

VARIOUS WRITINGS (WIP)

by John Leland

A collection of writings by John Leland, the influential Baptist minister born in 1754 who advocated for religious liberty in early America. His autobiographical accounts reveal the formation of his Baptist convictions through his father's theological struggles.

7 Chapters

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001 Preface

PREFACE. THE candid reader is earnestly requested, before entering upon the perusal of the following pages, to follow the compiler through a short preface. It was at the suggestion of one of Mr. Leland's family that I first thought of attempting this work; and after her removal by death, it was with the subsequent encouragement and approbation of others, that I continued to pursue it. When first proposed to me, I viewed it as an impossibility, both on account of my inadequacy, and of the little leisure afforded me by a vocation which involved arduous labors and anxious cares; but an ardent desire to see the work accomplished, and the uncertainty that it would be attempted by an abler hand, together with the consideration that time was continually thinning the number of those who could furnish accurate information, or correct unavoidable mistakes, at length determined me to make the trial. Had I then foreseen, that, by the death of some, and the removal of others, I should be deprived of the aid on which I mainly depended, and left to complete the task alone, I should have yielded entirely to the sense of incompetency which, even with the prospect of such assistance, scarcely permitted me to hope for success. It is not, therefore, as a mere matter of form, but with a painful consciousness of the imperfect manner in which the work has been executed, and of the disappointment which many will probably feel on seeing it, that I mention the circumstances under which it was commenced, and some of the embarrassments that have attended its progress and completion. Viewed as a literary performance, I am happy to feel assured, that, so far as my own share in it is concerned, it is beneath the notice of criticism; on that point, therefore, I am free from solicitude.

Circumstances have rendered the task a much more arduous one than I at first anticipated. These circumstances were so unexpected to me, that I should have supposed their occurrence, in this instance, singular, had I not met with the following passage, in a book of similar kind, published many years ago, which describes so nearly my own difficulties, that I cannot forbear transcribing it.

"Various causes have contributed to create the delay which has attended the publication of the book. It was with considerable difficulty that I collected the materials necessary for my purpose. I had imagined, from the general impression which prevailed, at least, among" (Mr. L.'s) "friends, of the propriety of such a publication, that information would have been spontaneously offered, from every quarter whence it might be furnished. But in this I was disappointed; and it was some considerable time from the annunciation of my design, before I was sufficiently supplied to commence, with any degree of prudence, the composition of the volume. In addition to this, the laborious duties of my charge, conspired often to suspend the prosecution of the work, for the appearance of which, I knew many to be anxious, but none more so than myself."

Several important works it has been impossible to obtain, and I have, therefore, though with deep regret, been compelled to omit them. Whether they are entirely out of print, or whether the notices calling for them, have not been seen by those who possess them, or from some cause they were not disposed to furnish them for publication, it is in vain to inquire. Such, however, is the fact. And here I would present my sincere and heartfelt thanks to those kind friends, in various parts of the

Union, who have interested themselves in procuring such materials as I have needed, and would assure them, that their efforts, though many of them may have been unsuccessful, shall ever be remembered with gratitude. In one or two instances, writings have been forwarded, supposed by the friends who sent them to be those of Leland, which proved to have been from some other pen; but my thanks are equally due to those friends for their promptness in offering the aid I needed, though their kindness was, by that mistake, rendered unavailing. The object proposed in this work, is a full and correct exhibition of the character and sentiments of John Leland. Every thing, therefore, that seemed calculated to throw additional light on these, or without which the exhibition of them would have been imperfect, has been inserted. Some pieces have been omitted wholly, and others in part, to prevent the unnecessary repetition of the same ideas; and this has been done, in most cases, except where those ideas are so connected with others, or so brought to bear upon different subjects, that they could not be disconnected without doing violence to the author's evident meaning. In some of his poetical efforts, Mr. Leland evidently falls below himself. While some of his hymns are equal in poetical merit, as well as in spirituality and devotion, to most of those in general use, there are other pieces which are manifestly deficient in the former of these qualities. In such cases, they are inserted, not because of their poetical merit, but for other reasons which their deficiency, in this respect, could not set aside.

It is well known that his sentiments, on some subjects, differed from those entertained by many of his brethren at the present day. Individuals have, therefore, sometimes attempted to explain his ideas in such a way as to make them harmonize with their own views; in some instances, entirely destroying, by their exposition, the force of his own words. This I have had opportunity of knowing, was extremely annoying to him. He has frequently been heard to express the wish that his own language might be permitted to speak for itself, and to express, as he intended it to do, the honest convictions of his own mind. This being known to be his feeling on the subject, it is hoped that if ever any of his writings are republished, his wishes may be regarded as sacred. His opinions can be by no one better expressed than by himself, and his life is their best comment. The order followed in the arrangement of most of the works is that of the time (as nearly as can be ascertained) when they were written or published. This will amble the reader to trace the workings of his mind, and to discover whatever changes took place in his views from time to time. A number of pieces will, perhaps, appear to those acquainted with them, somewhat changed. It may be proper to mention, in regard to such, that there being several copies differing from each other, I have taken the liberty, in some cases, to put the parts together, and in others to select the one that appeared to me the best.

