetings for worship, their monthly meetings are 179; their yearly meetings 43.*

The number of Episcopal congregations I have not learnt.

The whole population of the Roman Catholicks in the United States, in 1801, was supposed to be 50,000.

The number of the smaller sects cannot be ascertained.

rians have the following gradation of ecclesiastical tribunals, viz. Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and the General Assembly. A church Session consists of the minister, or minister and elders, with whom is vested the government of each church. A Presbytery consists of all the ministers and one ruling elder from each church or congregation within a certain district. A Synod is a convention of several Presbyteries. The General Assembly consists of delegates from all the Presbyteries. There is a regular course of appeals from the Church Session up to this Assembly, which is the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church.——*Hannah Adams's View of Religions, p.* 450, 451.

The Congregationalists differ no great from the Presbyterians except in church government, which they vest, not in the hands of the minister or elders, Presbyteries, Synods, or Assemblies; but each church is supposed to have power of itself to regulate all its affairs: it is, however, thought, that they, together with the Independents, are verging towards the Presbyterian standard.

* This account was furnished by Moses Brown, of Providence.

GENERAL TABLE

OF ASSOCIATIONS AND CHURCHES.

N. B. The names of ordained ministers are in Roman characters, unordained in *Italick*. The names of all the ministers as far as they can be ascertained, are put down, whether they were delegates to the Association or not. The dates immediately after the names of the Associations show when they were organized.

Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick Association. 1797.

Held in Onslow, June 24, 1811. Sermon by Edward Manning.

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Sissiboo			69
Lower Granville		James Manning	60
Upper Granville		Thomas Ansley	66
Cornwallis	1776	Edw. Manning, T. S. Harding, E. J. Reise	63
Horton			289
Newport	1800		88
Onslow	1807	Nathan Cleaveland	38
Digby Neck	1809	Peter Crandall	56
Amherst	1809		17
Salisbury, N. B.	1800	Joseph Crandall	83
Sackville, N. B.	1800		50
Waterbury, N. B.	1800	Elijah Easterbrook	50
Prince William, N. S.	1800	L. Hammond	43
Wakefield, N. B.			43
Clements	1810		84
Halifax	1795	John Burton	33
Nictau and Wilmot	1810	Thomas H. Chipman	68
Chester	1788	Joseph Dimock	43
Springfield			56
Churches 19		Ministers 13 Total	1230

T. S. Harding, *Moderator.*
Edward Manning, *Clerk.*

District of Maine.

Lincoln Association. 1804.

Held at Sedgwick, Sept. 16, 1812. Sermon by Phineas Pillsbury.

Bowdoinham	1784	Job Macomber, Daniel Pearson	55
Thomaston	1784	Elisha Snow, Samuel Baker	250
1st Vassalborough	1788	Jesse Martin	55
1st Whitefield	1789	Joseph Bayly	96
Bristol and Miscongus Island	1792	Samuel A. Flagg	28
St. George	1789	Benjamin Eames	152
Nobleborough	1793	Phineas Pillsbury	78
Hope	1795	James Steward	55
Harlem			17
Woolwich	1800	Samuel Stinson	25
Friendship	1800		41
Warren	1800	Andrew Fuller, *Robert C. Starr*	94
Mount Ephraim	1801		25
Fairfax	1801	Stephen Dexter, Job Lewis	60
Islesborough	1791	Lemuel Rich, Thomas Eames	79

Churches.	Constituted.	*Ministers.*	Communicants.
Vinalhaven	1804	John Wagg	89
1st Palermo	1805		44
Sedgwick	1805	D. Merrill, A.M. Hen. Hale, *Amariah Dodge*	126
Unity	1800	Isaac Hall	34
Columbia and Addison	1806		59
Blue Hill	1806	John Roundy, Amos Allen	40
Northport	1807		26
Montville	1807	Job Cushman	45
Carmel	1807	Paul Ruggles, *John Patten*	48
Surrey	1807	Benjamin Lord	24
1st Jefferson	1808	William Allen	96
2d Jefferson	1808		40
Matinicus	1808		28
Deer Isle	1808		32
Stetson	1807		25
1st Camden	1808	John Still	30
2d Camden	1808		18
Frankfort	1808	*Samuel Allin*	40
Union	1801		39
3d Vassalborough	1808		64
2d Palermo	1809		36
Orland	1809		26
Belfast	1809	*Ebenezer Pinkham*	18
Hampden	1809		32
Buckstown	1810		26
2d Whitefield	1810		29
Dixmont	1810	Gideon Cook, John Chadbourne	37
1st Steuben	1805	Nathaniel Robinson	78
2d Steuben	1806		64
Trenton	1810		22
Sullivan	1810	Daniel M'Master	93
New-Charleston	1810		35
Green	1809		33
Castine			13
Beaverhill	1810		46
2d Montville	1812	*William Davis*	33
Churches 51		Ministers 35. Total	2672

Daniel Merrill, *Moderator.*
Samuel Baker, *Clerk.*

BOWDOINHAM ASSOCIATION. 1787.

Held at Readfield, Sept. 25, 1811. Sermon by Thomas Francies.

1st Bowdoin	1788	Joseph Denslow	97
1st Sidney	1791	Asa Wilber	33
1st Litchfield	1798	Henry Kendall	202
Lewiston	1792	Benjamin Cole, James Garcelon	61
Readfield	1792	Robert Low, Isaac Case	90
Fayette		Oliver Billings, *Daniel Mason*	124
Wayne			22
Lisbon			34
Clinton		Mephibosheth Cane	46
New-Vineyard	1794		56
Wales		James Pierce	55
Mount-Vernon		Peter Moore, *John Prescot*	66
Leeds		Thomas Francies	58
New-Sharon	1802	Samuel Swett, *Ambrose Arnold*	61
Canaan	1795	John Wagg	85
2d Sidney	1806	Joseph Palmer, *Charles Webber*	41
2d Bowdoin	1805	Ichabod Temple	108
Belgrade	1806	Elias Taylor, Benjamin Bisbe	47
Hallowell	1806	John Robinson	40

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
2d Lisbon	1808		26
Cornville	1801		54
Harmony	1801		28
Farmington			24
Monmouth	1810		26
Palmyra			8
Piscataguis			28
New-Portland			8
2d Litchfield		William Stinson	45
Churches 28		Ministers 24 Total	1456
		Robert Low, *Moderator.*	
		Thomas Francies, *Clerk.*	
		CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION. 1810.	
		Held at North-Yarmouth, Oct. 2, 1811. Sermon by Caleb Blood.	
Harpswell	1786	Samuel Mariner, Samuel Woodward	55
Hebron	1791	John Tripp	71
1st Buckfield	1791	Nathaniel Chase	35
Paris	1791	James Hooper	57
Livermore	1793	John Haines, Thomas Wyman	106
New-Gloucester	1794		56
North-Yarmouth	1797	Sylvanus Boardman, Thomas Green	68
Jay	1799	Joseph Adams, *Joseph Macomber*	88
Brunswick	1789	Benjamin Titcomb	46
Portland	1801	Caleb Blood	111
2d Buckfield	1802		24
Sumner	1804	Thomas Macomber	20
Bethel	1795	Ebenezer Bray	44
Jefferson	1790		22
Norway			22
Minot	1807	George Rickor	33
Freeport	1807	*Ebenezer Pinkham*	53
Pejepscot	1808	Joseph Roberts	71
Denmark	1804	Tristram Jordan	29
No. 5	1809	Lemuel Jackson, Amariah Reed	68
Bridgton	1807		35
Hartford	1810	Reuben Ball	29
2d Livermore	1811	Ransom Norton	17
Bath	1810	Silas Stearns	17
Churches 24		Ministers 24 Total	1165
		Sylvanus Boardman, *Moderator.*	
		John Haines, *Clerk.*	

New-Hampshire.

		N. HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION. 1785.	
		Held at Parsonsfield, June 9, 1813. Sermon by Otis Robinson.	
Madbury	1768	William Hooper	75
1st Berwick	1768	Joshua Case	166
Sanford	1772		92
Gilmanton	1772	Walter Powers	80
1st Wells	1780	Joseph Eaton	70
2d Berwick	1804	Nathaniel Lord	65
Lyman	1782	Simon Lock	72
1st Shapleigh	1781	William Goding	90
1st Waterborough	1791	Henry Smith	81
Cornish	1792	Timothy Remick	77
Newtown	1796	*Daniel Tucksbury*	71

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Limerick	1796		43
Parsonsfield	1796	Wentworth Lord	140
Buxton	1798	Abner Flanders	90
Lebanon and Berwick	1801	Zebedee Delano	60
Newmarket	1801		38
Exeter	1802		65
Limington	1802	Ebenezer P. Kinsman	37
East Parish Wells	1803	Joshua Roberts	65
Arundel	1803	Andrew Sherburne	77
2d Waterborough	1804		12
2d Shapleigh	1785		37
Hollis	1807	Timothy Hodsdon	89
Newfield	1807		54
Effingham	1808	Levi Chadbourn	84
2d Berwick	1808	William Chadbourn	18
Ossipee	1810	William Taylor	23
Hiram	1810		18
Salisbury	1810	Otis Robinson	55
Gillford	1811	Uriah Morrison	23
Churches 30		Ministers 22 Total	1857

Otis Robinson, *Moderator.*
Andrew Sherburne, *Clerk.*

N. B. The great Brentwood church, is for some reason, which I have not learnt, dropped from these Minutes. We shall therefore give it a place among the unassociated churches.

MEREDITH ASSOCIATION. 1789.

Held at Meredith, Sept. 11, 1811. Sermon by Otis Robinson.

Meredith	1780	Nicholas Folsom, *Abraham Swain*	76
Sandbornton	1772	John Crockett	249
Danville	1788	*David Hardy*	66
Ryegate and Barnet		James Bayley	41
Rumney	1780	Ezra Willmarth*	305
Conway			84
Eaton			14
Churches 8		Ministers 6 Total	785

Ezra Willmarth, *Moderator.*
Ephraim Crockett, *Clerk.*

* *Mr. Willmarth is now settled at Weare, N.H.*

DUBLIN ASSOCIATION. 1809.

Held at Mason, Oct. 17, 1810. Sermon by Elijah Willard.

Mason	1786	William Elliot	84
Dublin	1785	Elijah Willard	133
Temple	1782		20
Sullivan		*Charles Cummings*	26
Peterboro' & Society Land			41
Washington			34
Churches 6		Ministers 3 Total	343

Elijah Willard, *Moderator.*
Charles Cummings, *Clerk.*

Vermont.

Churches.	Constituted.	*Ministers.*	Communicants.
		WOODSTOCK ASSOCIATION. 1783.	
		Held at Canaan, Sept. 30, 1812. Sermon by Ariel Kendrick.	
Newport, N.H.	1778	Thomas Brown	189
Windsor	1785	Jabez Cottle	49
Westmoreland, N.H.	1773		96
Chester	1789	Aaron Leland	105
Alstead, N.H.	1790	Jeremiah Higbee	147
New-London, N. H.	1788	Job Seamans, Saml. Ambrose, *Enoch Hunting*	142
Cornish, N. H.	178-	Ariel Kendrick	143
Grafton, N.H.	1785	Joseph Wheet	165
Jamaica	1790		77
Canaan, N. H.	1802		55
Weathersfield and Baltimore	1803	Beman Boynton	61
Grafton, Vt.	1803	John Spalding	38
Cavendish	1803	Jonathan Going, jr. A.M.	82
Goshen, N. H.		John Colby	50
Sutton, N.H.	1803		66
Windham	1807	Thomas Baker	88
Townshend			41
Windsor, West Parish	1807	Samuel Lamson	85
Andover	803	Joel Manning	51
Londonderry, N. H.	1811	Gershom Lane	70
Acworth, N.H.	1809	*Benjamin Stone*	22
Westminster and Rockingham	1812		22
Winhall	1812		32
Unity, N. H.		Ezra Minor	58
Plainfield, N.H.	1792	Jonathan Cram, *Benjamin Kimball*	47
Churches 25		Ministers 21 Total	1925
		Aaron Leland, *Moderator.*	
		Jeremiah Higbee, *Clerk.*	
		SHAFTSBURY ASSOCIATION. 1780.	
		Held at West-Stockbridge, June 3, 1812. Sermon by Isaiah Mattison.	
Adams, Mass.		George Witherell	57
Albany, N.Y.	1811	Isaac Webb	72
Berlin, N.Y.	1785	Justus Hull, Alderman Baker	611
Cambridge, N.Y.	1778	Obed Warren	112
1st Canaan, N.Y.	1779		41
2d Canaan, N.Y.	1793		115
1st Cheshire, Mass.	1769	Bartemus Braman	43
2d Cheshire, Mass.	1771		213
Chatham, N.Y.		Job Champion	36
Charlotteville, U.C.			54
Cliftonpark, N.Y.		Abijah Peck	293
Clinton, U. Canada			34
Egremont, Mass.	1789	Daniel Sherwood	105
East Hillsdale, N.Y.	1792	Abel Brown	116
West Hillsdale, N.Y.	1787		47
Lansinburg, N.Y.			36
Hoosick, N.Y.	1785		141
Nassau, N.Y.		Ephraim Harris	91
Pittstown, N.Y.	1784	Charles Lahatt	56
Pittsfield, N.Y.	1772	John Francis, jun.	53
1st Pownal, Vt.	1773	David Hulbert	182

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Schodack, N.Y.		Stephen Olmsted	72
1st Stephentown, N.Y.	1785	Julius Breman	58
1st Shaftsbury, Vt.	1768	Isaiah Mattison	136
4th Shaftsbury, Vt.	1788		889
Savoy, Mass.		Philip Pearce	43
Stanford, Vt.		Paul Hirnes	95
Troy, N.Y.	1795	Francis Wayland	86
Townsend, U.C.		——— Fairchild	56
Sandisfield, Mass.	1779	Jesse Hartwell	129
Oxford, U.C.			28
W. Stockbridge, Mass.	1790		63
Churches 32		Ministers 21 Total	3657
		Obed Warren, *Moderator.*	
		William Groom, jr. *Clerk.*	
		VERMONT ASSOCIATION. 1785.	
		Oct. 6, 7, 1813.	
Salem, N.Y.	1790	*Samuel M. Plumb*	84
Hubbarton, Vt.	1787	Nathan Dana	82
Brandon, Vt.	1788	*Abiel Fisher*	75
Whiting, Vt.			30
Pittsford, Vt.	1783	William Herinton	122
Poultney, Vt.	1785	Clark Kendrick	86
Monkton, Vt.	1793	*John Stearns*	48
Rupert, Vt.		Peter W. Reynolds	72
New-Haven, Vt.			24
Middleton, Vt.	1782	Sylvanus Haynes	191
Bridport, Vt.		Elisha Starkweather	62
Cornwall, Vt.		Henry Green	156
Bristol, Vt.			61
Charlotte, Vt.			32
Granville, N.Y.	1783	Samuel Rowley	137
Dorset, Vt.			15
Orwell, Vt.	1787	Isaac Sawyer	62
Hinesburgh, Vt.		Samuel Churchill	23
Middlebury, Vt.	1809	Nathaniel Kendrick, *Horace Griswold*	48
Benson, Vt.		*Jeremy H. Dwyre*	52
Ira, Vt.	1782	Leland Howard	177
Panton, Vt.		Abel Woods	80
Shoreham, Vt.	1794	Ephraim Sawyer	125
Churches 23		Ministers 19 Total	1794
		Samuel Rowley, *Clerk.*	
		The Minutes of this Association were forwarded in manuscript. Where it was held, who preached the sermon, and who was moderator, are not stated.	
		FAIRFIELD ASSOCIATION. Formerly called Richmond, formed 1795.	
		Held at Fairfield, Aug. 26, 1812. Sermon by I. Orcutt.	
Richmond	1794		40
Georgia	1793	R. Mears	48
Westford			18
Berkshire		Moses Wares	19
Cambridge	1793	S. Holmes	47
Swanton		I. Orcutt	57
Essex and Jericho		Ephraim Butler	77
Fairfax	1793		111
Fairfield		Issac Sawyer	67
Enosborough			13

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Milton			18
Morristown			23
Churches 12		Ministers 6 Total Isaac Sawyer, *Moderator.* Ephraim Butler, *Clerk.*	533
		DANVILLE ASSOCIATION. 1810.	
		Held at Derby, Vt. June 17, 1812. Sermon by Samuel Churchill.	
Craftsbury	1804		45
Lancaster, N.H.	1809		5
Littleton	1807	—— Churchill	24
Concord, N.H.	1809		16
Coventry & Irasburgh	1809		33
Derby	1808		43
Barnston	1801	R. Smith	11
Lunenburgh	1811		9
Bethlehem			30
St. Johnsbury, Vt.	1811		17
Danville, Vt.	1788		52
Churches 11		Ministers 2 Total Samuel Churchill, *Moderator.* Daniel Mason, *Clerk.*	289
		BARRE ASSOCIATION. 1807.	
		Held at Braintree, Vt. Oct. 10, 1810. Sermon by Ephraim Butler.	
Calais			
Williamstown			
Barre			84
Chelsea and Tunbridge		Samuel Hovey	39
Randolph			31
Braintree		Elijah Huntington	44
Topsham			47
Royalton	1784		14
Warren		*Elias Spaulding, jun.*	15
Hanover, N. H.	1790	Isaac Bridgman	117
Lime, N. H.	1794		34
Churches 11		Ministers 4 Total Samuel Hovey, *Moderator.* Elijah Huntington, *Clerk.*	379

Massachusetts.