I will only add that the delay in the appearance of the work, since its preparation for the press has been completed, (a period of more than a year,) has been occasioned entirely by the want of a sufficient number of subscriptions to defray the expenses of publication.

NOTE.

IT having been thought advisable, by those who executed the following work, to throw it into smaller type than was at first contemplated, the number of pages falls considerably short of the original estimate, though the same amount of matter is contained. It was deemed most expedient, under the circumstances, to include the whole in one volume; but it is presumed the consequent reduction in the price, together with the superior style of binding in which it now appears, will

render it equally satisfactory and acceptable to subscribers. With great reluctance the compiler was obliged to forego the personal examination of the proof-sheets, which could not be done without occasioning great delay in the issuing of the work. A number of errors of considerable importance remain uncorrected except in the errata, which the reader is desired to consult. Other inaccuracies in orthography, punctuation, etc., may be observed; but those which it was supposed the reader would easily understand and correct for himself, are not noticed in the errata.

002 Ewnts in the life of John Leland

EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF JOHN LELAND WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee. - MOSES.

Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not - PAUL.

I WAS born in Grafton, about 40 miles west of Boston, in the year of our Lord 1754, on the 14th of May. The earliest public events which I can remember, are the death of George the Second, and the coronation of George the Third, together with some melancholy accounts of the French and Indian war. But a number of juvenile incidents are fresh in memory, which took place when I was two, three, and four years old; some of which I will here relate. When my father was a young man, he was convinced, (as he has told me,) by reading the Bible, that believers were the only proper subjects of baptism, and immersion the only gospel mode; but when he broke his mind to his mother, she gave him an alarming warning against heresy; and as there was no preachers thereabout but pedobaptists, he sunk from his conviction, and concluded that his mother and the ministers were right. Accordingly, after he was married, and had a son born unto him, he presented his child for baptism: but after the rite was performed, his mind was solemnly arrested with the text, "Who hath required this at your hands?" that it was with difficulty he held his son from falling out of his arms; nor did he get over the shock until he had six more children born. He then got his scruples so far removed, that he invited the minister of the town to come to his house on a certain Sunday, after public service was over, and baptize all of them. At this time I was something more than three years old. When I found out what the object of the meeting was, I was greatly terrified, and betook myself to flight. As I was running fast down a little hill, I fell upon my nose, which made the blood flow freely. My flight was in vain; I was pursued, overtaken, picked up and had the blood scrubbed off my face, and so was prepared for the baptismal water.

All the merit of this transaction, I must give to the maid who caught me, my father and the minister; for I was not a voluntary candidate, but a reluctant subject, forced against my will. In early life I had a thirst for learning. At five years old, by the instruction of a school dame, I could read the Bible currently, and afterwards, in the branches of learning, taught in common schools, I made as good proficiency as common. But what proficiency soever I made in learning (owing to a stiffness of nature and rusticity of manners) I could never gain the good will of my masters, nor was I a favorite among the scholars. The character which one of my masters gave me, seems to have been the opinion that all of them formed of me. Said he, "John has more knowledge than good manners." The minister of the town was importunate with my father to give me a collegiate education for the ministry. The doctor of the place was equally solicitous to make me a physician. My father designed me to live with him, to support his declining years. My own intention was to be a lawyer, if possible; but in our designs and wishes, we have all been disappointed. As my father had no library, and I was fond of reading, the Bible was my best companion.

Deism and Universalism I never heard of, and of course was what is called a believer in revelation.

I had no thought that I myself was right, but believed that some great thing must be done for me (I did not know what) or I could not be saved. At times I had awful horrors of conscience, when death, judgment and the world to come arrested my attention; but these horrors did not reform me from vice nor turn me to the Lord.

I was almost in all evil, full of vanity, exceedingly attached to frolicking and foolish wickedness. When I reflect on the follies of my youth, the question of Paul involuntarily rises in my heart; "What fruits had you then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed?" In this course I continued until I was eighteen years old. In the summer of 1772, I met with one thing singular. When I was returning from my frolicks or evening diversions, the following words would sound from the skies, "You are not about the work which you have got to do. " The last time I heard those sounds, I stood amazed; and turning my eyes up to the heavens, it seemed that there was a work of more weight than a mountain, which I had yet to perform.