		BOSTON ASSOCIATION. 1811.	
		Held at Weare, N.H. Sept 15, 1813. Sermon by Ebenezer Nelson.	
2d Boston,	1743	Thomas Baldwin, D. D. *Daniel Chessman,* A.B.	394
Haverhill	1763	William Batchelder	300
Harvard	1776	Abisha Samson	97
Newton	1780	Joseph Grafton	193
Woburn	1781	Thomas Waterman, A.M.	99
Templeton	1782		114
Rowley	1785	Josiah Convers	39
Weston	1789	Charles Train, A.M.	34
Danvers	1793	Jeremiah Chaplin, A.M.	68
Charlestown	1801	William Collier, A.M.	68
Beverly	1801		125

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Salem	1804	Lucius Bolles, A. M. E. Williams, A. M. Henry A. Clarke	308
Reading		Ebenezer Nelson, *George Evans*	95
Malden			109
Weare, N.H.	1783	Ezra Willmarth	86
New-Boston, N.H.		Isaiah Stone	59
Nottingham West, N.H.	1805		98
African Church in Boston	1805	Thomas Paul	78
Ipswich			68
Newbury and Newburyport	1805	John Peak	75
3d Boston	1807	Daniel Sharp, *E. Lincoln, Johnson Chase*	84
Gloucester			23
Marblehead		Ferdinand Ellis, A.M.	46
Chelmsford		John Peckens, *John Parkhurst*	43
Londonderry, N.H.			62
Dunstable			39
Goffstown, N.H.		Abraham Gates	24
Churches 27		Ministers 24 Total	2840
		Thomas Baldwin, *Moderator.* Elisha Williams, *Clerk.*	
		STURBRIDGE ASSOCIATION. 1801.	
		Held at Hardwick, Sept. 30, 1812. Sermon by Joseph Smallidge.	
Sutton	1765	Samuel Waters, Isaac Dwinnel	150
Leicester	1738	Peter Rogers	78
Charlton	1762	James Boomer	95
1st Woodstock, Con.	1766		68
2d Woodstock, Con.	1792	Amos Wells	139
South-Brimfield	1736	Elijah Codding	82
Belchertown	1795	David Pease	110
Sturbridge	1749	Zenas L. Leonard, A.M.	11[illegible]
2d Ashford, Con.	1774		71
3d Ashford, Con.	1776		30
Shutesbury	1780	Joseph Smallidge	149
Wilbraham	1768	Alvin Bennett	109
Hardwick	1768	Ebenezer Burt	119
Thompson, Con.	1750	Parson Crosby	122
Pomfret Con.		James Grow	65
Enfield and Long-Meadow, Con.	1792	George Atwell, Ezekiel Terry	119
Killingly, Con.	1776	Calvin Cooper	109
Tolland, Con.		William Hubbard	61
1st Stafford, Con.	1786	*Jonathan Park, Samuel Cutler*	45
2d Stafford, Con.		Samuel Bloss, A.M.	39
Churches 20		Ministers 20 Total	1870
		Samuel Waters, *Moderator.* Zenas L. Leonard, *Clerk.*	
		LEYDEN ASSOCIATION. 1793.	
		Held at Guilford, Vt. Oct. 9, 1811. Sermon by Thomas Purinton.	
Leyden	1780	Asa Hebard	33
Leverett and Montague	1765	Elijah Montague	175
1st Guilford, Vt.	1780	Jeremy Packer, Matthew Bennet	137
2d Colraine			27
Richmond	1770	Solomon Wakefield	84
Somerset, Vt.	1791		31
Dummerston, Vt.	1783	Jonathan Huntley	171

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Putney, Vt.	1786	Jonathan Wilson	76
Halifax, Vt.	1784		156
Marlborough and Newfane, Vt.		Mansfield Bruce, Benjamin Cole	96
3d Guilford, Vt.	1791	Benjamin Bucklin	40
1st Colraine	1780		137
Charlemont	1790	John Rathburn, Nathaniel Rice	89
Royalston and Winchendon			
Wendell	1781	Samuel King	69
Guilford United Church, Vt.	1782	Lewis Allen	74
Dana		David Bates	60
Royalston & Warwick		Levi Hodge	119
Brookline		Isaac Welman	119
Fitzwilliam, N.H.	1790	Nathaniel Bowles	40
Swanzey & Winchester, N.H.	1792		82
Heath		Stephen Barker	27
New-Salem	1772	Paul Davis	91
Wilmington, Vt.		Eli Ball	43
Hinsdale and Chesterfield, N. H.		Joseph Elliot	72
Whitingham, Vt.			64
Wardsborough, Vt.	1792	Stephen Choate	69
Churches 27		Ministers 23 Total	2119
		Elijah Montague, *Moderator.*	
		Paul Davis, *Clerk.*	
		WESTFIELD ASSOCIATION.	
		Held at West-Springfield, Sept. 1, 1813. Sermon by Elder Bradley.	
Chesterfield	1780	Asa Todd	177
1st West-Springfield	1789	Jesse Whitman	66
2d West-Springfield		Thomas Rand, A.M.	60
Hinsdale		Abraham Jackson	144
Becket		Amos Kingsley	37
Westfield	1784		128
Chester		John Grant, Silas Kingsley	41
Churches 7		Ministers 7 Total	653
		Jesse Whitman, *Moderator.*	
		John Grant, *Clerk.*	

Rhode-Island.

		WARREN ASSOCIATION. 1767.	
		Held at Kingston, Mass. Sept. 7, 8, 1813. Sermon by Stephen Gano.	
1st Boston, Mass.	1665	James M. Winchell, A.B.	209
Warren	1764	Luther Baker, —— *Barton*	229
1st Middleboro', Mass.	1756	Samuel Abbot	112
2d Middleboro', Mass.	1757	Simeon Coombs	120
3d Middleboro', Mass.	1761	Samuel Nelson	146
Wrentham, Mass.	1769	William Williams, A.M. *Samuel Hascall*	64
Attleborough, Mass.	1769	James Read	109
Barnstable, Mass.	1771	Barnabas Bates	235
Medfield, Mass.	1776	William Gammell	74
Harwich, Mass.	1757	James Barnaby, A.M.	190

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
1st Providence	1639	Stephen Gano, A. M. John Pitman, A. M. supplies at Seekonk, Asa Messer, D. D. L. L. D. President of Brown University, *Nicholas Branch*, *Herbert Marshall*, Student in the University.	480
Bridgewater, Mass.	1785	Shubael Lovel, supply	104
Randolph. Mass.	1780	Joel Briggs, A. M.	143
Carver, Mass.	1791	——— Cummins, A. M. supply	66
Marshfield, Mass.	1788	Thomas Conant	64
2d Sutton, Mass.	1782	William Batchelder	39
2d Tiverton	1781	——— Batchelder, Job Borden	96
Marshpee, Mass.			42
Newport	1756	John B. Gibson	250
Seekonk, (formerly Rehoboth, Mass.	1794	*Caleb Mason*	53
Grafton, Mass.		Amasa Smith, Luther Goddard	77
Taunton, Mass.	1761		100
Somerset, Mass.	1803		37
4th Middleboro', Mass.		Ebenezer Briggs	42
2d Providence	1805	——— ——— Joseph Cornell, lately removed to New-York, *Elijah F. Willey*, Student in the University, supply	119
Pawtucket	1805	David Benedict, A. M. *Jonathan Smith* *George H. Hough*	80
Kingston, Mass.	1805	Samuel Glover, A. M.	96
Hanover, Mass.	1806	John Butler	80
Warwick & Coventry	1805	David Curtis, A. M.	186
Holden, Mass.	1807	*Thomas Marshall*	112
3d Tiverton	1808	Jason Livermore	46
Plymouth, Mass.	1809		29
Northbridge, Mass.	1780	*Otis Cooper*	39
Pawtuxet	1806	Bela Jacobs	61
Bristol	1811		56
Pembroke, Mass.	1812	*Joseph Torrey, jun.*	52
Worcester, Mass.	1812	William Bentley	61
New-Bedford, Mass.	1813		29
Churches 38		Ministers 42 Total	3988

Stephen Gano, *Moderator.*
David Benedict, *Clerk.*
Geo. H. Hough, *Assist. Cl'k.*

YEARLY MEETING

In the Ancient Order of the Six Principles of the Doctrine of Christ. Heb. vi 1, 2.

Held at Warwick, Sept. 10, 1813.

Johnston	1771	Elisha Sprague	47
Rehoboth, Mass.	1753	Preserved Pearce	99
Scituate	1766	Richard Knight	196
Cumberland	1739		12
Coventry	1752	Thomas Manchester	194
East-Greenwich	1743	Thomas Manchester	65
North-Kingston	1710	John Gardner	31
Warwick	1725	Samuel Littlefield	57
Richmond	1774	Joseph James	137
Burrillville	1790	Noah Millard	33
Foster	1766	John Williams, John Wescott	40
Rehoboth, Mass. North church	1789		20
Gloucester	1778		15
Swanzea, Mass.	1693	Philip Slade	309
Otsego, N. Y.			

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Amsterdam, N Y.			49
Deuryter, N. Y.			57
Churches 17		Ministers 12 Total	1961
		Thomas Manchester, *Moderator.*	
		Richard Knight, *Clerk.*	

Connecticut.

		STONINGTON ASSOCIATION. 1772.	
		Held at Groton, Oct. 20, 1812. Sermon by Joseph Cornel.	
1st North-Stonington	1743	Peleg Randal	181
2d North-Stonington	1765	Simon Brown, Jeded. Randal, Asher Miner	279
Groton	1705	John Gano Wightman	232
Saybrook	1760	Eliphalet Lester, William Witter	92
Exeter, R. I.	1750	Gershom Palmer	253
West-Greenwich, R. I.	1780		116
1st Colchester	1743	William Palmer	75
Richmond, R. I.	1774	Phineas Palmer	
2d Colchester	1784		72
Hampton	1776		82
Montville	1786	Reuben Palmer	157
Chatham & Haddam	1778	Solomon Wheat	111
Waterford		Zadock Darrow, Francis Darrow	156
East-Haddam	1790	Simeon Dickenson	44
Plainfield	1792	Nathaniel Cole	
South-Kingston, R. I.	1778	Enoch Steadman	53
Stonington-borough	1775	Elihu Cheesbrough	69
New-London	1767	Samuel West	88
Lebanon	1805	Nehemiah Dodge	80
Mansfield	1809	Jonathan Goodwin	75
2d Saybrook	1788	Oliver Wilson, John Waterhouse	66
3d Colchester	1810		24
Churches 22		Ministers 22 Total	2299
		Samuel West, *Moderator.*	
		Nehemiah Dodge, *Clerk.*	
		GROTON UNION CONFERENCE. 1785.	
		Held at Groton, June 24, 1812. Sermon by William Northup.	
Lyme	1752	Asa Wilcox	424
Groton	1765	Silas Burrows, Roswell Burrows, Jos. Utley	266
North-Kingston, R. I.	1782	William Northup	265
East-Greenwich, R. I.		Stephen Allen	136
1st Rehoboth, Mass.	1753		155
1st Westerly	1750		170
2d Westerly	1770	Jesse Babcock	262
3d Westerly	1790		97
Preston & Canterbury	1786	Amos Reed	42
2d Rehoboth	1762	Samuel Northup, deceased	73
Norwich	1800	John Sterry	110
2d Lyme	1812	Matthew Bolles	25
Churches 12		Ministers 8 Total	1825
		William Northup, *Moderator.*	
		Roswell Burrows, *Clerk.*	

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		DANBURY ASSOCIATION. 1790.	
		Held at Wallingford, Oct. 7, 1812. Sermon by Rufus Babcock.	
Suffield	1775	Asahel Morse	110
Meriden		Samuel Miller	107
Southington and Farmington	1739		38
Litchfield	1789		57
Stratfield	1751		159
Roxbury	1790	Isaac Fuller	96
Warren	1786		37
Wolcott and Bristol	1780	Daniel Wildman	98
Colebrook	1793	Rufus Babcock	145
2d Sandisfield, Mass.	1788		168
2d Dover, N. Y.	1794		22
East-Hartford	1789	Eliada Blakesley	31
Canton	1793	Jared Mills	16
Newtown	1794	John Sherman	39
Hartford	1790	Elisha Cushman	92
1st Middletown	1795	George Phippen, A. M.	88
Winchester			106
Sharon and Cornwall	1793	Hezekiah West	72
Amenia Town, N. Y.	1787	Calvin Phillio	
Milton			29
Berlin		Enoch Green	28
North-east Town, N.Y.	1751	Isaac Allerton	82
Wethersfield			38
North-Haven	1811	Joshua Bradley, A. M.* *H. Lines, D. Wright*	58
Churches 24		Ministers 17 Total	1716
		Asahel Morse, *Moderator.*	
		Joshua Bradley, *Clerk.*	
		* *Lately removed to Windsor, Vt.*	

New-York.

		NEW-YORK ASSOCIATION. 1791.	
		Held at the City of New-York, May 19, 1813. Sermon by Jacob F. Randolph.	
Piscataway, N. J.	1689	James M'Laughlan, *Jacob Sutton*	145
Scotch Plains, N. J.	1747	Thomas Brown	104
King Street, Con.	1747	Nathaniel Finch	62
Oyster Bay	1748	Marmaduke Earle, A. M.	104
Morristown, N. J.	1752	Samuel Trott	83
1st New-York	1762	William Parkinson, A. M. Samuel Carpenter, John Seger, *George Hadley*	485
Mount Bethel, N. J.	1767	John Ellis	125
Lyon's Farms, N. J.	1769	James Wilcox	29
Bethel, N. Y.	1770	Daniel Hall, *Augustine Elliot*	100
Staten-Island	1786		48
Northfield, N. J.	1786	Moses Edwards	85
Samptown, N. J.	1792	J. F. Randolph, R. F. Randolph	97
Middletown	1798		45
Newark, N. J.	1801		64
Randolph, N. J.	1802		24
South River, N. J.	1805		49
New-Rochelle	1807	Drake Wilson, *James Flandrow, jun.*	40
North Church, N. Y.	1809	Cornelius P. Wyckoff	37
Southold, N. J.	1809		18
Newtown	1809	G. W. Griffiths	25
Coram	1810		37

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Jefferson Village, N.J.	1810	J. Gildersleeve	18
Abyssinian	1809	Jacob Bishop	78
Niagara, U. C.	1808	Elkanah Holmes	22
Hudson	1810	Hervey Jenks, A. B.	36
Byram	1810	Ebenezer Jane	29
Masonicus	1812		12
1st Frankford, N. J.	1813		12
Churches 28		Ministers 26 Total	1952

Jacob F. Randolph, *Moderator.*
Roswell Graves, *Clerk.*

WARWICK ASSOCIATION. 1791.

Held at Bedford, June 2, 1813. Sermon by Lebbeus Lathrop.

Warwick	1766	Lebbeus Lathrop	127
1st Wantage, N. J.	1756	Silas Southworth	104
Newburg	1785		30
Clintontown	1791	John Dodge	15
Stamford, Con.	1773	Ebenezer Ferris, Frederick Smith	40
Cross River	1789		12
Bedford	1786	Ezra Fountain	107
Brookfield	1784	Henry Ball	107
Deer Park		Benjamin Montanye	51
Pleasant Valley	1790	Levi Hall	126
Middletown	1792		22
2d Wantage, N. J.	1797	John Wintermote	113
Peekskill	1793	H. Charlock, Daniel Steers	25
Marbletown	1798		39
York Town	1784	Reuben Garretson	52
Newfoundland		Thomas Teasdale	28
Neversink			34
Latin Town		Aaron Perkins	51
Thompson Town		Luke Davies	20
Hamburgh			57
Churches 20		Ministers 16 Total	1165

Lebbeus Lathrop, *Moderator.*
Ezra Fountain, *Clerk.*

UNION ASSOCIATION. 1809.

Held at Danbury, Sept. 7, 1811. Sermon by Enoch Ferris.