Soon after this, I cannot tell how or why, a conviction took place in my mind, that all below the sun could not satisfy or tranquilize the mind. The world and all that was in it appeared of small consequence. And without any unusual horror of mind or dread of damnation, the charms of those youthful diversions, which had been sweeter to me than the honey-comb, lost all their sweetness, nor could I conceive how there could be any pleasure in them.

About this time, there was an evening frolic in the neighborhood, and I concluded to go to see whether there was delight in it or not; and if not, to find out the cause of its death in my mind. Accordingly I went, but found nothing to please, but everything to disgust. After I had tried the experiment, I asked a young man if he would return home with me, which he agreed to do. On our return, I introduced the subject of religion for conversation on the road. The next day he reported, that he believed John would soon be a preacher, for he would talk on no subject but religion. At this time, a young preacher (Elhanan Winchester) came into Grafton, and preached and prayed to the astonishment of the people; and a young woman, it was said, was converted. When I heard the report, it greatly effected me, for I had been at many dances with her. The result with me was, now the waters are troubled, and it is time for me to step in.

Reading the Bible and meditating on the shortness of time, and the importance of being prepared for death and judgment, occupied the chiefest of my time.

After a few weeks, in the month of September, Mr. Winchester came to Grafton again. I heard of it on Saturday evening, and concluded that I would read the Bible that evening, and attend meeting the following Sunday, and be converted like Priscilla, (for that was the name of the young woman.) When I went to meeting, I heard the man preach, and while he was preaching, something kept answering in my breast, yes, yes, yes, it is so. After he had done, I question whether all the men in the world could have convinced me that it was not the truth. After public service was over, the people retired to the water, where Priscilla was baptized. What I saw and heard at the water, greatly effected me. There I stood upon a rock, and made my vows to God to forsake all sinful courses and seek the Lord, if he would direct me how. From this, I began to pray, but was hard put to it to find a place secret enough. I was afraid someone would hear me, and was confounded to hear my own voice. How often did the words of Jesus sound like thunder in my ears: "He that is ashamed to own me before men, I will be ashamed to own him before my Father and before his angels." From this time down, fifteen months, a volume might be written on the views, exercises

and conflicts of my mind. As the work of God broke out in Grafton, Northbridge and Upton, I heard much preaching and conversation about the change which is essential to salvation; on which I formed the following conclusions:

1 st. That I must be deeply convicted of sin, greatly borne down under the weight of it, and heartily repent of it. This led me to pray much for conviction, read the threatenings of God to alarm myself, and study to make sin look horrid.

2dly. That if ever I was converted, I should know it as distinctly as if a surgeon should cut open my breast with his knife, take out my heart and wash it, put it back again and close up the flesh. This caused me to think light of any pleasing views, which sometimes would break into my mind, how God could pardon sinners for the sake of the Mediator. All was nothing to me, without I could be converted in the way which I laid out, and know for certain that I was born of God.

3dly. That whenever I should be enabled to believe in Jesus, I should see him as plainly as I could see an object of sense. While waiting and hoping for these things, (some of which I have never yet seen or felt,) my mind was led to the following views and exercises:

First. To see the extent and purity of the holy law: That it was the perfect rule of eternal right, which arose from the relations that exist between God and man, and between man and man; that it will remain unalterable while the perfections of God and the faculties of men exist, and that the least deviation from this rule is sin.

Secondly. By looking into the law, as a clear glass, to see my own weakness and wickedness. Here, I found myself as incompetent to repent and believe in Jesus, as I was to keep the whole law. Never was a poor creature more perplexed with a hard, unyielding heart, and a corrupt nature, than I was. I often compared my heart to a spring of water, rising up against God and godliness.

Thirdly. To view the justice of God in my condemnation. Never did the benevolence of God appear more pleasant to me than justice did. I was not willing to be damned; but thought, if damnation must be my lot, it would be some relief to my mind that God would be just.

Fourthly. To discover the sufficiency of a Mediator. For a number of months before I had a settled hope of my interest in Christ, the plan of atonement, by the blood of the Lamb, appeared to me as plain as ever it has since. Once, I remember to have broke out thus, when walking in the road: "O what a complete Saviour is Jesus, every way suited to my needs: I can be saved no other way - I do not wish to be saved any other way - but fear I shall never be saved in that way."

There were a number of young people converted in the place, who assembled together for religious worship, with whom my heart was greatly united. While thinking of them, at a certain time, the words of John came into my mind: "We know we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren;" which gave me a small hope, for a few minutes, that perhaps I was born of God.

One morning, about day-break, as I was musing on my bed, upon this text, "After ye believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise," it struck my mind that souls first believed before they were sealed; on which conclusion, the following words rushed into my mind, as if they had been spoken by some other, "Ye are already sealed unto the day of redemption." If so, said I to myself,

then surely I am converted. But as I had never passed through stages of distress equal to some others, nor equal to what I supposed an essential prerequisite to conversion, I could not believe for myself. And yet the words continued to run in my mind, "Ye are already sealed unto the day of redemption."

One morning, my father was reading a chapter, when the following text arrested my attention with irresistible force: "If ye will not believe, ye shall not be established." At another time my thoughts ran thus: "If it is possible that I am a Christian, it is certain that I am the least of all." On which the words of the Prophet came into my mind with great force: "Peace, peace to him that is near, and to him that is far off, saith the Lord, and I will heal him."

Though very far from being satisfied with myself, yet with a very feeble hope which I began to have, on the solicitation of others, I did sometimes attempt to pray in small circles. And here I will relate a strange event, which I know to be true, but can never account for it. In the month of February, 1774, in the time of great snow, a very respectable preacher, Rev. Samuel Dennis, came into Grafton and preached one afternoon at a Mr. Wheeler's. I attended; and notwithstanding his talents, he appeared muddled in his mind about salvation freely by grace. After he had done, the people all took their seats, and strange to tell, that I, naturally bashful, with hardly any hope that I was converted, should rise and state my objections against the discourse, and give another interpretation to the texts which the preacher had quoted to support his doctrine: after which I retired into another room; but very soon a messenger came and told me I must return and dispute the point with Mr. Dennis. I returned, but who can describe what I felt? I said thus to myself: "I am not converted myself, and it must be the Devil that has instigated me to harrass the people of God." Mr. Dennis addressed me like a gentleman and Christian. Said he, "Mr. Leland, you have lodged your objections against my doctrine; I wish to discourse with you on the subject, for the cause is not mine but God's." Upon which the battle began between a venerable preacher, clothed in black, with a large white wig on his head, and a beardless boy, not twenty years old, coarsely clad, and wearing a leather apron. The people all stuck to see and hear. After about three-quarters of an hour, there was a cessation of arms. At any rate, as I was the querist, and he the defendant, such questions were flung in his way that he could not well solve; and concluded by saying, "The Lord have mercy on us, for we are poor ignorant creatures." On this, there sprang up immediately in my heart a strong desire to pray. Indeed, I felt as if I must pray or burst; but the preacher, the whole congregation, and my father among the rest, were all present, and I had never attempted the like before. At this crisis, one of the young converts came to me, and said, "John, won't you pray?" I durst not refuse, lest I should quench the Spirit. I proposed it, and the congregation united by rising. I had not spoken many words, before the preacher, my father, and all others were out of the way. I felt strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. Prayer being closed, I felt impelled to give the people a word of exhortation, which was the first address of the kind that ever I made. After this a psalm was sung; when the line came forward, "We tremble and rejoice," I felt confident in myself that I did tremble before the greatness, and rejoice in the goodness of God; and spake within myself thus: "I am converted, and will not believe Satan any more when he tells me otherwise." This frame of mind continued a few minutes, and then the vision closed, and I returned home full of heaviness, reproaching myself for my forwardness and presumption. The next day, I went around and told some who heard me the day before, that they need not mind any thing that I had said, for I was a poor unconverted sinner. My desire was to be searched and not

deceived. I spent nearly a whole day, as I was going a little journey, praying in David's words, "Search me, O God, and try me, and know if there be any evil in me, and lead me in the way everlasting. The night following, I dreamed that I must read Psalms 32:8, which I did as soon as I awoke. The words are, "I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou shalt go. I will guide thee with mine eye." My heart was greatly attached to the Holy Scripture. I have not yet forgot the burning desire - the soul-longings that I had to know what was the mind of God, contained in his word. I would read - then pray - then read and pray again, &c. that I might know the truth as it is in Jesus.

One evening, as I was walking the road alone, I was greatly cast down, and expressed myself thus: "I am not a Christian; I have never been convicted and converted like others, who are true saints. The Devil shall deceive me with false hopes no longer. I will never pretend to religion, until I know that I am born of God! " These words I spoke aloud; but immediately the words of Peter rushed into my mind, with great energy, "I know not the man. " These words dashed my conclusion and resolution to atoms in a moment. It was a shock to the centre of my heart. From that day to this minute, which is a term of forty six years, amidst all the doubts, darkness, troubles and temptations that I have had, I have never said that I knew not Christ, or that I was unconverted.