2d Fishkill	1784		25
Carmel	1788	Ebenezer Cole	207
Wilton, Con.		Levi Dikeman	105
Fredericktown	1772	Simeon Barrett	142
North Church in Stamford, Con.		Henry Hoit	67
1st Fishkill	1780	Jonathan Sturdivant	36
1st Danbury, Con.	1785	Nathaniel Bulkly	40
2d Danbury, Con.	1790		38
North-Salem		Job Foss	56
Patterson & Southeast		Enoch Ferris	45
Churches 10		Ministers 7 Total	761

Enoch Ferris, *Moderator.*
Job Foss, *Clerk.*

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		RENSSELAERVILLE ASSOCIATION.	
		1796.—Held at Coeymans, Oct. 14, 1818. Sermon by Orlando Mack.	
Rensselaerville & Bern	1796	Ephraim Crocker	56
1st Rensselaerville	1787	James Mackay, John Winans	66
2d Rensselaerville	1792	Josiah Baker	97
1st Coeymans	1788	William Stewart, Ebenezer Wyckes	143
Broome	1795	Levi Streeter	34
Bern	1798	Nehemiah H. Ripley	105
Duanesburgh and Florida	1800	Reuben Mudge	77
Durham	1800	Hermon Hervey	45
Windham		Hezekiah Pettit	56
Charlestown	1793	Elijah Herrick	78
Worcester, N. Y.			
Rensselaerville and Coeymans	1810	Adam Clark	39
Cairo		Joseph Arnold	130
Catskill			28
Jefferson		James Mead	76
Blenheim		Orlando Mack	58
Churches 16		Ministers 16 Total	1088
		Elijah Herrick, *Moderator.* John M. Peck, *Clerk.*	
		SARATOGA ASSOCIATION. 1805.	
		Held at Kingsbury, June 30, 1813. Sermon by Samuel Rodgers.	
Broadalbin			182
Ballstown-Spa		Elias Lee	76
Bottskill	1782	Edward Barber	276
1st Fort Ann			96
2d Fort Ann		Sylvanus Hawley	135
Florida			22
1st Galway	1789		52
2d Galway	1790	Samuel Rodgers	122
1st Greenfield	1791		66
2d Greenfield		John Lewis	43
3d Greenfield			54
Hartford	1788	Amasa Brown	432
Hartford & Kingsbury		Calvin H. Swain	125
Hadley			109
Kingsbury	1789	Ebenezer Herrington	113
Luzerne			103
Milton	1793		89
Moreau			17
Northampton and Edinburgh		Aaron Simmons	187
Providence	1790	Jonathan Finch	84
Pawlet, Vt.	1790	Isaac Beals	104
1st Saratoga	1790	Azariah Hanks	44
2d Saratoga	1793	E. P. Langworthy	148
Churches 23		Ministers 13 Total	2676
		Isaac Beals, *Moderator.* Eli Smith, *Clerk.*	
		LAKE GEORGE ASSOCIATION. 1809.	
		Held at Bolton, Sept. 5, 1812. Sermon by James Whitehead.	
Caldwell & Thurman		Daniel M'Bride	127

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Chester		Jehiel Fox	84
1st Scarroon			17
2d Scarroon		*James Whitehead*	28
Johnsburgh			28
Kinyontown			18
Churches 6		Ministers 3 Total	302
		ESSEX ASSOCIATION. 1802.	
		Held at North-west Bay, Oct. 21, 1812. Sermon by Daniel Hascall.	
Elizabethtown	1796	Daniel Hascall	68
North-west Bay	1807	Parker Reynolds	27
Jay	1798		61
Peru	1794		49
Plattsburgh	1796		36
Essex	1807		21
Churches 6		Ministers 2 Total	262
		Isaac Sawyer, *Moderator.*	
		Parker Reynolds, *Clerk.*	
		ST. LAWRENCE ASSOCIATION. 1812.	
		Held at Stockholm, Jan. 10, 1812. Sermon by Jonathan Paine.	
Madrid	1808		32
Hopkinton	1808		10
Gouverneur	1811	Jonathan Paine	20
Stockholm	1811		7
Churches 4		Minister 1 Total	69
		Elisha Starkweather, *Moderator.*	
		Daniel Hascall, *Clerk.*	
		BLACK RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1808.	
		Held at Ellisburgh, Oct. 2, 1811. Sermon by Elisha Morgan.	
Denmark	1808	Peleg Card	44
1st Rutland	1806	Solomon Johnson	80
Champion	1805		26
Brownville	1805		35
Adams	1805	Amos Lampson	61
Henderson	1806	Emery Osgood	53
2d Rutland	1808	*Martin E. Cooke*	37
Watertown	1809	Amos Gill, Elisha Morgin	48
Ellisburgh	1807		38
Churches 9		Ministers 6 Total	422
		Emery Osgood, *Moderator.*	
		Martin E. Cooke, *Clerk.*	
		OTSEGO ASSOCIATION. 1795.	
		Held at Brookfield, Sept. 4, 1811. Sermon by Abel Palmer.	
1st Burlington	1794		72
2d Burlington	1794	Squire Abbot	94
3d Burlington	1794	Stephen Taylor	85
Edmiston			91
N. Burlington	1797		23
1st Butternuts	1793		71
2d Butternuts			38
Bengal	1808	Nehemiah Lamb	46
Brookfield	1799	Simeon Brown	124

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
1st Exeter	1794	Abel Palmer	101
2d Exeter	1805		26
Floyd	1808		46
Deerfield	1801		60
German Flatts	1801		48
1st Herkimer	1802		59
2d Herkimer	1805		31
Litchfield	1797		108
New Berlin	1794	Simeon Camp	34
2d Norwich	1799		40
1st Newport	1793	Ebenezer Vining	71
Otsego	1794		24
2d Newport	1800		44
Laurens	1795		52
Springfield	1789	Calvin Hulbert	81
North Paris	1797		34
Schuyler	1797		24
Salisbury	1801	Caleb Todd	87
Steuben	1802		39
Sangerfield	1798		52
Stratford	1809		40
Whitestown	1796	Caleb Douglas	114
Warren	1799		19
Western	1800		47
Richfield	1797		28
Churches 34		Ministers 10. Total Ebenezer Vining, *Moderator.* Nehemiah Lamb, *Clerk.*	1953
		FRANKLIN ASSOCIATION. 1811. Held at New-Lisbon, June 17, 1812. Sermon by Warner Lake.	
Hartwick	1795	John Bostwick	91
New-Lisbon			84
Roxbury		William Warren	163
Franklin	1793	Daniel Robertson	214
Oxford	1797		30
Middlefield	1805	Benjamin Sawen	84
Harpersfield		Warner Lake	118
Delhi			50
Maryland			30
4th Butternuts	1807	Samuel Wakefield	39
Colchester		Richard Wolsey	39
Milford	1807	Edmund Richmond	59
Meredith			41
Masonville		Orange Spencer	27
Chenango and Windsor			33
Coventry		Levi Holcomb	41
Churches 16		Ministers 10 Total Warner Lake, *Moderator.* James M'Collum, *Clerk.*	1153
		MADISON ASSOCIATION. 1808. Held at Homer, Sept. 8, 1813. Sermon by Daniel Hascall.	
Brookfield		Nathaniel Marsh	64
Carenovia	1801	John Peck, James Wheeler, *Jacob Crapuy*	191
Columbus	1806		54
Cincinnatus	1811	Timothy Shepherd	16

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
De Ruyter	1799	*Hudson Benedict*	46
Eaton	1806	Joseph Co'ey, *Benjamin Pierce*	62
Fabius	1803	John Upfold, Peter P. Roots, A.M.	90
German	1806	John Lawton	124
Homer	1802	Alfred Bennet	165
Hamilton	1796	Daniel Hascall	148
Lysle	1803	Asahel Holcomb	130
Lenox	1811		46
Madison	1797	John R. Seaver	63
Manlius		Gershom Breed, *Allen Breed*	80
1st Nelson	1806		84
2d Nelson	1810		28
Norwich	1797	Jona. Ferris, Elisha Ransom, *Philander Kelsey*	169
Pompey and Manlius	1798	Nathan Baker	115
Pompey	1806		51
Pompey and Fabius	1812	Frederick Freeman	61
Peterborough	1810	Roswell Beckwith	37
Pharsalia	1810		31
Preston	1812		10
Sherburne	1802	*Reuben Tinnry*	68
Smithfield	1801	Nathaniel L. More	82
Solon	1808	*Nathan Peck*	90
1st Truxton	1807	——— *Perkins*	28
2d Truxton		Rufus Freeman	84
Virgil	1807	——— Powers	81
Westmoreland	1804		53
South Paris		Hezekiah Eastman	35
Churches 31		Ministers 30 Total	2317
		John Peck, *Moderator.*	
		Ebenezer Wakeley, *Clerk.*	

CAYUGA ASSOCIATION. 1801.

Held at Palmyra, Sept. 30, 1812. Sermon by Minor Thomas.

Aurelius	1795	David Irish	425
Alfred	1809		21
Avon	1800	William Furman	35
Bristol	1805	Solomon Goodale	129
Benton	1805		29
Brutus	1799	Israel Craw	160
2d Benton	1810		49
Boyle	1809	Daniel Brown	51
2d Boyle			17
Canandaigua	1802	Thomas Tuttle	31
Caledonia	1810		20
Cato	1810	Daniel Palmer	38
Dryden	1805		49
Farmington	1797	Anson Sha	61
1st Gorham	1806		88
2d Gorham	1809	Nehemiah Lamb	57
2d Genoa	1804		29
Junius	1807	Samuel Messenger	54
Lima	1800	Thomas Gorton	44
Locke	1806	Benjamin Whippie	125
Lyons	1808	Daniel Irons	30
Mentz	1805	John Jefferies	182
Marcellus	1806	Elias Harman	101
Middlesex	1801	John Goff	129
1st Ovid	1804		86
2d Ovid	1803	Minor Thomas	207
Onondaga	1804		76

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Owasco	1796	Elkanah Cumstock	44
2d Onondaga			80
Pompey	1800	Jeremiah Irons	157
Pomfield	1804	Joseph Case	75
Phelps	1709	Jehiel Wisner, William Roe	96
Reading	1807		89
Sempronius		Robert Niles	84
Scipio, united	1807	David Rathbun	275
1st Scipio	1795	Asa Turner	244
Wayne	1804	Ephraim Sanford	51
1st Williamson	1804		61
2d Williamson	1808		47
Mendon			12
Churches 40		Ministers 26 Total	3009
		Minor Thomas, *Moderator.* Solomon Goodale, *Clerk.*	
		HOLLAND PURCHASE CONFERENCE.	
		1811.—Held at Shelden, Oct. 14, 1812.	
1st Attica	1808		42
Sheldon	1803		28
Hamburg	1811		31
Willink	1810		28
Pomfret	1808	Joy Handy	28
2d Warsaw	1810		44
Chautauque	1808		15
2d Pomfret	1812		16
2d Attica			21
3d Warsaw		—— Case	26
Churches 10		Ministers 2 Total	279

Upper-Canada.

		THURLOW ASSOCIATION. 1804.	
		Held at Markham, U. C. Oct. 7, 1808	
Hollowell		Joseph Winn	56
Cramb		Reuben Crandell, *Isaac Cummings*	101
Thurlow and Sidney			84
Markham		Elijah Bentley	34
Whitby			18
Rawdon		Asa Turner	100
		No late Minutes of this Association have been received. According to Elder Turner's account, in 1811, it stood as follows:	
Churches 11		Ministers 8 Total	1000

New-Jersey.

		NEW-JERSEY ASSOCIATION. 1811	
		Held at Mount-Holley, September 21, 1818 Sermon by Peter Wilson.	
Cohansey	1690	Henry Smalley, A. M.	208
Cape May	1712	Jenkin David	70
1st Haspewell	1715	John Boggs	167
Hightstown	1745	Peter Wilson, A. M.	160
Salem	1755	Joseph Sheppard, A. M. *John P. Cooper, Daniel Sheppard*	190
New-Mills	1764	Isaac Carlile, *Benjamin Hedger*	156

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Manahawkin	1770		57
Jacob's Town	1785		63
Amwell	1798	C. Bartolette	81
Burlington	1801	Burgiss Allison, D. D.	84
Mount-Holly	1801		73
2d Hopewell	1803		59
Evesham	1805	Alexander M'Gowan	69
Trenton & Lamberton	1805	William Boswell	156
Pittsgrove	1771		98
Port Elizabeth	1810		17
Dividing Creek	1761		53
West-Creek	1792	T. Brooks	40
Tuckahoe	1771	*William Worley*	35
Nottingham	1812		85
Upper Freehold	1766	John Cooper	87
Churches 21		Ministers 16	Total 1943

Pennsylvania.

		PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION. 1707. Held at Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1813. Sermon by Joseph Mathias.	
Lower Dublin	1689	Samuel Jones, D. D Alexander Dennison, David Bateman, *John Booser*	178
Middletown	1688	Benjamin Bennet	127
Great Valley	1711	David Jones, A. M.	88
Brandywine	1715	Charles Moore	64
Montgomery	1719	Silas Hough	68
1st Philadelphia	1698	Henry Holcombe, D. D Wm. Rogers, D. D. Daniel James, *Benjamin Coles*	405
Southampton	1746	Thomas B. Montanye	159
New Britain	1754		85
Vincent	1771		58
Hilltown	1781	Thomas Mathias	108
Marcus Hook	1789		36
Roxbury	1789	Thomas Fleeson	55
Shemokin		J. Woolverton	84
Dover			18
2d Philadelphia	1803	Wm. White, A. M. J. Hewson. R. Proudfoot, *Isaiah Stratton, Geo. Patterson, J. Clark*	362
Blockley		Daniel J. Swinney	36
Squan			41
Frankford	1807	David Jones	33
Merion		Horatio G. Jones, A. M.	39
3d Philadelphia	1809	John P. Peckworth, *John Coxe*	126
1st African church	1809	John King	61
Hephzibah			81
Lower Providence			25
Sansom Street, Philadelphia	1811	William Stoughton, D. D. Thomas Billings, James Patterson, *James Tomlins*	254
Churches 24		Ministers 32 Total	2587

Silas Hough, *Moderator.*
H. G Jones, *Clerk.*

CHEMUNG ASSOCIATION. 1796.

Held at Elmyra, Oct. 7, 1812. Sermon by Thomas Smiley.

Chemung, N. Y.*	1791	Roswell Goff	42
Tawanta	1799		24

* It was supposed this town was in Pennsylvania, or else the Association would have been put under the head of New-York.

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Owego, N. Y.	1796		19
Bath, N. Y.	1798	Amos Eglestone, *Thomas Strector*	30
Elmyra, N. Y.	1807		64
Owego Creek, N. Y.	1807	*Jasper Taylor*	13
White Deer	1808	Thomas Smiley	16
Burlington	1809	Elisha Rich	96
Spencer, N. Y.	1810	Phinehas Spaulding	27
Alba	1810	Simeon Powers	15
Hector, N. Y.	1810	James Reynolds	67
Smithfield	1810		44
Churches 12		Ministers 9 Total	457

Roswell Goff, *Moderator.*
Thomas Smiley, *Clerk.*

ABINGTON ASSOCIATION. 1807.

Held at Palmyra, August 28, 1811.

Palmyra	1807	William Purdy	45
Mount Pleasant		Elijah Peck	28
Abington		John Miller, Samuel Sturdavant	176
Churches 3		Ministers 4 Total	249

RED STONE ASSOCIATION. 1776.

Held at Indian Creek, Sept. 1, 1809. Sermon by Mathias Luce.

Uniontown	1770		24
Whitely Creek		Benjamin Stone	128
George's Creek	1790		51
Turkey Foot	1775	Nathaniel Skinner	57
Forks of Cheat, Va.	1777		14
Peter's Creek	1773	David Phillips	
L. Redstone			29
Indian Creek	1783	John Patterson, *William Stone*	33
Head of Whitely		Amos Mix	62
Monongahela Mouth of Maple Creek	1791	Henry Spears	99
Forks of Yough	1789		18
Big Redstone		James Frey	61
Connellsville		James Estep	31
Ten Mile	1773	Mathias Luce	112
Horse-shoe bottom		Charles B. Smith	55
Monongahela Glades			44
Sandy Creek	1785		18
Plumb Run			20
Merrit's Town		William Brownfield	24
King's Creek	1792		19
George's Hills		Daniel Lovet	29
Dunkard Creek			31
Big Beaver			25
Beulah	1797	D. Kimpton,* T. Davis, *W. Williams, J. Jones*	74
Cross Creek, Va.	1802	John Prichard	62
Head of Short Creek		Enoch Martin	17
Pigeon Creek	1775		22
Short Creek, Va.	1802	Enoch Martin	50
Bates' Fork of Ten-mile			39
French Creek			26
Glade Run			18
Forks of Will's Creek, Ohio			12
Flat Run, Ohio			52
Churches 33		Ministers 10 Total	1323

* *Removed to the State of Ohio.*

Delaware.

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		DELAWARE ASSOCIATION.	
		Held at Welsh-Tract, June 6, 1812. Sermon by Daniel Dodge.	
Welsh Tract	1701	Gideon Ferrel	193
Cow Marsh	1781		31
Brynzion	1784	James Jones	35
Wilmington	1785	Daniel Dodge	125
London Tract	1780	Jethro Johnson	67
Mispillion	1783		29
Churches 6		Ministers 4 Total	480
		Gideon Ferrell, *Moderator.*	
		Joseph Miles, *Clerk.*	

Maryland.

		BALTIMORE ASSOCIATION. 1792.	
		Held at Sater's meeting-house, July 31, 1812. Sermon by John Welch.	
Harford	1754		121
1st Baltimore	1785	Lewis Richards	147
Fredericktown	1773	John Welch	27
Taney Town	1792		16
Tuskarora Valley, Pa.	1792		49
Old Seneca	1773		11
Huntingdon, Pa.			30
Hammond's Branch	1793	William Wilson	38
Sideling Hill, Pa.	1789	Thomas Runyan	33
Pleasant Valley	1808	*Gabriel Nourse*	31
1st Washington city	1802	Obadiah B. Brown	51
Conolloway, Pa.	1754	John Cook	66
Gunpowder	1806	Benjamin Green	68
Saters	1806	George Grice	33
Upper Seneca	1805		21
2d Baltimore	1797	John Healey	69
Petapsco		Edward Choat	29
2d Washington city	1810		27
Churches 18		Ministers 11 Total	857
		John Healey, *Moderator.*	
		John Welch, *Clerk.*	
		SALISBURY ASSOCIATION. 1782.	
		Held at Broad Creek, Oct. 27, 1811. Sermon by Daniel Hancock.	
Salisbury	1780	Robert Lemmon	66
Nassiongo			63
Newtown			13
Matiponi			25
Indian Town	1730		69
Head of the Sound			14
Little Creek			40
Broad Creek	1780	Caldwell Winsor	46
Bethel		Isaac Fisher	30
Fowling Creek	1781		31
Fishing Creek	1791	Stephens Woolford	11
Jones's Mills		Stephens Woolford	26
Barren Creek		Caldwell Winsor	31
Straits Hundred			7
Churches 14		Ministers 4 Total	469
		Stephens Woolford, *Moderator.*	
		John Maguire, jr. *Clerk.*	

Virginia.