Soon after this, I received great comfort from Proverbs 30:5. Every word of God, both precept and promise, seemed pure. I felt my soul yield up to Christ and trust in him, and believed he would be my shield and defence. A young man, about my age, in the neighborhood, professed to be converted. The work was short with him, and he came out strong and bold. He and myself set up evening meetings, to sing, pray, and speak according to our proportion of faith, as the Spirit gave us utterance. A number of men opened their houses, and many came in to hear the boys. It was common for each of us in turn to preach two or three of our sort of sermons at each meeting. When I was going to these meetings, I often had such fears that I was not converted, but only deceived - that I had learned these things of men and not of Christ; and viewing the greatness of the work of manifesting truth to the consciences of men in the sight of God; all together would nearly take away my strength, so that I could not walk. At such times, I would resolve to appoint no more meetings. But when I got to the meeting, the gloom and horror of my mind would subside, which emboldened me to appoint another; but when I had left the meeting and was returning home, the same load would fall upon me. In this course I continued from February to June. The work of ingathering, which prevailed the year before, seemed to be over; and I know not that any new cases of conversion took place at these little meetings.

Within the time that I have been treating of, I visited one of the young converts, who told me his dream. Said he,

"I dreamed I was down by the burying-ground in Grafton, and saw a large company of people coming from the north-east, and you were in the midst of them, riding in a horse-cart. The procession came to the place where a gallows was erected. The hangman drove his cart under the gallows, and fastened the halter which was around your neck to the transverse of the gallows. You then arose, and, with hands and eyes towards heaven, said, 'Lord Jesus, for thy cause I am brought to this end.' The hangman then led off the horse and cart - you swung, and I awoke. Soon I slept and dreamed again, that I was in Worcester, where was a vast concourse of people, and

Captain G. among the rest: said the Captain to me 'Do you know John Leland?' I answered, 'yes.' 'Well,' said he, 'John is to be hanged today, for preaching heresy.' The procession then moved into the burying-ground, in Worcester, with you in the cart, where the same tragedy was repeated that was done in Grafton." This dream, told to me with great solemnity, when I was so weak and fearful, made me more ready to halt than I was before.

Two things greatly perplexed me at this time. One was, that I felt more moral evil in myself, than I could see or believe there was in the young converts. When I saw them with their lamb-like faces and dove-like eyes, and heard them pray and praise, they appeared to me seraphical; and I had formed the conclusion, that if I should ever be converted, I should be so too; but now, (notwithstanding the little hope which I entertained for myself, and durst not deny it,) I found more corruption in me than can be described. The other was, the want of will. At times, I would feel as if my whole soul was absorbed in the fountain of love, and devout prayer was the breath of my heart; at other times, I would feel such amazing languor and want of will, that if I might have had all the glories of heaven for asking, I could not have sincerely done it. This gave me a very poor opinion of myself. Indeed, from that time to the present, I have had a constant falling out with myself; which leads me to cry out, O, wretched man that I am! To these two perplexities, I may add another, which was a constant worry in my mind about preaching. No sooner was my mind exercised about the salvation of my soul, than it was agitated about preaching. The number of sermons (such as they were) that I preached, when alone by myself, was very great. Both saints and sinners said, "John will be a preacher." My mother professed that she had the same impressions about me when I was a sucking child; but my fears were, that the Devil was at the bottom of it, seeking to deceive me, and cheat me out of my soul. 1 Text after text would crowd into my mind to urge me on; but I could not tell whether they were the voice of God or the voice of Eli - whether the Devil suggested them to me - whether they were accidental, or whether they came from the good spirit of God.

Strange to relate, one hour I would entertain a comfortable hope that my sins were pardoned; the next hour, nearly give up all hope; fearing that all my exercises were self-learned, and that I had not been taught of God; the third hour, be impelled that I must preach or perish. This conflict wore off my flesh, and made me irresolved about anything. My faith was firm in this: that no man should undertake to preach until he was born of God: that no man born of God was, by that change, prepared to preach; that Christ called unto him whom he would, for the work of preaching, either fishermen, herdsmen, or men of science; and when he called and ordained them, if they neglected the work, and conferred with flesh and blood, they would be disobedient to the heavenly vision. The first of June, 1774, Elder Noah Alden, of Bellingham, came to Northbridge, and baptized seven others and myself. Four of them were men, and the others women. I was extremely dark in my mind; but when I gave a relation of my exercises, I had this hope, that if I was deceived, the preacher would discern it and reject me: and that if he rejected me, it would strike such conviction into my heart that would lead me en to a sure conversion. The preacher, however, only asked me if I believed in the Calvinistical doctrine? I replied, I did not know what it was, but I believed in free grace. As he received me, dark as my mind was, I would not give back. The preacher was a short man, and, therefore, requested me to go into the water with him, to assist him in raising and leading the women, which I consented to. After it was over, the people said, "John has begun and he will keep on. " The day afterwards, on reflection of what was past, I felt strengthened, and could