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
		KETOCKTON ASSOCIATION. 1766.	
		Held at Thumb Run, Fauquier County.	
Ketockton	1756		22
Mill Creek	1758		36
Broad Run	1762		74
Chapawamsic	1766	William Fristoe	114
Water Lick	1787	S O. Heudrom	54
Bent Town	1772		56
Thumb Run	1772		92
Back Lick	1776	Henry Toler	84
Buck Marsh	1771		150
Hedgman's River	1770		112
Occoquan	1774		105
North-River	1789	John Munroe, Peter Sherry	12
New-Valley	1765		30
Happy Creek	1783	Benjamin Dawson	75
Frying Pan	1790	Jeremiah Moore	60
Crooked Run	1786		40
Goose Creek	1767		119
Little River	1768	Robert Latham	79
Long Branch	1785		64
Hartwood	1774		56
North Fork	1782	William Gilmore	65
Zoar	1799		65
Ebenezer	1804		58
Alexandria	1803		53
Leesburg	1803		34
Patterson Creek	1803	John Arnold	40
Bethel	1808		104
South River	1770		13
Nanjamoy	1791		
Timber Ridge	1809	Jonathan Hutchinson	
Upper Goose Creek			50
Big Cacapeon			50
Salem		John Sowers	30
Rock Hill			24
Grove			68
Bethlehem			21
Churches 96		Ministers 12 Total	2202

John Munroe, *Moderator.*
Thomas Buck, *Clerk.*

No late Minutes of the remaining Associations in this State have been received. The following statements are taken from Semple's History, which represents the churches as they stood in 1809.

The usual information respecting the time of Session, the preachers of the Association sermons, Moderators and Clerks, must necessarily be dispensed with.

DOVER ASSOCIATION. 1783.

Dover	1773		275
Goochland	1771	R Ford	200
Hopeful	1807	R Ford	180
Chickahominy	1776	B Bowles	240
Hungary	1791	B. Reynolds	100
City of Richmond	1780	J. Courtney	500

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Bear Swamp			90
Four Mile		J. Lindsey	248
Charles City	1776	W. Cropton	217
Black Creek	1777	J. Turner	200
James City	1778		96
Williamsburg	1791		500
Grafton	1777	J Gayle	497
Hampton	1791	R. Hurst	305
Reeds	1773	J Self	267
Tuckaho	1774	J. Sorrel	219
Salem	1802		106
U College	1775		250
L. College	1792	J. Mill	310
Upper King and Queen	1774	T Noel	257
Brunington	1790	R B. Semple	300
Exol	1775	I Lewis	128
Lower King and Queen	1772	W. Todd	147
Pocorone	1807	J Healey	92
Upper Essex	1772		280
Pocataway	1771	J. Greenwood	229
Globe Landing	1772	J. Lewis	284
Hermitage	1780		230
Zoar	1808		99
Glouceste or Pettsworth	1790		283
Abingdon	1801	R Stacy	263
Mathews	1775	W. Fitchet	120
Hanover	1789	J. Davis	256
Nomony	1786	H. Toler	275
Fenham	1790		60
Wicomoco	1804	S. Straughn	238
Moratico	1778	S. Straughn	261
Churches 37		Ministers 24 Total	9628
		GOSHEN ASSOCIATION. 1791.	
Waller's	1769	A. Waller	285
Mine's Road	1791	J Pendleton.	35
Craig's	1797	E Abel	21
Piney Branch	1789	H Goodloe	40
Massaponax	1788	A. Waller	198
Wilderness	1778	E. Ely	130
Guineas	1774	A. Waller	175
Fredericksburg	1803	A Broaddus	41
Zoar	1805		45
County Line	1782	A. Waller	97
Bethel	1800	A. Broaddus	108
Burrus's	1773	A Broaddus	205
Williams's		E. Furrington	130
Licking Hole	1776	L. Page	500
Thomson's	1770	W. Waller	85
Roundabout	1791	J. Poindexter	226
Scarrat's	1777	H Goodloe	64
Little River	1791	W. Cook	75
N. Fork Pamunkey	1774		180
Churches 19		Ministers 11 Total	2650
		MIDDLE DISTRICT ASSOCIATON. 1783.	
Nottoway	1769		60
Powhatan	1771		150
Muddy Creek	1774	S. Woodfin	300
Skinquarter	1778	C. Forsee	172

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Tomahawk	1777	W. Flournoy	71
Spring Creek	1790		220
Chesterfield	1773	E. Clay	200
Salem	1802	T. Lafon	156
Churches 8		Ministers 5 — Total	1329
		ROANOKE ASSOCIATION. 1788.	
Catawba	1773	P. Hurt	60
Buffaloe	1776	C. Hubbard	87
Mayo	1774	R. Picket	250
Wynn's Creek	1773		40
Hunting Creek	1775	T. Dobson	80
Musterfield	1779	L. Baker	38
Childry	1783	J. Jenkins	160
Millstone	1787	J. Jenkins	81
Arbour	1785	J. Atkinson	81
Polecat	1790	J. Atkinson	17
Miry Creek	1803	C. Lovelace	34
Liberty	1802		50
Dan River	1802	C. Lovelace	84
12 Corner	1803	C. Hubbar	30
Mossing Ford	1785	R. Dabbs	196
Buffaloe	1778	B. Izzel	90
Seneca	1804	N. Lovelace	128
Mill Church	1770	E. Dodson	103
Upper Bannister	1773	W. Blair	40
County Line	1771		47
Birch Creek	1787		93
Union	1789	D. Nowlen	60
Bennett's	1790	J. Jenkins	67
Whitethorn	1791	W. Hopgood	53
Lower Bannister	1795	J. Jenkins	277
Stinking River	1800	G. Dickerson	52
Shockoe	1803	D. Nowlen	60
Double Creek	1803		48
Zion's Hill	1807	J. Warner	35
Stewart's Creek		W. Blair	36
Churches 30		Ministers 17. — Total	2510
		PORTSMOUTH ASSOCIATION. 1790.	
Pungo	1762	J. Lawrence	86
Black Water	1784	W. Sorey	69
London Bridge	1784	R. Ritter	193
Norfolk	1804		290
Portsmouth	1789		68
Upper Bridge	1782	D. Casey	56
Shoulder's Hill	1785	T. Bunting	217
Western Branch	1779	T. Bunting	49
South Quay	1785	J. Bowers	96
Black Creek	1786	W. Browne	103
Meherrin	1788	W. Browne	139
Tucker's Swamp	1807	H. Jones	26
Sea Cock	1787	W. Browne	55
Racoon Swamp	1772	W. Browne	168
High Hills of Nottoway	1787	W. Chambless	34
Sappony	1773		59
Mill Swamp	1774	W. Browne	200
Otter Dams	1791	B. Boothe	81
Rowanty	1775		22
Davenport's			165
Churches 20		Ministers 10 — Total	2176

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		ALBEMARLE ASSOCIATION. 1791.	
Albemarle	1767	J. Watts	78
Totier	1775	M. Dawson	120
Prithis Creek	1784	M. Dawson	190
Hephzibah	1802	M. Dawson	48
Whitesides	1788	B. Burgher	106
Buffaloe		J. Young	120
Ebenezer	1773	W. Duncan	80
Life's	1798	W. Basket	144
Fork	1774	G. Anderson	150
Churches 9		Ministers 7 Total	1037
		CULPEPPER ASSOCIATION. 1791.	
Bethel	1803	W. Mason	62
Thompson's Gap	1787	W. Fristoe	95
Crooked Run	1772		85
Mount Poney	1774	W. Mason	247
F. T.	1778		100
Gourd Vine	1791	W. Mason	75
Fiery Run	1771		47
Battle Run	1773		87
Rappadan	1773		114
Robinson River	1790	W. Mason	41
Blue Run	1769	R. Jones	100
Carter's Run	1768		68
Goose Creek	1799	J. Koones	60
Mill Creek	1772	J. Koones	73
Smith's Creek	1774	A. Moffet	48
Lost River	1784	J. Koones	21
Lunie's Creek	1777		11
Lynvil's Creek	1756	J. Koones	19
Churches 18		Ministers 5 Total	1353
		APPOMATTOX ASSOCIATION. 1804.	
Lower Falling	1792	J. Weatherford	65
Ebenezer		Ed. Johns	
New Chapel		Ed. Johns	
Staunton River	1804	R. Dobbs	78
Cubb Creek	1771	B. Todd	90
Ash Camp	1803		60
Rocks	1772	P. Matthews	
Appomattox	1773	J. Saunders	200
Sailor Creek	1781	A. Watkin	280
Mountain Creek	1788	A. Miller	
Buckingham	1771	R. Chastain	290
Providence	1774		50
Wreck Island	1781	W. Flowers	
Union	1786	J. L. Abraham	110
Slate River	1805	I. Garret	31
Sandy Creek		J. Scurry	200
Churches 16		Ministers 13	
		The number of five churches is not put down. According to Semple, the sum total of the Association in 1809, was	2114
		MEHERRIN ASSOCIATION. 1804.	
Sandy Creek	1785	W. Richards	70
Allen's Creek	1791	R. Dabbs	48
Blue Stone	1772	W. Richards	115
Maloane's or Geneto	1773	W. Creath	39

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Wilson's	1799	W. Creath	54
Meherrin	1771	J. Shelburne	21
Reedy Creek	1775	J. Shelburne	110
Cedar Creek	1779		55
Tussekiah	1777	W. Ellis	70
Flat Rock	1805	J. Shelburne	59
Cat Banks	1789	P. Wynn	36
Harper's	1773	P. Wynn	30
James's		W. Creath	26
Reedy Creek	1776	W. Dossey	57
Fountain's Creek	1787	W. Garner	160
Zion	1806	W. Creath	30
Churches 16		Ministers 8 Total	980
		ACCOMACK ASSOCIATION. 1808.	
Pungoteague	1790	G. Layfield	135
Matompkin	1785	G. Layfield	105
Chingoteague	1786	T. Waters	132
Massongo	1779	T. Waters, J. Benston	124
Lower Northampton	1778	J. Elliott	219
Hungo's	1783	J. Elliott	126
Mashapongo	1807	A. Fisher	50
Churches 7		Ministers 5 Total	891
		MAYO ASSOCIATION. 1798.	
		No Minutes of this Association have been obtained, either by Mr. Semple or the author, nor any definite account of its number. From the best information, it is a body of moderate size. We shall estimate its churches at 12, its ministers at 8, and its sum total of members at	700
		STRAWBERRY ASSOCIATION. 1766.	
Goose Creek		W. Leftwich	100
Little Otter	1797	J. Moorman	200
Otter		J. Anthony	100
N. F. of Otter		G. Rucker	
Staunton River		J. Black	40
Beaver Dam	1801	J. Burnet	180
Suck Spring	1805		
Timber Ridge	1805	I. Fuquay	90
Difficult		A. Week	12
Buffaloe			26
Rock Spring	1804		35
Mill Creek	1804		28
Gill's Creek		W. Turner	30
Chapel		J. Pedigo	
Bethel	1804	J. Ashwo	
Black Water	1804	W. Turner	65
Pig River	1773	J. Pedigo	
Snow Creek		J. Pedigo	
Snow Creek & Pig River		J. Ashworth	
Smith's River		J. Pedigo	
Jack's Creek	1804	S. Hubbard	
Leatherwood	1772	J. King	
Beaver Creek		J. King	
Burton's Creek	1806	J. Anthony	30
Churches 24		Ministers 14	
		The sum total of this Association, according to Mr. Semple, was, in 1809,	1723

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		NEW RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1793.	
Bethel	1774	J. Polack	78
Salem	1784	W. Howard	35
Greasy Creek	1789	R. Jones	13
N. F. of Roanoke	1801	I. Rentfro	28
West Fork	1803	J. Jones	28
Pine Creek	1803	P. Howard	51
Sinking Creek	1796	J. Stanley	33
Catawba	1780		55
Meadow Creek	1785	W. Howard	27
Churches 9		Ministers 7 Total	348
		GREEN BRIER ASSOCIATION. 1807.	
Green Brier	1781	J. Alderson	
Big Levels	1796	J. Osbourne	58
Taze's Valley	1808	J. Lee	45
Mud River	1807	J. Lee	20
Kenhawa	1796		33
Cole River	1807	J. Lee	35
Peter's Creek	1803	E. Hughes	25
Indian Creek	1792	J. Ellison	61
Blue Stone	1804		
Churches 9		Ministers 5	
		The sum total of this Association, according to Mr. Semple, was, in 1809,	356
		UNION ASSOCIATION. 1804.	
Simpson's Creek	1775	J. H. Goss	45
Buchanan	1786	J. Carney	17
Good Hope	1806	J. Waldo	12
Olive Branch	1803	P. Wells	23
West Fork		J. Hickman	12
Salem	1801	J. H. Goss	14
Union	1802	P. Wells	20
Valley	1806	P. Wells, S. Harris	22
Little Bethel	1795	P. Wells	27
Pritchel's Creek	1786	J. Hickman	28
Pawpaw	1805	T. Martin	14
Sandy Creek	1798	J. Smith	21
Gethsemane	1803		7
Churches 13		Ministers 7 Total	262

By these Minutes, it appears that the number of pastors in the churches they represent is but about 160; but Mr. Semple supposes there are as many ministers in this State as churches, which would make the sum total 283.

A very extensive revival was experienced in some of the Virginia Associations in 1811, and onward. Elder William Brame, in Nov. 1812, wrote to Dr. Baldwin as follows: "Twenty-five hundred have been added to the Dover Association, upwards of 1000 to the Goshen, about 400 to the Albemarle, about 600 to the Roanoke, and a considerable number to the Appomattox."* Other accounts make mention of large additions to the churches in the lower parts of this State. We may, I think, safely calculate that 5000

* *M. B. M. Mag.* vol. iii. p. 276.

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
		members have been added to the Virginia churches since 1809. which would make their sum total stand thus: Associations 16, Churches 283, Ministers 283, Members 35,164.	
		There are besides, in this State, a number of churches belonging to the Mountain, Holston, and Redstone Associations, which will be reckoned under their respective heads.	

North-Carolina.

		KEHUKEE ASSOCIATION. 1771. Held at Mearn's Chapel, October 5, 1811. Sermon by Richard Dabbs.	
Conoho	1704	Benjamin Joyner	50
Conetoe	1803		23
Cross Roads	1786	Jonathan Cherry, *William Hyman*	43
Connconary			85
Concord		James Ambrose	60
Falls Tar River	1757		157
Fishing Creek	1755	Philemon Bennett	85
Fiat Swamp	1776	Luke Ward	59
Great Swamp	1795	James Ewell	80
Kehukee	1755		73
Lawrence, M. H.		Joshua Lawrence, *Bennet Barrow*	81
Mattemuskeet	1783	John Bowen	85
Moratiock	1791	Amariah Biggs	77
Maple Spring	1793	William Lancaster, *Henry Hunt*	33
Mearns' Chapel			73
Moore's M. H.			44
O'd Conoho			17
Pungo			16
Poplar Spring	1793		50
Quankey	1799	Macallister Vinser	58
Rocky Swamp	1774	Jesse Read	65
Ready Creek	1755	Moses Bennett	49
Sandy Creek	1774		49
Scuppernong	1785		26
Skewarkey	178-	Joseph Biggs	42
Smithwick's Creek	1803	*Abraham Tice*	37
Sappony		Jordan Sherrod	50
South Mattemuskeet		Green Carrowan	67
Trauter's Creek			21
Williams's M. H.		*Bowler Marlow*	69
Churches 30		Ministers 21 Total	1627
		Philemon Bennett, *Moderator.* Joseph Biggs, *Clerk.* Moses Bennett, *Assist. Clerk.*	
		NEUSE ASSOCIATION. 1794. Held at Chinquepin Chapel, Oct. 19, 1811. Sermon by William P. Biddle.	
Blount's Creek			35
Hadnot's Creek	1780	Jabez Weeks	24
New Port	1778		42
North River			103
Core Creek	1791		23
Goose Creek	1784		53
Newbern		John M'Cabe, William P. Biddle	37

Churches.	Constituted.	*Ministers.*	Communicants.
Swift Creek	1784	*David Whitford*	42
Toisnot	1756		88
Town Creek	1780	Thomas Dupree	84
Winstead			91
Little Contentny	1791		75
Chinquepin		John Koonce	44
White Oak			28
Bear Creek	1790		60
Beaver Dam			21
Sandy Bottom			25
Hancock's		*John Kettrell*	29
Red Banks	1758		89
Black Creek	1783		96
Naughunty			27
Pleasant Plains		Needham Whitfield	26
Churches 22		Ministers 8 Total	1036

Samuel Simpson, *Moderator.*
William P. Biddle, *Clerk.*

CAPE FEAR ASSOCIATION. 1805.