say, "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved me." On Sunday, the 20th of June, I went to meeting at Grafton, where there was no preacher. My mind was greatly embarrassed about preaching, and my prayer was, that I might know my duty. The words of the Prophet occurred to my mind, "There is none to guide her of all the sons she has brought forth." Having the Bible in my pocket, I drew it out, and, without design, opened to Malachi 3:9. "- this commandment is for you. If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory unto my name, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will even send a curse upon you - . " Whatever the original design of the text was, at that time it arrested my conscience thus: Thou art the man. Attempts to evade the force of it were all in vain. I must either lay it to heart, open my mouth and give glory to the name of God, or his curse would fall upon me. Fearing the hot displeasure of the Lord, I rose in great distress, and, having read Malachi 3:16-17, I told the people, if there was no objection, I would attempt to speak a little from the text. Being answered with silence, as custom led the way, I divided my text into several heads of doctrine. At the beginning, my mind was somewhat bewildered, and my words sounded very disagreeable to myself; so much so, that I partly resolved to quit; but continuing, my ideas brightened, and after a while I enjoyed such freedom of thought and utterance of words as I had never before. I spoke about half an hour and then closed. One of the old Christians made a prayer, and thanked God for what he had discovered in the young man. At noontime, I was all delight; my burden of soul, which had borne me down so long and so low, was all gone, and I concluded I should never have it any more. But when the people collected for afternoon worship, my spirits sunk within me. I retired into a lot, and fell down upon my face, by a fence, full of dismay; but suddenly the words which God spoke to Joshua, "Why liest thou upon thy face? - up, " gave me to understand that there was no peace for me in indolence. I therefore went to the meeting-house, and tried to preach again, but made miserable work of it. I continued, however, to try to preach, as doors opened; but I tried it more than ten times before I equalled the first, in my own feeling. A question rose in my mind, whether I should be received if I gave myself wholly to the work; which was answered by Solomon thus: "A man's gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men. " From a sense of my insufficiency, I trembled at the attempt; but what was said to a king in another case, was now spoken to a feeble youth: "Be ye strong, therefore, and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded."

I finally surrendered, and devoted my time and talents to the work of the ministry, without any condition, evasion or mental reservation. In myself, I have seen a rustic youth - unacquainted with men, manners and books; without the smallest prospects, or even the thought of gain or applause, turn out a volunteer for Christ, to contest with all the powers of darkness. It is possible, however, that I have been deceived in the affair, (for thousands are,) but if I have been deceived, it was an error in my judgment. A hypocrite, I was not; for, at that time, nothing could have tempted me to engage in the work, until I was moved by the Holy Ghost. The greatest obstruction that I had, when undertaking the work, was this: I did not believe that I had the longing desire and holy zeal for the salvation of sinners, that some preachers had; indeed, this was my heaviest trial for the first five years of my ministry. I had, however, a love for the gospel and the gospel worship, and was pleased when I saw people turning to the Lord. 2 From this beginning, I preached in the towns around where I was requested. The first preaching tour that I made, was a small one, about forty miles in length; preaching to little congregations on the way. My mind was dark when first setting out, but grew darker and darker all the way, till, at length, I concluded that I had run before I was sent, and, therefore, returned home with precipitance, resolving to attempt the work no more.

Before I went on this journey, I had appointed a meeting to attend after my return; had it not been for this circumstance, I know not what would have brought me into action. But attending that appointment, I obtained great comfort, and resolution to persevere. At one of these little meetings, a young woman received a gracious change, and gave good evidence of it. This encouraged me, that my labor was not in vain. About thirty years afterwards I saw her. She had joined with the Presbyterians, and blamed me for being a close communicant. I asked her, if her ministers and church would let me preach in their meeting-house; she said, she believed not. Why then, said I, should I be blamed for not communing with those who have no fellowship with me? The autumn of this year, I joined Bellingham church, (for till then, I belonged to no church,) and after about six months, that church gave me a license to do that which I had been doing for a year before. In October, 1775, I took a journey to Virginia, and was gone eight months. One person in New Jersey, one in Connecticut, and two in Virginia, professed to receive some impression, under my improvement, which turned them to the Lord.

September 30, 1776, I was married to Sally Devine, of Hopkinton; and immediately started with her to Virginia. As we made a stay of six weeks at Philadelphia, and a longer stay in Fairfax, Virginia, we did not reach Culpepper until March. At Mount Poney, in Culpepper, I joined the church, and undertook to preach among them half the Sundays. In August, I was ordained by the choice of the church, without the imposition of the hands of a Presbytery. As this was a departure from the usage of the churches in Virginia, I was not generally fellowshipped by them. I spent all my time travelling and preaching, and had large congregations. The first person that I baptized, was Betsey Tillery. I saw her in 1814. She had then supported a Christian character for thirty-eight years. In the close of the year 1777, I travelled as far south as Pee Dee river, in South Carolina, and returned to Culpepper early in 1778. Soon after this, I removed into Orange county, where I acquired me a residence, and where I continued all the time of my stay in Virginia. My stay in Culpepper was not a blessing to the people. I was too young and roving to be looked up to as a pastor. Difficulties arose, the church split, and I just obtained a dismissal and recommendation. God had another man for Mount Poney church. William Mason became their pastor, and he has done wonders in the name of Jesus. Having moved to Orange, I commenced my labors with ardor. Twelve and fourteen times a week I frequently preached. But, notwithstanding the constancy of my preaching, and the multitudes that attended, there was but small appearance of the work of God's spirit. I said before, I knew my heart did not burn with the holy fire as it ought to. In the spring of 1779, I appointed a string of meetings, about one hundred and twenty miles, as far down as York county. As I had sold my horse to pay for my house and lot, I concluded to go on foot: accordingly I started; but, as I had a pair of new shoes that pinched my feet, I found I must either desist - go barefoot, like the old Apostles, or purchase a horse. I chose the last, and promised the Lord if he would aid me to pay for the horse, I would spend it in his service. I gave my note for the beast, and pursued my journey. It so happened, in the event, that when I returned home, I had more than money enough to pay for my mare; and many thousands of miles she carried me about to preach. But though she was good, she was not invulnerable; for, on the 8th of June, as I was returning from Bedford county, I called at a friend's house, and found, by the badness of the saddle, her back was so swelled that I could not ride her. A man, twenty miles distant, had fallen from a fence and broken his neck, and this day I had appointed to preach his funeral sermon commemorative. My friend could not help me, and, therefore, I arose at daybreak and travelled twenty miles, preached to the people, and then returned on foot to my friend's, where my beast was. 3 In

September, this year, I was likewise returning from Bedford, and had an evening meeting at a place called the North Garden. After preaching was over, a Mrs. Baily informed me that she had a desire to be baptized, but her husband had told her, if she was ever baptized he would whip her within an inch of her life, and kill the man that should baptize her. That he had once seen me, and liked me so well, that he said if Leland should come that way he might baptize her; and now she wished to embrace the opportunity. I asked her if she was willing to suffer, on supposition her husband should revolt to his first resolution. "Yes, " said she, "if I am whipped, my Saviour had long furrows ploughed upon his back." "Well," said I, "if you will venture your back, I will venture my head." Accordingly, the candles were lighted - we went to the water, and she was baptized. My engagements called me to start very early next morning. I heard afterwards that he whipped her, but the head of John the Baptist is not taken off yet.

I now come to a period, which was very interesting to me, and, possibly, on account of the incidents of this period, may be profitable to others. In the month of October, my mind was graciously impressed with eternal realities. Souls appeared very precious to me, and my heart was drawn out in prayer for their salvation. Now, for the first time, I knew what it was to travail in birth for the conversion of sinners. The words of Rachel to Jacob were the words of my heart to God: "Give me children or else I die. " One night, as I lay on my bed weeping and praying, I thought if it was spring instead of autumn, I would spend all my time at the feet of Jesus in prayer, and at the feet of sinners, praying them to be reconciled to God; but winter was coming on, the summer was ended, and the opportunity past. On which reflection, the following words burst into my mind with surprising effect: "The shepherds rejoiced on a winter's day. " These words awakened all the latent energies of my soul. I resolved to double my vigor, and had faith to believe that I should see souls return to the Lord, and that I should rejoice at it that winter. For eight months after this, I had the spirit of prayer to a degree beyond what I ever had it in my life; and, if I mistake not, my preaching savored a little of the same spirit. My field of preaching was from Orange down to York, about one hundred and twenty miles. From November, 1779, to July, 1780, I baptized one hundred and thirty, the chiefest of whom professed to be the seals of my ministry. As this was the first time that ever such a work attended my ministry, it was refreshing indeed; nor can I think of it now, without soft emotions of heart. The chiefest of my success was in York, where Lord Cornwallis and the British army were made prisoners, in October, 1781. Matthew Wood, Robert Stacy and Thomas Cheesman, (all preachers afterwards,) were the children of this revival. In the first of my preaching in York, I had a meeting in the edge of Warwick. Just as I had read my text, Colossians Harwood, with six others, entered the house. "Sir, " said the Colonel, "I am come to stop you from preaching here today." Without any time to think, I gave a heavy stamp on the floor, and told him in the name of God to forbear. He replied, "I did not come to fight, but to stop you from preaching." A Mr. Cole Diggs, son of a counsellor, was there, and said, "Colossians Harwood, you are a representative in the General Assembly, and the Assembly has just made a law to secure the religious rights of all, and now you come to prevent them. What does that look like?" Said the Colonel, "Mr. Diggs, I only came to prevent an unlawful conventicle, for this meeting draws away the people from the church!" Mrs. Russell, the mistress of the house, replied, "Hah! Colonel, I think it is a pity that people cannot do as they please, in their own house." "Madam," said the Colonel, "I did not come to dispute with ladies." And here the fracas ended. The Colonel and Co. went off, and the meeting was continued. When he returned home, his mother said unto him, "Well, Neddy, what did the man say unto you? " "What?" said the Colonel, "He stamped at me, and made no more of me than if I had been a dog.