Held at Nahungo Meeting-House, Oct. 5, 1811. Sermon by Job Goodman.

Beaver Dam			92
Big Swamp			32
Levingston			
Lockwood's Folly	1779		
Seven Creeks		Job Goodman	78
Cape Fear			252
Bear Marsh		Benjamin Davis	70
Muddy Creek	1702	Job Thigpen	178
Limestone		Jacob Williams	37
Nahungo			31
Bull-Tail	1756		85
Wilmington			20
Chapel Run		Silas Carter	33
Southwest			37
Everitt's M. House			78
Ash-Pole			42
Saddle-Tree	1788		44
Cohary	1759	Fleet Cooper	154
Seven Miles		David Grantham	41
Mingo		*Jeremiah Tue*	69
Thunder Swamp			25
Bear Swamp	1791		30
Horner's M. House			20
Churches 23		Ministers 9 Total	1448

Joseph Thames, *Moderator.*
Samuel Buxton, *Clerk.*

CHOWAN ASSOCIATION. 1806.

Held at Wiccacon M. House, Bertie County, May 8, 1811. Sermon by R. Poindexter.

Ahoskey		Hillary Morris	50
Bertie	1773	Richard Poindexter	143
Ballard's Bridge	1781		35
Bethel			142
Bethlehem			90
Camden	1757		204
Cashie	1771	Aaron Spivey, William Dossey	207
Cowenjock	1780		88

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Conoritsey	1798		
Elizabeth		Thomas Weymouth	71
Meherrin	1794	John Wall	226
Middle Swamp			43
Outlaw's Chapel		Moses Gillam	31
Powel's Point	1787		72
Potteeasy		James Wright	73
Ross's Meeting-House		James Ross	25
Ramoth Gilead			37
Roanoke Island			29
Salem			89
Sawyer's Creek	1790		79
Wiccacon	1789	John Nowel	53
Yoppim	1775		85
Roanoke			27
Churches 23		Ministers 9 Total	1789

Aaron Spivey, *Moderator.*
Richard Poindexter, *Clerk.*

RALEIGH ASSOCIATION. 1806.

Held at Union M. House, Wake County, Nov. 9, 1811. Sermon by J. Laurence.

Neal's Creek		Nathan Gulley	27
Rocky Springs		J. Gulley	39
Union			94
Cross Roads	1792	Zadock Bell	59
Holley Spring			57
Cool Spring			45
Pleasant Spring			37
Bethel		Robert T. Daniel	71
Union		John Peurifoy, Bartholomew Fuller	25
Mill Creek		L. Caudle	93
Middle Creek			34
Fellowship			33
Haywood M. H.			87
Cedar Fork		Ezekiel Trice	54
New-Hope Mountain		H. Harmon	79
Liberty			41
Hepzibah			53
Little Buffaloe		W. Wall	34
Churches 18		Ministers 10 Total	962

Bartholomew Fuller, *Moderator.*
Simon Stephenson, *Clerk.*

FLAT RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1794.

Held at Enoe M. House, Orange County, Oct. 4, 1811. Sermon by T. Gardner.

Tanner's M. H.		Thomas Gardner	210
Tabb's Creek	1775		60
Tar River	1789		35
Grassy Creek	1762	Thomas Vass	113
Lock's M H.		Roland Cooke	33
Prichard's M. H.			90
Enoe M. H.		James Ferrel	100
Camp Creek			89
Cedar Creek			53
Neuse M. H.		James Weathers	98
Buffaloe Creek		Balaam Erell	120
Churches 11		Ministers 6 Total	951

Thomas Gardner, *Moderator.*
George Brasfield, *Clerk.*

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		COUNTRY LINE ASSOCIATION. 1806.	
		Held at Lower S. Hico M. House, May 30, 1812. Sermon by William Moore.	
Upper South Hico	1792		95
Country Line	1783	Barzillai Graves, Richard Martin	141
Lynch's Creek		John Sanders, *James Jones*	60
Lick Fork	1792	George Roberts, David Lawson	72
Flat River	1777		56
Lower South Hico	1793	William Brown	129
Deep Creek			41
Stony Creek	1787		58
Unity		William Moore	185
Wolf Island	1777		38
Bridge M. H.			80
Churches 11		Ministers 8 Total	905
		George Roberts, *Moderator.*	
		Nathan Williams, *Clerk.*	
		SANDY CREEK ASSOCIATION. 1756.	?
		Held at Abbot's Creek M. House, Brown County, Oct. 1809.	
Abbot's Creek	1777	George Pope	160
Lick Creek			
Bear Creek	1791		50
M'Leudon's Creek			
New Hope Mountain		Hezekiah Harman	
Old Fork		Jesse Buckner	60
Richland Creek		John Gilbert	55
Buffaloe			
Timber Ridge	1788		20
Fall Creek		Isaac Teague	
Sandy Creek	1757		70
Rocky River			
Rocky River (Anson)	1776	John Culpepper	270
Bethlehem		Owen Slaughter	51
Fork of Little River			
Mouth of Uhary	1780		119
Pee. Dee	1785	Daniel Gould	60
George's Creek		William Brantly	150
Churches 18		Ministers 9	
		The churches in this Association make no returns of their numbers. Those, which are put down, I ascertained while among them in the Spring of 1810. Of seven churches no correct accounts could be obtained. They will probably average 65 each, making	455
		Total	1510
		George Pope, *Moderator.*	
		William Brantly, *Clerk.*	
		YADKIN ASSOCIATION. 1790.	
Flat Rock		William Cook, William Brittin	
Deep Creek	1777	Joseph Murphy	
Island Ford		Richard Cunningham	
Providence		John Meglamre	
Brier Creek	1781	William Mastin	
Cub Creek			
Roaring River	1779		
Cool Spring		Andrew Canaday	

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Eaton's M. H.			
Bear Creek	1791	Brumley Cooker	
Fork	1793	Benjamin Buckner, *John Pots*	
Jersey Settlement	1758		
Grassy Nob	1789	John Angell	
New-Hope			
Little River	1787	William Dodson	
Salem			
Churches 16		Ministers 12	
		This was the state of this Association in 1810. It does not print its Minutes, nor do the churches give any account of their number. They will probably average 50 members each, making a total of	800
		MOUNTAIN ASSOCIATION. 1799.	
		Nine of its constituent churches were dismissed from the Yadkin. They do not print their Minutes, and for some reason have declined giving any account of their affairs. We shall estimate them at 12 Churches, 8 Ministers, and Members	600
		FRENCH BROAD ASSOCIATION. 1807.	
		Held at French Broad Meeting-House, Buncombe County, Aug. 22, 1812. Sermon by Thomas Snelson.	
Little Ivy		Moses Freeman	44
Locust Old Fields			73
New-Found		Thomas Snelson	89
Caney River		Stephen Morgan	23
French Broad	1791	Benjamin King, Sion Blyth, *Jere. Taylor*	41
Cane Creek		Humphrey Posey	40
Mud Creek		Joseph Byers	31
Bethel		Permenter Morgan	42
Flat Creek			40
Mountain Page		William Kimsey	92
Churches 10		Ministers 10 Total	455
		Stephen Morgan, *Moderator.*	
		James Whitaker, *Clerk.*	

South-Carolina.

		CHARLESTON ASSOCIATION. 1751.	
		Held at the High Hills of Santee, Oct. 31, 1812. Sermon by Joseph B. Cook.	
Charleston	1682	Richard Furman, D. D.	474
Welsh Neck	1738	Daniel White	98
Ebenezer	1778	Benjamin Mosely	84
High Hills of Santee	1772	John M Roberts, A. M. Davis Collins	226
Cheraw Hill	1782	John Ellis, James M'Kellar	193
Beauty Spot	1782	William Bennet	45
U. F. Lynch's Creek	1774		337
Mount Pisgah		Joseph B. Cook, A. M.	52
L. F. Lynch's Creek	1784		16
Rockey River, N. C.	1787	George Whitley	48
Deep Creek	1790	Frame Woods, Joel Gullage,	72

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Little Pedee	1790	S. Reaves	69
Georgetown	1794	Edmund Botsford	86
Gapway	1776	*Henry W. Hodges*	47
Lane's Creek	1793	Jesse Lewellin	40
Congaree	1765	Stephen Nixon	94
Black Creek	1799	James Coleman	246
Three Creeks	1793		29
Wassamsaw	1784		50
Wateree Creek	1803	Ralph Jones, *Asa Bell*	53
Muddy Creek			13
Catfish			225
Terrel's Bay		William Palmer	56
Beulah	1806	George Scott	161
Mile Creek	1807	Aaron Wooton	76
Amelia Township	1808	James Thigpen, *William Pauling*	282
Lynch's Creek		S. Timmons	42
Columbia	1809	*John Goode*	104
Camden	1810	*W. Brazington*	37
Calvary	1810	Bradley Rhame	78
Piedmont	1810	J. Knighten	65
Bethel	1810	Washington Belcher, James Denson	106
Goose Creek		Matthew M'Cullers	28
Mount Olivet		J. Layton	31
New-Providence		Charles Williams	45
Churches 35		Ministers 35 Total	3498

Davis Collins, *Moderator.*
Joseph B. Cook, *Clerk.*

EDGEFIELD ASSOCIATION. 1808.

Held at Callaham's Mill M. House, Sept. 19, 1812. Sermon by Willis Whatley.

Horn's Creek	1787	J. Landrum, S. Marsh	209
Antioch		*Stephen Williams*	195
Providence			31
Little Stevens' Creek		*James Head*	217
Cambridge		Robert Marsh, *Daniel Williams, Alex. Travis*	192
Big Stevens' Creek		Willis Whatley	164
Cloud's Creek	1791	Thomas Deloach	99
Salem		Henry King	92
Siloam			42
Good-Hope		Chesley Davis	80
Dry Creek			93
Callaham's Mill	1785		116
Plumb Branch			44
Mountain Creek			52
John's Creek		James Dodgen	31
Sardis		Joseph King	151
Red Bank	1784		106
Mill Creek		John Bolger	34
Buffaloe	1786		27
Leavels		James Woodward	66
Willow Swamp			51
Cedar Creek			49
Dean Swamp			56
Rosemary			142
Sister Springs			41
Bethany			60
Liberty			49
Chesnut Hill			62
Gilgal			37
Mount Moriah			51
Flat Rock		Francis Walker	70

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Mount Horeb		Enoch Braziel	19
Long Cane		Joseph Brown	20
Bethany at the Republican			70
Rock Spring			59
Red-Oak Grove		Elisha Palmore	30
Hollow Creek			63
Churches 37		Ministers 19 Total	2970

Samuel Cartledge, *Moderator.*
Robert Marsh, *Clerk.*

BETHEL ASSOCIATION. 1789.

Held at Sugar Creek Church, York District, Oct. 1, 1808. Sermon by Thomas Greer.

Fairforest	1765		98
Paget's Creek	1784	Thos. Greer, Thomas Ray, Hosea Holcombe	167
Pacolate	1787		41
Upper Duncan Creek	1788		239
Lower ditto	1786	Henry R. Roland	57
Bethel			265
Sandy River	1776		52
Bush River	1769	Charles Crowe	171
Enoree	1768		47
Rock Creek	1780		25
Catawba	1788		18
Sugar Creek	1792	John Rooker	41
Mill Creek			
Bethabara			50
Red Bank			65
Hopewell		Samuel M'Creary	55
Busby Creek			89
Bethlehem		David Golightly	177
Little River	1791		25
Philadelphia			38
Durban's Creek	1781		73
Lower Sandy River		Daniel Solison	42
New Hope		Spencer Bobo	64
Head Cedar Shoal			49
Holly Spring			
Union			111
Stern's Creek			25
Gilead		Hugh Moore	15
Tinker Creek			41
Unity		Elias Mitchel	80
Seekwell			14
Piedmont			31
Fairfield			20
Beaver Dam		Joseph Babb	68
New Bethel			30
Hebron			21
Churches 36		Ministers 13 Total	2204

Thomas Greer, *Moderator.*
John M'Creary, *Clerk.*

SALUDA ASSOCIATION. 1803.

Held at Hopewell, Aug. 12, 1809. Sermon by James Hembree.

Big Creek	1788	Moses Holland	61
Shoal Church		Isaiah Stephens	55
Mount Pisgah			41
Ebenezer			34

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Keowee	1791		44
Fork-Shoal		Joel E. Grace	80
Middle Fork Saluda	1773		21
Shockley Ferry	1790	Cooper Bennett	91
Saoona	1790	*Philip May*	61
Bethuel			19
Woolynoy			10
Cross-Road		Elnathan Davis	67
Cathies Creek			
Neal's Creek		*Sanford Vandivier*	89
Salem		James Hembree	79
Hopewell			61
Wilson's Creek		James Crowther	31
Double Springs		William King	46
Hepzibah			67
Little River		Arthur Williams	44
Poplar Spring			16
Turkey Creek	1784	Benjamin Northcutt	40
Green Pond			33
Churches 23		Ministers 12 Total	1040
		Elnathan Davis, *Moderator.*	
		Joel E. Grace, *Clerk.*	
		BROAD RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1800.	
		Held Oct. 18, 1811. Sermon by Wm. King.	
Friendship		George Brewton	118
Green's Creek		Jonathan Blackwell	46
Boiling Spring			52
Sandy Run, N. C.	1788	D. Dobbins, Jonathan Padjett	157
Buffaloe, N. C.	1777		81
Green River, N. C.	1778	Joel Blackwell	
Cedar Spring		Joroyal Barnett	53
Mountain Creek, N. C.	1789		89
Bill's Creek, N. C.	1782	Jonathan Dalton	32
State Line		Z. Blackwell	66
Buck Creek	1779		69
Long Creek			39
Silver Creek, N. C.			
Head of Tyger	1793	Nathaniel Jackson	84
Head of Enoree	1787		28
Bethel		P. Morgan	30
New-Salem		D. Doyle	33
N. Catawba River, N. C.			
Providence, N. C.			31
Elbethel			19
Concord, N. C.			18
Smyrna, N. C.		A. Carlton, *Timothy Sisk*	
S. Catawba River		*R. Johnson*	16
Ebenezer		J. Holyfeel	31
Double Spring		W. King	40
Boucher Creek		J. Richards	
Churches 26		Ministers 17 Total	1082
		Joroyal Barnett, *Moderator.*	
		W. Lancaster, *Clerk.*	

Georgia.

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
	&	SAVANNAH RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1802.—Held at Sunbury, Nov. 21, 1812. Sermon by Wm. B. Johnson.	
Savannah	1800	William B. Johnson, Thomas F. Williams	98
Newington	1793	John Goldwire, Thomas Polhill	22
Savannah, 1st coloured,	1788	Andrew Marshall	1458
Ditto, 2d coloured	1802	Henry Cunningham	505
Great Ogeechee, coloured	1803	George D. Sweet	453
Black Swamp, S. C.	1786	Hezekiah A. Boyd	143
Pipe Creek, S. C.	1754		152
Coosawhatchie, S. C.	1759	John Youmans	132
Healing Springs			43
Columbia			78
Spring Town			75
Barnwell, S. C.		*Darling Peeples*	59
Lower Black Creek	1802		30
Upper ditto			21
Powers' M. House		*Nicholas Thomas*	25
Euhaw, S. C.	1746	James Sweat	414
Mount Hope		William B. Villard, Gideon Hagood	41
Sunbury	1806	Charles O. Screven, A. M.	327
Great Salt Catcher, S. C.	1790		22
Treadaway			46
Cowpen Branch			17
Beaufort, S. C.	1804	William T. Brantly, A. M.	476
Little Salt Catcher, S. C.	1789		32
Lower ditto			78
Union		James Wilson	193
St. Helena, S. C.	1809	John Lugg	191
May River			169
Arnon			24
Churches 28		Ministers 21 Total	5324
		Charles O. Screven, *Moderator.* William T. Brantly, *Clerk.*	
		It is believed that more churches are in South-Carolina than are marked for that State; but I am not able to distinguish them.	
		GEORGIA ASSOCIATION. 1784. Held at Fishing Creek, Oct. 9, 1813. Sermon by Jesse Mercer.	
Kiokee	1772	A. Marshall, *D. W. Marshall, J. N. Brown*	221
Fishing Creek	1783	James Matthews	113
Greenwood	1784		49
Philips's Mill	1785	J. Robertson	120
Whatley's Mill	1785	Jesse Mercer	123
Powelton	1786		165
Long Creek	1786	Adam Jones, *Thaddeus Camp*	103
Hebron	1786		59
Ebenezer	1787	David Ellington	123
Rocky Spring	1787		66
Williams' Creek	1787		120
Clark's Station	1788	William Davis	56
Sardis	1788	M. Reeves	155
Fort Creek	1790		35
Mount Olives	1790		25
Springfield, (Af.)	1791	Robert M'Gee	588
Island Creek	1794		62
Newford	1795	Wyth Jackson	110
Shiloh	1795		177

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Richland	1796	Edmund Shackleford	49
County Line	1797		117
Sharon	1799		64
Newhope	1800		40
Bethel	1802		70
Beard's M. H.	1808		49
Bethel (Hancock)	1803	Benjamin Thompson, *David Cook*	132
Double Branches	1803	James Landers	27
Rehoboth	1806		62
White Plains	1806		30
Union	1807		41
Grove	1808	John Blackston	57
Union (Warren)	1809	*Henry Harden*	62
Red's Creek			51
Horeb			26
Center			32
Churches 35		Ministers 19 Total	3428
		Abraham Marshall, *Moderator.*	
		Jesse Mercer, *Clerk.*	
		HEPHZIBAH ASSOCIATION. 1794.	
		Held at Nevill's Creek Meeting-House, Bullock County, Sept. 24, 1811. Sermon by Charles Culpepper.	
Sardis (Burke Co.)			48
Darien		C. Bateman, *James Steely*	79
Sweet Water	1788	Winder Hilman, *E. Perryman*	88
Poplar Spring (Lauren's Co.)			55
Rocky Creek	1787	Thomas Tipton	44
Bethel (Jefferson Co.)			79
Big Sandy Creek			19
Beard's Creek			25
Bark Camp	1788		103
Buck Head	1786		53
Ohoopie	1792		30
Nevill's Creek		John Stanford	39
Salem		Isham Peacock	18
Lott's Creek		David Hennisy	30
Fellowship		Norvell Robertson	84
Little Brier Creek	1777		126
Bethany			25
Poplar Spring (Washington Co.)			29
Bethlehem		A. Armstrong, Benjamin Manning	98
Wood's M. H.			54
Providence	1788		50
Union M. H.			62
Cool Spring		*Samuel Pouncey*	45
Mobley's Pond		Henry Hand	42
Botsford's M. H.	1773		36
Jordan's M. H.		George Franklin, *Jordan Smith*	49
Scull's Creek			20
Beulah			34
Silver Run			32
Buckeye	1791	Charles Culpepper	46
Brushy Creek	1789	*Benjamin S. Screven, David Owen*	58
Mount Horeb			30
Little Ogechee	1790		40
Pendleton's Creek			11
Churches 34		Ministers 18 Total	1718
		George Franklin, *Moderator.*	
		Norvell Robertson, *Clerk.*	

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		SAREPTA ASSOCIATION. 1798.	
		Held at Fork of Broad River, Madison County, Oct. 24, 1812. Sermon by Dozier Thornton.	
Moriah	1800		63
Liberty	1804		142
Conoross	1798	John Cobb	75
Fork Broad River	1800		88
Leatherwood			24
Beaver Dam (Oglethorpe Co.)	1800	Isham Goss	100
Grove Level	1802	Reuben Thornton	62
Van's Creek	1784	Dozier Thornton, J. Chipman, *J. Thornton*	169
Mar's Hill	1799		127
Black's Creek	1803	James Riley	67
Skull Shoal (Madison)	1803	Timothy Carrington	29
Cabin Creek	1797	Thomas Johnson	108
Hopewell	1808		98
Academy	1804		56
Chandler's	1802	*Bartemus Renolds*	101
Bethel (Jackson Co.)	1805	Medey White	53
Falling Creek (Elbert)	1801		59
Line M. H.	1802	Littleton Meeks	92
Eastanallee	1810	Nacy Meeks	164
Beaver Dam (Elbert)	1800		18
Double Branches	1801	John Sandidge	19
Cedar Creek	1803	John Cason	56
Dove's Creek	1785		26
Walnut Fork	1801	*Michael Bennet*	87
Salem	1785	Miller Bledsoe	81
Skull Shoal (Greene)	1801		49
Bethany	1788	Noah Lacy	25
Holly Spring	1796	Thomas Maxwell	76
Big Creek	1801		117
Avalon	1803	Jacob Bankston	19
Chogia	1783	John Cleaveland	265
Nail's Creek	1797	*Stephen Poe*	96
Trail Creek	1796	Isaiah Hails	109
Mill Stone	1788		118
Lower Nail's Creek	1806		39
Bethlehem	1802		34
Beach Creek	1801	Isaac Busson	88
Crooked Creek	1803		28
Cloud's Creek	1785		113
Oconee	1812	James Rodgers	29
Hunter's Creek	1812	Francis Calloway	48
Churches 41		Ministers 26 Total	3157
		Over twelve hundred received this year by baptism.	
		Dozier Thornton, *Moderator.*	
		Isham Goss, *Clerk.*	
		OCKMULGEE ASSOCIATION. 1810.	
		Held at Shoal Creek, Randolph County, Sept. 5, 1812. Sermon by Henry Hooton.	
Antioch			44
Buck Creek	1791		80
Bethsaida		*Henry Smith*	70
County Line, Randolph		Joel Willis	41
Concord		M. Lowery, *J. Head*	215

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants*
Crooked Creek, Putnam		Elijah Moseley	78
Elim		Henry Hooton, Edmund Talbot	88
Falling Creek, Randolph			35
Fishing Creek	1782	Joseph Baker, William Ellis	174
Freeman's Creek			65
Flat Shoals			63
Holland Spring		Isaac Suttle	69
Indian Creek	1788	Lewis C. Davis	35
Little River		David Montgomery	80
Mount Nebo		Wilie Shepherd	74
Mount Moriah		Micajah Fulgeham	21
Mount Gilead		James Brooks, Frederick Crowder	83
Murder Creek		Jonathan Nichols	151
New-Providence		*Henry Gragg*	30
Providence	1788	Green Bailey, *Jacob Mercer*	58
Pope's Meeting-House			52
Philippi		Eden Taylor, *Elisha Rogers*	57
Ramah			36
Rooby Creek			81
Salem		John Dingler	73
Sugar Creek		Jonathan Anderson, *John Walker*	44
Sandy Creek			154
Stone Creek		Theophilus Pierce	107
Shoal Creek			55
Tirzah		Francis Flournoy	126
Trail Branch			46
Union		Nipper Adams, *John Barrett*	96
Walnut Creek		Reuben M'Elroy, William Jones	84
Churches 23		Ministers 31 Total	2677
		Joseph Baker, *Moderator.*	
		William Williams, *Clerk.*	

Tennessee.

HOLSTON ASSOCIATION. 1786.

Held at Lick Creek, Greene County, August 1809. Sermon by Joshua Kelly.

Big Creek	1787	Francis Winstead	19
Blackwater			55
Double Spring		Thomas M'Calla	138
Long Creek			42
Glade Hollow			165
Mockason			33
Cherokee	1783	John Bayliss	86
Buffaloe Ridge	1787	Jonathan Mulkey, *Jonathan Buck*	240
Bent Creek	1785	Caleb Witt	32
M'Pherten's Bent			11
Sulphur Spring			27
Big Pigeon		Joshua Kelly	111
Meadows		George Brown	25
Gap Creek		*Andrew M'Farland*	17
Mill Creek			52
Flag Branch			14
St Clair's Bottom		John Jones	70
Lick Creek		Blagrove Hopper	75
Churches 18		Ministers 11 Total	1218
		Jonathan Mulkey, *Moderator.*	
		Philip Hale, *Clerk.*	

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
		WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION.	
		Of this Association, I have learnt nothing more, than that it was formed from the Holston, probably in 1811. I shall compute its churches at 12, its ministers at 8, and its total number of members, at	600
		TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION. 1802.	
		Held at the Forks of Little Pigeon, Sevier County, Oct 14, 1809. Sermon by Robert Fristoe.	
Gap Creek		William Jones	126
County Line			34
Beaver Ridge		Thomas Hudeburgh	59
Rob Camp			98
Thompson's Settlement, (Lee's County, Va.)			50
Buckhorn Valley			20
Sequachee Valley			69
Glade Spring			49
Hinds's Creek			27
Powel's River			17
Little Flat Creek			20
Hickory Creek		*William Johnson*	43
E. Fork of Poplar Creek		West Walker	36
Big Spring			64
Boyd's Creek		William Johnson	25
Tennessee Valley		—— Murphy	10
Bethel South		David Barton	30
War Creek			38
Tuckalechee		Isham Guin, *Henry Haggard*	59
Dumplin Creek			50
Coal Creek		John Weldon	16
French Broad	1786	Duke Kimbrough	36
Richland Creek		Robert Fristoe	25
Cumberland River, Ky.			53
Buffaloe Creek		John Hall, John Condley, *Thomas Brown*	128
Big Barren			53
Stock Creek	1789	*Aaron Smith*	24
Fork of French Broad and Holston		Thomas Hill	25
Forks of Little Pigeon	1789	Richard Wood	179
Davis's Creek			33
Churches 30		Ministers 18 Total Richard Wood, *Moderator.* Francis Hamilton, *Clerk.*	1538
		CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION. 1803.	
		The following Table represents the state of this Association, Sept. 1812. This statement was forwarded in MS. by a committee appointed for the purpose. Who preached the sermon does not appear.	
Big Harpeth		Garner M'Conico	265
Barton's Creek		Supplied by Holloway Morris	38
Bear Creek		Supplied by Daniel White	33
Big Creek		Supplied by Elder Fonquay	60
Reatherford's Creek		John Atkerson	77
Carthey's Creek		James M'Caleb	109

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Cedar Lick		More Stevenson	379
Fountain Creek		Ebenezer Rice	118
Grassy Spring		Thomas Murrill	26
Herrican		Volentine Flowers	71
Head of Piney		Supplied by Thomas Murril	40
Herrican Creek		Holloway Morris	76
Leper's Fork			18
Piney		Andrew Corothers	206
Richland		John Dillahunty	91
Richland Creek	1797	Supplied by Elder Kirkland	83
Rock Creek		John Rickord	109
Turnbull		Daniel White	147
White's Creek	1791	Joshua White	46
Yellow Creek		John Turner	74
East Fork Yellow Creek			32
Gray's Bend			96
Sprinkley's Creek			69
Churches 23		Ministers 16 Total	2203

There are, besides, 7 unordained ministers whose names are not mentioned.

Added this year, 1081 members.

Garner M'Connico, *Moderator.*
William Denson, *Clerk.*

RED RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1806.

Held at M'Farland's Fork of Pond River, Christian County, Kentucky, Aug. 1812. Sermon by Reuben Ross.

Red River	1791	Sugg Ford, Ephraim Pool	69
Half Pone	1799	J. Shivers, *Caleb Winters*	34
Blooming Grove	1805	Josiah Horn, John Wall, *James Yarborough*	51
Dry Creek, Kentucky,	1805	Dudley Williams	97
West Fork Red River, Ky.	1803	Jesse Brooks	43
Muddy River, Ky.	1798	Lewis Moore, Leonard Page, Wm. Aingell	64
Elk Creek	1805	James Haynes	139
Mount P. L. River, Ky.	1807	*Aaron Cumpton*	60
Dry F. E. Creek, Ky.	1807	Henry Darnall, *John Grasty*	79
Muddy F. L. River, Ky.	1806	F. Wolf, *John Jordan, William Beadly*	107
Goshen, Ky.	1805	A. Harris, Jesse Ford	55
Spring G. W. Fork	1808	Reuben Ross, I. Totwine	65
Eddy Grove, Ky.	1799	Daniel Brown	137
Salem, Ky.	1805		33
Cub Creek	1809		56
Drake's Creek, Ky.	1803	John Benbrooks, M. Walton, *Jacob Mirris*	90
Sinking Creek, Ky.	1808	C. Williams	60
Big Creek	1806		33
Sulphur Fork	1810	John Trice, Thomas Plaister, Lewis Wells	40
Spring C. R. River	1810	Barton Coates, *Jesse Mason*	95
East F. P. River, Ky.	1804	William Tatom	48
Bethel	1806	Wilson Thompson, James P. Edwards	80
Tywappety			26
Long Creek, Ky.	1810	Asher Skelton, *Henry Garrard*	32
Barren Spring			67
Flat Creek	1803	J. Bourland, *Thomas Hill, Reuben Owen*	267
Bethel	1811	W. Henderson	86
New Hope			33
Centre			29
Cyprus			46
Providence, Ky.	1812		67
Saline Creek	1812	Thomas Ross, N. Ross, *Asa Biggs*	26
Hurricane Creek	1812	J. French	62

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Flat Lick, Ky.	1811	John Mallory, *Absalom Copeland*	68
Whippoorwill			15
New Bethel			44
Churches 36		Ministers 48 Total	2387
		Over 900 added this year.	
		Reuben Ross, *Moderator.*	
		William Aingell, *Clerk.*	
		CONCORD ASSOCIATION. 1810.	
		Held at Hopewell, Sumner County, Sept. 26, 1812. Sermon by John Wiseman.	
East F. Stone's River		*Thomas Henson, David Gordan*	134
Smith's Fork		Joshua Lester	128
Brush Creek			73
Bethel		M. Landrone	58
Bethel, Branly's F.		Micajah Hollis, *D. Webb*	56
Hickman's Creek			80
Salt Lick Creek			45
West Station Camp		*James Brigance*	63
East Station Camp			77
Dixion's Creek		J. Rucks, John Wiseman	70
Salem		C. Bethel	122
Hurricane Creek			126
W. F. Stone's River			26
Concord		John M'Cane	116
Overall's Creek			85
Head Red River		C. Riddle, *Benjamin Jackson*	75
Round Lick Creek		T. Durham, John Borham	39
Arrington's Creek		George Tilman, P. Mooney	87
Bledsoe's Creek		D. Parker	63
Mill Creek	1797	James Whitsett	197
Mouth Caney Fork			66
Spring Creek			197
Testament			22
Payton's Creek			26
Churches 24		Total	2031
		The number added this year was 866.	
		The ministers in this Association not delegated to it this session, are, Jesse Allen, John Dorris, Miles West, Guy M'Fadden, James Saunders, Jno. Beasly, Jno. Warner, Wm. Flowers, Daniel Burford, and John Jones. Licensed, John Warren, Pressly Lester, and Jacob Archer; making in all 32.	
		John Wiseman, *Moderator.*	
		James Whitsett, *Clerk.*	
		ELK RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1808.	
		Held at Union Meeting-House, Bedford Co. Oct. 1812. Sermon by Peter Woods.	
Bethel Mulberry			60
Bethlehem		David Adams	81
Boiling Fork		William Jennings, John Davis	102
Hopewell			45
Elk River		George Foster, A. Hargin	72
Flint River			75
Union		Jeremiah Bowers	124
New-Hope		Reuben Kelly	91
Garrison Fork		William Keele	146
Jones's Fork			81

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
West Fork			38
Big Flat Creek			181
Bethel on Flint			29
Meridian Line		*Ezekiel Craft*	31
Mountain Creek		*Thomas Clark*	187
Barren Fork		John Leakey	27
W. F. Norris's Creek			124
Limestone		Thomas Obanion	100
Stewart's Creek			61
Been's Creek		Peter Woods, Andrew Woods	75
Liberty M. H.			116
M'Caller's Creek		*John Belew*	28
Tucker's Creek			41
Union, Giles Co.			134
New Constitutions			
Salem			69
Sugar Creek			53
Kelly's Creek			24
Zion, Giles Co.			36
Big Hurricane			21
Forks Mulberry		*H. Holman*	112
Churches 31		Ministers 16 Total	2322
		The number added this year was 1059.	
		David Adams, *Moderator.*	
		George Foster, *Clerk.*	

Kentucky.

Elkhorn Association. 1785.

Held at the Great Crossings, Scott County, Aug. 1811. Sermon by Davis Biggs.

Tate's Creek	1785		47
Clear Creek	1785		153
South Elkhorn	1785	John Shakleford	312
Great Crossings	1785	James Suggett	295
Town Fork	1786	Jacob Creath	90
Bryan's	1786		81
Boon's Creek	1786		64
Forks of Elkhorn	1788	William Hickman	191
Indian Creek	1792	Isaac Monson, Davis Biggs	72
Mount Moriah			26
M'Connel's Run			200
Mouth of Elkhorn			31
Mountain Island			25
Silas			99
North Elkhorn			139
Glenn's Creek		Jonathan Edwards	30
Dry Run			105
North Fork			47
Clover Bottom			26
Hillsborough			161
David's Fork		Jeremiah Vardeman	361
Mount Pleasant			208
Mount Gilead		Ambrose Bourne	80
Union			33
Long Lick			14
Beaver Creek			42
Bethlehem			18
N. Fork of Licking			35
Churches 28		Ministers 8 Total	2985
		Robert Johnson, *Moderator.*	
		Charles Buck, *Clerk.*	

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		LICKING ASSOCIATION. 1809.	
		Held at Bryan's, Sept. 1812. Sermon by John Conner.	
Tate's Creek			9
Bryan's		Ambrose Dudley	186
East Hickman		J. Price	68
Dry Run		Joseph Redding	116
Brush Fork		Jonathan Barnett	60
Raven Creek			40
Stony Point		Lewis Corbin	43
Flat Lick	1793	Richard Thomas	30
Elk Lick			42
Mill Creek		John Conner, Bartlett Bennet	85
Rock Bridge			36
Boon's Creek		A. Bainbridge	34
2d Town Fork			18
Mount Carmel			26
Little Huston			23
Forks of Silas			33
Ray's Fork			38
Poplar Grove		James Payne	8
Churches 18		Ministers 9 Total	895
		Ambrose Dudley, *Moderator.* John Price, *Clerk.*	
		BRACKEN ASSOCIATION. 1798.	
		Held at Wilson's Run, Sept. 3, 1809. Sermon by Baldwin Clifton.	
Washington	1785	William Payne	119
May's Lick	1790	Baldwin Clifton	72
Bracken		John King	73
Stone Lick			68
Lee's Creek		Charles Anderson	36
Ohio Locust			16
Richland Creek		Joshua Singleton	17
Licking			
Forks Salt Lick			39
Johnston		*Tilson Hambrick*	19
Wilson's Run		James Johnston	28
Three Mile			18
Clover		Stephen England	24
Mouth Fleming		John Parsons	24
Licking Locust			29
Cedar Hill			16
Soldier's Run			34
Churches 17		Ministers 9 Total	625
		William Payne, *Moderator.* William Byram, *Clerk.*	
		NORTH BEND ASSOCIATION. 1802.	
		Held at Mud Lick, Boone County, Sept. 25, 1812. Sermon by Davis Biggs.	
Bullitsburg	1794	Absalom Graves, *Chichester Matthews*	279
Mouth of Licking	1794	John Beal	49
Fork of Licking	1795	Alexander Munroe	23
Four Mile	1799	John Stephens	50
Bank Lick	1801	George Hume	79
Dry Creek	1800		66
Middle Creek	1803	John Watts	55
Mud Lick	1804	*Weden Sleet*	68

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Wilmington	1804	Thomas Griffing, *John Taylor*	38
Point Pleasant	1804		20
Ten Mile	1806	*William Bledsoe*	24
Brush Creek	1809		21
Laughery	1811		25
Forks of Gunpowder	1812	Christopher Wilson	56
Bethel	1812		22
New-Port	1812		8
Churches 16		Ministers 12 Total	874

Thomas Griffing, *Moderator.*
Absalom Graves, *Clerk.*

NORTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION. 1802.—Held at Providence, County of Clarke, Oct. 1807. Sermon by Robert R. Hunt.

Spencer Creek			33
Lulbulgrud	1792	Jilson Payne	47
Salt Lick			38
Providence	1790	Robert Elkin	127
Unity	1790	James Quessenberry	135
Bald Eagle			63
Johnson's Fork			31
Bethel		Moses Bledsoe, Francis Taylor	99
Red River			45
Grier's Creek			12
Howard's Upper Creek			87
Red Lick			34
Hopewell		Isaac Crutcher	82
Long Branch			28
State Union			40
Mount Pleasant		Joseph Craig	163
Sycamore			100
Cane Spring			46
Goshen			42
Grassy Lick	1792		119
Strode's Station			24
Log Lick			27
E. F. F. Creek			20
Cane Creek		Wingate Jackson	62
Ohio River			66
Jessamine	1789	James Rucker, Robert R. Hunt	48
Locust Creek			16
Salem			92
Rock Spring			28
Churches 29		Ministers 12 Total	1754

Robert Elkin, *Moderator.*
James French, *Clerk.*

SOUTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION. 1802.—Held at Stony Point, Mercer County, Sept. 1807. Sermon by Jeremiah Vardeman.

Fork		Randolph Hall	19
Deep Creek			35
Stony Point			62
Salt River		James Keel	102
Rush Creek		Jeremiah Briscoe	33
Dr.'s Fork			
Cartright's		*J. Whitehead*	24
Shawny Run	1790	Jonathan Rice	155

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
M'Cormic's		Jeremiah Vardeman	101
Hang. Fork	1787	Joel Noel	49
Sugar Creek	1792		90
Pleasant R.			18
Buffaloe Creek		James Rogers	61
Gilbert's Creek	1783		33
Unity			22
Churches 15		Ministers 7 Total	804

Jeremiah Briscoe, *Moderator.*
Randolph Hall, *Clerk.*

TATE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION. 1793.

Held at Bogg's Fork, Fayette County, Aug. 1806. Sermon by Elijah Barnes.

Tate's Creek	1786	Andrew Tribble	123
Cedar Creek	1792		78
Mount Nebo		Peter Woods	185
Viney Fork		Christian Harris, *Joseph Ellison*	178
Hickman		Joseph Hudson	46
Flat Lick			47
Sinking Creek			119
Hurricane Creek			26
Clear Creek			77
White Oak	1790	Thomas Hill	65
Bogg's Fork		Squire Boon	88
Flat Woods		*David M'Clain*	25
Otter Creek		Henry Brooks, Robert Frier, *Jesse Winburn*	63
Calaway's Creek		Daniel Johnson	21
White Oak Pond			77
Brush Creek		Elijah Barnes	57
Mason's Fork		James Rentfro, John Clark	34
Head of Silver Creek		William Bush	53
Mount Tabor			16
Double Springs		Joel Mathews	44
Big Sinking			25
Goose Creek			14
Gilead		Edward Turner	18
Churches 23		Ministers 19 Total	1579

Peter Woods, *Moderator.*
Stephen Trigg, *Clerk.*

SALEM ASSOCIATION. 1785.

Held at Cox's Creek, Nelson County, Oct. 5, 1810. Sermon by Joshua Morris.

Cedar Creek	1790	Joshua Morris	98
Cox's Creek	1785	Moses Pierson	241
Hardin's Creek	1789		26
Simpson's Creek	1791	Walter Stallard	139
Mill Creek			70
Lick Creek	1787		75
Wilson's Creek		Daniel Walker	57
Bethel			27
Rock Creek			30
Rolling Fork	1789		51
Cedar Creek			17
Severn's Valley	1782		33
Nolin		Alexander M'Dugal	54
Beaver Dam Creek			12
Bacon Creek			40
Bethel		Warren Cash, Martin Utterback	45

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Mill Creek			87
Short Creek			31
Union		*Enos Keith*	45
Goshen			20
Churches 20		Ministers 8 Total	1198
		Walter Stallard, *Moderator.*	
		Joseph Lewis, *Clerk.*	
		LONG RUN ASSOCIATION. 1803.	
		Held at Burk's Branch, Shelby County, Sept. 1812. Sermon by George Waller.	
Bear Grass	1784		68
Brashears's Creek	1785	James M'Quade	106
Chenoweth's Run	1792		37
Fox Run			65
Buck and Elk	1794	Reuben Smith, *William Stout*	141
Beech Creek		Moses Scott	170
Harrod's Creek	1797	William Kellar, Thos. White, Benja. Allen	175
Long Run	1797	Joseph Collins	62
Salt River		John Penny	189
Bethel	1797		164
Buck Creek	1799	George Waller	107
Six Mile	1799	J. Rucker	122
Eighteen Mile	1800		89
Corn Creek	1800	John Taylor	77
Rock Lick	1801	Thomas Wooldridge	32
Burk's Branch	1801		120
Cane and Back Run			64
Little Mount	1801		60
Sulphur Fork	1801		71
South Long Run	1802	Hinson Hobbs	97
Lick Branch	1802		38
East Floyd's Fork	1802	Allen M'Guire	67
Port William	1800		87
Drennon's Creek	1799	Thos. Vandever, Elijah Summers, *W. Noblite*	86
Twins	1801	John Scott, William Morgan	123
Drennon's Ridge	1801	Isaac Malin	58
Buffaloe Lick	1805	Phillip Webber	74
South Benson	1800	William Hickman, jr. *Daniel Johnson*	
Flat Rock	1805		67
Indian Fork	1806	Abraham Cook, Abraham Bohannon	64
White's Run	1810		27
Plumb Creek			22
Little Flock	1810		45
Floyd's Fork	1801	Jonathan Stark, David Stark	30
Beach Ridge	1811	Thomas Martin	35
Goshen	1812		36
Dover	1812		12
Churches 37		Ministers 28 Total	2837
		John Penny, *Moderator.*	
		John Scott, *Clerk.*	
		GREEN RIVER ASSOCIATION. 1800.	
		Held at Dripping Spring, Barren Co. July 1812. Sermon by Jacob Lock.	
Mount Tabor		Jacob Lock, John Conlee	160
Sinking Creek	1798		125
Mount Pleasant	1804		66
Green River	1803		70
Bag's Fork		Samuel Greathouse	77

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Glover's Creek	1802	Ralph Petty	58
Beaver Dam	1803		46
Dripping Spring	1798	R. Stockton	81
Bethlehem	1801	Zacharias Edmerson	155
Concord	1800	Augustin Clayton	86
Puncheon Camp	1804		65
Salem	1804		33
Long Creek	1807		25
Skagg's Creek	1806	*Joshua Wilborn*	40
Union	1796	John Hightower	63
Sulphur Spring	1798		45
Trammel's Fork	1807	*Lee Allen*	66
Middle Fork	1808	Z. Morris	108
Mount Pisgah	1809		86
Providence		Edward Turner	62
Lick Fork		Jonathan Traner	54
Blue Spring	1799	William Ratliff	79
Dover	1810	Walter Warder	75
Centre Creek	1810	Lewis Fortner	87
Hazel Creek	1797	Benjamin Talbott	162
Nelson's Creek	1805		40
Sandy Creek	1805		102
Lick Creek	1809		31
Smith's Grove	1812		37
Beaver Dam			218
Ivy	1812		48
Mount Zion	1812		30
Boiling Spring	1810	John Taylor	18
Churches 33		Ministers 18 — Total	2499
		Jacob Lock, *Moderator.*	
		Walter Warder, *Clerk.*	
		RUSSEL'S CREEK ASSOCIATION. 1804.	
		Held at Brush Creek, Green County, Sept. 1811. Sermon by Isaac Hodgen.	
Meadow Creek		John Chaudoin	55
Brush Creek		William Matthews	34
Mount Gilead		Isaac Hodgen	202
Good Hope		John Chandler	29
Trammel's Creek		Thomas Skaggs	28
Sion		H. G. Waggoner	136
Lin Camp		Joseph Cogdill, *Jacob Gum*	14
Liberty		David Elkin, *James Skaggs*	43
Pitman's Creek	1791		65
Otter Creek			12
Hopewell			9
Sand Lick		*Joel Gorden, James Larrimore*	32
S. Fork Nolin		*Jariel Dodge*	10
Churches 13		Ministers 13 — Total	669
		Isaac Hodgen, *Moderator.*	
		John Chandler, *Clerk.*	
		STOCKTON'S VALLEY ASSOCIATION. 1804.—Held at Salem, Cumberland County, Sept. 1811. Sermon by William Ray.	
Clear Fork		J. Denton	85
Roaring River			20
Big Spring			23
West Fork			45
Casey's Fork			18

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants*
Collins's River			52
Hickory Creek			60
Big Fork		William Ray	30
Rinox's Creek		Lewis Ellison	34
Sinking Spring			19
Head of Collins's River			10
Mill Creek			37
Cumberland		John B. Langan, *Thomas Ray*	46
Blackburn's Fork			12
Churches 14		Ministers 5 Total	491

Isaac Denton, *Moderator.*
William Wood, *Clerk.*

EMANCIPATING SOCIETY. 1805.

The Minutes of this Society have not been received for four years past. We shall compute them at 12 Churches, 12 Ministers, and total number of members 300

The sum total of the Baptists in Kentucky, according to the Minutes referred to, stands thus: Associations 13, Churches 263, Ministers 148, and members 17,511

It will be observed, that some Associations are represented as they stood a number of years ago. The author could not conveniently visit all the Associations in this extensive State, when he passed through it in the winter of 1809 and 10. He obtained the latest Minutes he could, wrote many letters for others, which, for some reason, have not come to hand.

Messrs. Samuel J. Mills and John T. Schermerhorn, two young ministers of the Pedobaptist persuasion, in the summer of 1812, "commenced a tour through the western and south-western parts of the United States, to learn the situation of the people with regard to religion, and to perform missionary labour as they had opportunity." In a letter from Mr. Mills, to the Trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, we find among other statements one respecting the Baptists in Kentucky; by which it appears, that in the late revivals in this State; there have been great additions to the Associations whose late Minutes we have not received. This statement was made in December, 1812, doubtless from Minutes of the Associations for that year; and presuming these gentlemen would not exaggerate the account of the Baptists, we shall give the present sum total of the denomination in Kentucky, as they gave it, viz. Churches 263, Ministers* 142, communicants 21660†

* Ordained ministers only are probably counted here.

† This statement appears to have been made with candour and correctness. It is found in No. 67, page 270 of the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine. In the 68th No. of the same work, a commentator on this statement, as if offended at the sight of so large a body of baptized believers in the western regions, endeavours to whittle them down in the following manner: "The Baptists prevail principally in Kentucky. Of these it is said there are 142 preachers, 263 churches, and 21,660 communicants. The greater part of these preachers sustain that character but partially, preaching or exhorting as circumstances or a disposition may afford opportunity, pursuing the work of the ministry, not as the business, but merely as the occasional duty of life. A considerable part of them do not preach statedly on the Sabbath, and the greater part do not sustain the ministerial character on any other day of the week. In saying this, I mean no intimation concerning their moral or Christian character, but merely to show in what sense they are to be considered as teachers of religion. Their churches have 21,660 communicants. It is well known to be the practice of that denomination, particularly in the western country, to receive to their communion the greater part of those, who are considered as belonging to their congregation, including many youths and children. In this number we cannot reasonably include more than seven or eight thousand families. Probably about 45,000 people." That is, the whole population of the Baptists in Kentucky, with all their congregations, is but about double the number of their communicants.—It be-

Ohio.

Churches.	Constituted.	Ministers.	Communicants.
		MIAMI ASSOCIATION. 1797.	
		Held at Duck Creek, Hamilton County, Sept. 11, 1813. Sermon by Daniel Clark.	
Duck Creek, formerly Columbia	1790	William Jones	72
Little Miami		Moses Frazee	40
Carpenter's Run		Cyrus Crane	68
Clear Creek			12
Fairfield			28
Elk Creek		James Lee, Stephen Gard	173
Clover Fork		James Abrams	43
Nine Mile		William Robb	26
Pleasant Run			31
Clough Creek		John Corbly	43
Lebanon		Daniel Clark	66
Hopewell			38
Staunton			41
Salem			41
Muddy Creek			28
Middle Run			27
Bethel		Hezekiah Stites	28
Mill Creek			45
Bethlehem		Peter Poyner	22
Todd's Fork		Abraham Griffiths	11
Union, on Indian Creek			21
Churches 21		Ministers 11 Total	904
		John Mason, *Moderator.*	
		William Jones, *Clerk.*	
		STRAIGHT CREEK ASSOCIATION	
		Was probably formed in 1812. No information from it has been received, only that it has opened a correspondence with the Miami. It is probably to the north of that body in this State. We shall compute its number of churches at 12, its ministers at 8, and its total number of members at	600
		SCIOTO ASSOCIATION. 1805.	
		Held at Pleasant Run, Fairfield County, Sept. 1809. Sermon by Samuel Comer.	
Ames	1800	Abraham Pugsley	13
Pleasant Run	1801	Samuel Comer, Lewis Sites, Martin Cofman	76
Old Chilicothe		John W. Loofborough	36
Salt Creek			26
Liberty		William Brundage	35

longs to the Kentucky brethren to vindicate themselves from this slanderous charge; but the author cannot forbear observing, that, from his personal knowledge, it is in the main, egregiously false. The ministers, who are said to sustain that character but partially, do indeed in many instances from necessity labour for their livelihood; but it is presumed they would not be afraid to count sermons, during the course of a year, with the clergy of Connecticut. That the Baptists in Kentucky receive to their communion the greater part of their congregations, children, youths, &c. in the sense here intended, is absolutely untrue; for they hold to the monstrous doctrine of close communion. Like their brethren in all the other States, they admit none as communicants, whether old or young, of their own or other congregations, until they have been buried in baptism, and none are baptized but such as give satisfactory evidence that their hearts have been changed by grace.

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Licken			23
Bethel			12
Tomeka			9
Lemuel		Isaac M'Henry	17
Churches 9		Ministers 7 Total	247
		Nathan Cory, *Moderator.*	
		Peter Jackson, *Clerk.*	
		BEAVER ASSOCIATION. 1809.*	
		Held at Warren, Aug. 19, 1813. Who preached the Sermon, does not appear.	
Providence		Henry Frazure	34
Valley of Achor			43
Concord		Adamson Bently, *John Wilson*	49
Sharon		Thomas G. Jones	94
New-Lisbon		Thomas Rigdon	56
Bethesda	1808	William West	38
Unity		*Andrew Clark*	34
Carmel			44
Hopewell			14
Lebanon	1812	*George Miller*	17
Bethel	1812		15
Jefferson	1812	Joshua Woodworth	26
Churches 12		Ministers 9 Total	464
		*The minutes of this Association have been sent on since the account of it in Vol. II. p. 262, was printed.	

Indiana Territory.

		WHITE WATER ASSOCIATION. 1809.	
		Held at Logan Township, Dearborne County, Aug. 15, 1812. Sermon by William Tyner.	
Elk-Horn	1806	Lazarus Whitehead	72
Twin Creek		William Williams	37
Dry Fork	1802		48
New-Hope	1807	Joshua Palmer	69
Whitewater	1807		48
Cedar Grove	1805	William Tyner, Lewis Deweese	93
Mount Bethel	1808		41
Providence	1808	John Caldwell	43
Lawrenceburgh	1807	Ezra Ferris, *Samuel M'Millan*	39
Indian Creek	1810		60
West F. Whitewater	1811	William Wilson	68
Churches 11		Ministers 7 Total	582
		Lewis Deweese, *Moderator.*	
		Ezra Ferris, *Clerk.*	
		SILVER CREEK ASSOCIATION. 1811.	
		No Minutes of this body have been received. Its churches are 9, its ministers probably 5, and the total number of its members we shall compute at	300
		WABASH ASSOCIATION. 1809.	
		Held at Bethel, Knox County, Oct. 20, 1810. Sermon by George Waller.	
Wabash	1806	*Jonathan Ruble*	14
Bethel	1806	Samuel Jones	33

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Patoka	1808	Alexander Devin	30
Salem	1808	James Martin	30
Maria Creek	1809	Isaac M'Coy	24
Clear F. Pigeon Creek	1810	*Stephen Strickling*	12
Churches 6		Ministers 6 Total	143*

Alexander Devin, *Moderator.*
William Polke, *Clerk.*

*There is a mistake in the number of this Association in Vol. II. p. 263.

Missisippi Territory.

		MISSISIPPI ASSOCIATION. 1807. Held at Bayou Pierre, Claibourne County, Oct. 16, 1813. Sermon by George King.	
Salem			131
New-Hope			54
Bethel		Moses Hadley, *Ezekiel O'Quin*	15
Ebenezer		Ezra Courtney	82
New-Providence		*Henry Humble*	77
Morgan's Fork		*Joseph Slocomb, John Lee*	27
Bayou Pierre		*Josiah Flower*	49
Sarepta		L. Scarborough	41
East Fork			26
Zion Hill		Thomas Mercer, Isham Kettles, G.W. King	101
Shiloh			23
Tancipiho		Robert Smith	39
Half Moon Bluff			61
Jerusalem		Howel Wall	30
Clear Creek			13
Pierce's Creek			14
Bogechito			33
Mount Nebo			41
Peniel			13
African Church			24
Churches 20		Ministers 13 Total	894

Moses Hadley, *Moderator.*
George W. King, *Clerk.*

		SABBATARIAN GENERAL CONFERENCE.—Held at Cohansey, N. J. June 10, 1813. Sermon by Gideon Wooden.	
Hopkinton, R. I.	1708	Matthew Stillman	930
Newport, R. I.	1671	Henry Burdick, Arnold Bliss	90
Cohansey, N. J.	1737	John Davis	123
Piscataway, N. J.	1705	Gideon Wooden	75
Waterford, Con.	1784	David Rogers, Jabez Beebe, jun.	46
Burlington, Con.	1780		46
Berlin, N. Y.	1780	William Satterlee	436
Brookfield, N. Y.	1797	Henry Clarke	151
Deruyter, N. Y.	1806	David Davis	35
Lost Creek, Va.		John Davis	23
Salem, Va.		John Davis, Elder of both Churches	38
Salem, N. J.		Jacob Ayers	35
Churches 12		Ministers 12 Total	2028

John Davis, *Moderator.*
Jacob West, } *Clerks.*
Lewis Titsworth, }

The delegation to this Conference, at its last session was not full: no information from a number of churches was received: I have made out the statement of the Pastors, and the number of Churches, from the Minutes of 1808, and from accounts received from individuals from different parts.

UNASSOCIATED CHURCHES.

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		NOVA SCOTIA & NEW BRUNSWICK.	
Yarmouth	1807	Harris Harding	280
Argyle	1806	Enoch Tower	70
Shelburne			
Shepherdy		—— Newcomb	
City of St. Johns			
Isle of St. Johns			
		There are besides these, about 15 churches in both Provinces unassociated, making 19, whose number has not been obtained. There are probably belonging to them, 10 ministers; and they may average 35, making a total of	665
Churches 21		Ministers 13 Total	1015
		DISTRICT OF MAINE.	
Eastport	1810	Henry A. Clarke	26
Narraguagus			65
East Bay			55
Cape Rosia			20
		This was the state of these churches in 1810. There were, at that time, in this District, 16 other churches not associated. I conclude the number is not less now. There may be in them 8 ministers, and we shall compute them at 25 each, making a total of	400
Churches 20		Ministers 9 Total	576
Brentwood, N. H.	1771	Samuel Shepard, Eliphalet Merrill, Jonathan Thing, *Jabez True, Henry Veasy*	685
Milford, N, H.	1809		44
Hollis	1791		80
		VERMONT.	
Manchester	1781	Calvin Chamberlain	60
ed Shaftsbury	1780	*Cyprian Downer*	30
Wallingford	1780	—— *Randal*	25
West Clarendon		—— Tinkham	
East Clarendon		William M'Culler	40
Mount Holly		Daniel Packer	80
Hartland	1794	Timothy Grow	40
Waterbury		Ezra Butler computed at	20
White Hall		—— Miller	
West Haven		—— *Pattison*	
		Besides the ministers named, there are belonging to these churches, Elders Parker Reynolds, Henry Chamberlain, —— Babcock, and —— Carpenter. Mr. Rowley supposes that in the five churches of East and West Clarendon, Whitehall, Wallingford, and West Haven, are about 400 members, which will leave to be added	335
Churches 10		Ministers 14 Total	630
		MASSACHUSETTS.	
Tisbury, Martha's V.	1780		150
Indian Church, Gay Head, Martha's V.	old	Thomas Jeffer computed at	15

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*		*Communicants.*
1st Swansea*	1663	Abner Lewis		90
Dighton	1772	Silas Hall, A. M. *David Newman*		150
Bellingham				25
1st Ashfield	1761	Enos Smith		150
2d Ashfield	1788	—— Loomis		30
Conway	1788	Josiah Goddard, —— Keyes		170
Shelburne	1786	David Long		190
Whately	1789			70
Bernardston	1789			80
Rowe				20
Springfield	1811	William Hubbard		20
Churches 13		Ministers 10	Total	1060
		RHODE-ISLAND.		
1st Newport	1641	Michael Eddy		250
4th Newport	1788	William Moore		75
1st Tiverton	1685	Benjamin Peckham		174
North-Providence	1765	Rufus Teft		30
Coventry		Supplied by Amos Wells		85
Foster	1789	John Hammond		35
Coventry		—— Stone		100
Foster & Sterling	1812	Josiah Bennet		35
Churches 8		Ministers 9	Total	734
		CONNECTICUT.		
Ashford	1774	Frederick Wightman		120
Willington	1780	David Lillibridge		40
Stafford		—— Lyon		100
Preston	1804			40
2d Suffield	1805	Caleb Green	computed at	100
Wintonbury	1786	Ashbel Gillet		40
Middletown, U. Houses	1800			30
Wilton and Ridgefield	1811			40
Churches 8		Ministers 4	Total	510
		NEW-YORK.		
Fayette Street, city	1791	John Williams, William Pierce		375
Mulberry Street, do.	1809	Archibald Maclay, Benjamin Ashley		200
Union do.	1811	Sylvian Bijotat		25
Mount Pleasant	1790	Stephen S. Nelson, A. M.		90
Great Nine Partners	1779	Ministers not known, computed at		100
Poughkeepsie	1807	Lewis Leonard		40
Mexico		Gamaliel Barns		49
Turin	1812	Stephen Parsons		60
Clarence, H. Purchase	1811	Salmon Bell, computed at		80
Chenango, Greene Co.		Jedu. Gray, —— Kellogg, —— Holcombe		150
Smyrna		John Mudge		25
		Besides these there are, not far from the St. Lawrence Association, in the Holland Purchase, and near the Chenango River, the 10 following churches, which have no ministers, viz. Black Lake, constituted in 1809, Russel, 1809, Malone, 1807, Oswegatchie, 1809, Cambray, 1811, Poultney, Vernon, Batavia, 1812, Caneadea, 1812, and Edon, 1812. They probably contain about 20 each, making a total of		200
Churches 21		Ministers 14	Total	1934

* It ought to have been mentioned in the history of this church, that it has a farm worth four or five thousand dollars, besides about a thousand dollars in funds.

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
Barriston, L. Canada	1801	Roswell Smith	10
Sutton, do.		William Marsh	68
Hatley & Stanstead, do.			51
St. Armand, do.			51
		The three last churches formerly belonged to the Richmond Association, and this was their state in 1810.	
Wyoming, Penn.		David Dimock, Griffin Lewis, Joel Rogers, computed at	300
Covenant Independent Baptist Churches, Pa. five		Dr. Thomas Hersey and others to the number of five; total number of members computed at	200
		OHIO.	
		In 1809, there were in this State 25 churches not associated. The number has probably much increased since that period. We shall estimate them at 30, their ministers at 15, and their average number at 30, making a total of	900
		By information from correspondents there are a number of churches in the new settlements in New-York, of which no definite accounts have been obtained. There is, if not an Association, the remains of one near the Missisippi River, in the Illinois Territory. It is also believed there are a number of new churches in some of the other western Territories, whose names have not been obtained. In a number of the southern and western States, some few churches are to be found, of which no notice has yet been taken. I think it will be a moderate calculation to suppose that there are, in different parts of the United States and Territories, of unassociated churches yet remaining, 50, of ministers 25, and of members	1500
Churches 194		Sum total of Ministers 119, Members	9719

CHURCHES WHICH HOLD TO WEEKLY COMMUNION, AND COMMUNE WITH NO OTHERS.

Charlestown, Mass.	1808	Walter Balfour	15
ed Ditto.	1809	Oliver Holden	25
Hartford, Con.		Henry Grew	10
New-York city	1810	Errett and Ovington, computed at	25
Baltimore	1809	computed at	30
Beaufort, S. C.		James Graham, computed at	20
Churches 6		Ministers 6 Total	130
		There may be other churches of this sentiment, which have not come to the knowledge of the author.	

FREE-WILL BAPTISTS.

	The names of many churches and ministers in this connexion have been obtained; but of a great number no information has been received. I have learnt so much of their state, that I think we may safely estimate their churches at 150, their ministers at 150, and their sum total of members at	10000

Churches.	*Constituted.*	*Ministers.*	*Communicants.*
		I hardly know what statement to give of those, who call themselves *Christians*. Some of them compute their number at 20 or 30 thousand. It is hoped there are more than this number of *Christians* in America. But those under consideration, we shall compute at 40 churches,* 40 ministers, and of members	5000

TUNKER BAPTISTS.

Since the account of these people went to press, I have been informed of some of whom I had before obtained no account. It will probably be much below their number to compute them at 20 churches, 30 ministers, and total of members		1500

There are a number of mixed communion churches, situated mostly in New-York, of which I can give no account.

* Elder Hicks's church, in Dartmouth, Mass. is said now to contain about a thousand members.

SUMMARY VIEW OF ASSOCIATIONS.

	Churches.	*Ministers.*	*Members.*
1 Nova Scotia and New-Brunswick	19	13	1230
2 Lincoln	51	35	2673
3 Bowdoinham	28	24	1456
4 Cumberland	24	24	1165
5 N. Hampshire	30	22	1857
6 Meredith	8	6	785
7 Dublin	6	3	348
8 Woodstock	25	21	1925
9 Shaftsbury	32	21	1657
10 Vermont	23	19	1794
11 Fairfield	12	6	538
12 Danville	11	2	284
13 Barre	11	4	279
14 Boston	27	29	2840
15 Sturbridge	20	20	1870
16 Leyden	27	23	2119
17 Westfield	7	7	652
18 Warren	38	42	3988
19 Yearly Meeting	17	12	1361
20 Stonington	22	22	2299
21 Groton Union Conference	12	8	1825
22 Danbury	24	16	1716
23 New-York	28	26	1952
24 Warwick	20	16	1165
25 Union	10	7	761
26 Rensellearville	16	16	1088
27 Saratoga	23	13	2676
28 Lake George	6	3	302
29 Essex	6	2	262
30 St. Lawrence	4	1	69
31 Black River	9	6	422
32 Otsego	34	10	1953
33 Franklin	16	10	1153
34 Madison	31	30	2317
35 Cayuga	40	26	3519
31 Holland Purchase	10	2	279
37 Thurlow	11	8	1000
38 New-Jersey	21	16	1943
36 Philadelphia	24	32	2587
40 Chemung	12	9	457
41 Abington	3	4	249
42 Red Stone	33	20	1393
43 Delaware	6	4	480
44 Baltimore	18	11	857
45 Salisbury	14	4	469
VIRGINIA.			
16 Associations	283	283	35164
62 Kehukee	30	21	1627
63 Neuse	22	8	1036
64 Cape Fear	23	9	1448
65 Chowan	23	9	1789
66 Raleigh	18	10	962

	Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
67 Flat River	11	6	951
68 Country Line	11	8	905
69 Sandy Creek	18	9	1510
70 Yadkin	16	12	800
71 Mountain	12	8	600
72 French Broad	10	10	455
73 Charleston	33	35	3198
74 Edgefield	37	19	2970
75 Bethel	36	13	2204
76 Saluda	23	12	1040
77 Broad River	26	17	1082
78 Savannah	28	21	5324
79 Georgia	35	19	3428
80 Hephzibah	34	18	1713
81 Sarepta	41	26	3157
82 Ockmulgee	33	31	2677
83 Holston	18	11	1213
84 Tennessee	30	18	1538
85 Washington	12	8	600
86 Cumberland	23	16	2203
87 Red River	36	48	2387
88 Concord	24	32	2031
89 Elk River	31	16	2322
KENTUCKY.			
13 Associations	263	142	21660
103 Miami	21	11	904
104 Straight Creek	12	8	600
105 Scioto	9	7	247
106 Beaver	12	9	464
107 White Water	11	7	582
108 Silver Creek	9	5	300
109 Wabash	6	6	143
110 Mississippi	20	13	894
111 Sabbatarian Conference	12	12	2028
	2223	1622	176764

Many Associations do not enter the names of any ministers on their Minutes, unless they are delegated to meet with them. A considerable number give no marks of distinction by which we can tell who are ministers and who are not. In these cases, I have put down none as ministers, except the reading of the minutes mentioned them as such. The names of unordained ministers are oftener omitted than others. From these considerations, I am inclined to think there are in all the Associations, at least 75 ordained, and 100 unordained ministers, whose names do not appear on the Minutes, making in all

	Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
		175	
Associated	2223	1797	178496
Unassociated	194	119	9719
Those who hold to weekly communion	6	6	130
Free Will Baptists	150	150	10000
Those who call themselves Christians	40	40	5000
Tunker Baptists	20	30	1500
Sum total	2633	2142	204185

From the many observations I have made on the spread of Baptist principles, I am inclined to think, that without counting that class in Massachusetts and Connecticut, who hang to the denomination merely by certificates, we may reckon seven adherents, to one communicant. Upon this mode of calculation, the number of adherents will amount to 1,433,915, which, added to the communicants, will make the sum total of the Baptist denomination in America, 1,638,760; that is, more than one fifth of the whole population of the United States and Territories.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is hoped that the increased size of this work, will be a sufficient apology to the subscribers, for the delay of its publication. The letters, and some other articles in the first part of both volumes, would have been printed on small type, had it been expected the pages would have swelled so much beyond the number first proposed. Many parts of the composition the writer would have been glad to have retouched; many accounts might have been made shorter, could he have had more time to prepare them; and some repetitions might have been avoided, could he have reviewed the whole work before any of it was printed, and not been obliged to pass rapidly from one volume and article to another, to supply two presses with copy. Should any mistakes of importance be discovered, in the numerous accounts which he has collected with so much labour and care, he will esteem it a favour to be informed of them. And should any statements, of matters of a disputable nature, be *proved* to be incorrect, it will be his duty and pleasure to correct them, should another edition be called for in his day; as his design throughout has been to pursue the plain road of narration, and not the thorny one of controversy.

Three years from this date, that is, in the beginning of 1817, should the author's life be continued, he proposes to publish separately, a second table of Associations and Churches, at which time, and indeed annually the intervening time, he desires to have forwarded to him the Minutes of all Associations which are now in being, or which may hereafter arise.

☞ Since the account of the India Mission was printed, Mr. RICE, whose name is there mentioned, has returned to America, to solicit the aid of the Baptists in this country, towards the arduous and benevolent design of propagating the gospel in India. Mr. JUDSON is now on the field of missionary labour, to which Mr. RICE proposes soon to return. Before his arrival, Societies for Foreign Missions had been formed in Boston, Salem, Haverhill, and Providence. Since that event, similar Societies have been organized in New-York, Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, and some other places. Mr. RICE has travelled through the States; has met with much encouragement in his designs; has collected about a thousand dollars, exclusive of what Societies have raised; and a promising prospect presents itself, that liberal means will soon be provided for sending Baptist Missionaries from Columbia's favoured shores to India's benighted realms.

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In the running title for Rev. Charles O. Screven, *read* Rev. Wm. Screven,	123
For Cuttiro, *read* Cuttino,	151
In the note about the Dutchman, for vive *read* wive,	182
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Besides these, a number of errors have crept into both volumes, which are either so small or obvious, that no one will be in danger of mistaking the meaning. The misspelling of the names of a number of persons, and places, some readers may not discover; those who do, will know how to correct them.

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Harvard.

Jeremiah Dyer

Colraine.

GEORGE WITHERELL, *formerly of Adams*, 5 *additional copies.*
JONATHAN WILSON, 2
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Monson.

Samuel Munger

Mendon

ElbridgeGerryDaniels

Grafton.

Joshua Herrington

RHODE-ISLAND.

Pawtucket.

Moses Arnold

VERMONT.

Vernon.

Arad Hunt, 2d.

Guilford.

LEWIS ALLYN
Peter Briggs

Marlborough.

MANSFIELD BRUCE

NEW-YORK.

Clinton, Oneida Co.

Silas Sikes

Subscribers from a number of places were expected, which have not been received. If they have miscarried, (which may be ascertained by examining this list) they shall, by being forwarded now, receive proper attention.

LBMy'21