I shall trouble them no more." Some of his servants I baptized afterwards.

Captain Robert Howard, of York, had a beautiful and pious wife whom he adored. She wished to be baptized, but as he was a vestryman in the church, he opposed it. At a time, however, she came forward and was baptized. When he heard of it, he called for his carriage, and took his cow-skin, and said he would lash me out of the county. His sister replied, "Brother Bobby, Mr. Leland is a large man, and will be too much for you. " "I know it, " said the Captain, "but he will not fight." His wife made answer, "Perhaps he may - he goes well armed; and if he should wound you in the heart, you would fall before him." "Ah! " said the Captain, "I know nothing about this heart-work." "I wish you may, my dear," said his wife. He finally declined the contest, and afterwards became serious, penitent, believing, and was baptized. After his reform, as he was riding in company with me to meeting, one of his uncles met him in the road, and accosted him thus: "Nephew Bobby, I pity you in my "heart, to see you following that deluded people, and wasting your time so much, that you will raise no corn this year." "My uncle," said the Captain, "I wish you had pitied me as much two years ago, when you cheated me out of my mill."

About the same time, a gentlewoman, in James City, was convinced that it was her duty to be baptized, but neglected it until she could evade it no longer. She came to my quarters on Saturday, and made known her desire; accordingly the neighbors were collected, and she was baptized: when she returned and told her husband of it, he would not sleep with her that night, nor eat breakfast with her in the morning. She came to meeting on Sunday and informed me of what had taken place, and asked my advice in the affair. I knew the lady to be an excellent cook, and her husband was fond of good dinners. My answer was, "My sister, give yourself no uneasiness; his appetite will bring him to his reason by dinner time;" which accordingly came to pass. At the close of the eight months, which I am now treating of, as I was taking leave of the young disciples in York, to return home to Orange, and was preaching to them, from "Little children, keep yourselves from idols," I was taken with a pain in my head, and an ague, followed by a bilious fever, and preached not again for eighteen weeks. Reports reached my home that I was dead, and a kind of funeral sermon was preached on the occasion. Notwithstanding this, I was carried home in a carriage, after six weeks sickness, but did not preach until twelve weeks more had elapsed. In this sickness, my mind was greatly depressed. The spirit of prayer left me. My hope for heaven was shaken to the centre. The truth of what I had been preaching was doubted. The fear that I had been governed by an ambitious spirit, like Jehu, was great. In short, I was a poor, forlorn, sick worm of the dust.

One thing, however, stuck by me, because I felt it, viz: "That a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness, was absolutely necessary to constitute a man either safe or happy." When my sickness abated, my spirit was so peevish that I was out of all esteem of myself. When my health was so far recovered that I could preach, I resumed the work again, but ah! my hair was shaven, my strength was gone. Through the mercy of God, however, I was holpen with a little help; and after I was tried I saw brighter days. From this time to the year 1785, by the siege of Lord Cornwallis, the refunding of paper money, and removals to Kentucky, religion ran low in Virginia. A few events that took place in those four years, connected with the narative which I am here giving, I shall nevertheless notice.

One day, I went from home about eight miles. On my return, there arose a heavy thunder storm. Being in summer dress, I stopped under the large branches of a lofty oak, to shelter me from the rain. The rain, however, continuing, I started for home. I had gone but a little distance before the lightning struck. The next time I passed the road, I found the lightning had struck the oak, and split off one of the huge limbs, which had fallen on the very spot where I had stood about three minutes before. In the bend of Pamunky river, a little below New Castle, there is an Indian town. By the circle of the river, and a cross creek, a gate, with two lengths of fence, enclose it around. There was at that time about seventy-five proprietors. The name of their king was John Tohon. His royal majesty gave me an invitation to visit the town, and preach among them. Accordingly I went, and preached at the royal pavilion. After preaching, I baptized two persons, and then heard the king preach; for, like Melchizedeck, he was priest as well as king. His majesty did not seem to be possessed with much regal power, and by the text which he preached from, one would think that he did not seek after hierarchal authority. His text was, "Be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." I ate a good dinner with the king, slept in his apartment the following night, and left the town in the morning. Soon after this he died.

Funeral sermons in Virginia are seldom preached at the time of the interment, but sometime afterwards. I was invited to preach a sermon, on the death of a small child, long after it was dead. This was in the county of Louisa, about eighteen miles from home. The text was Isaiah 57:2. At this meeting, three persons were first awakened, who became and lived shining Christians. This was the first fruits of my labor in Louisa, where, afterwards, the Lord gave me a rich harvest. An inn-holder in Pagestown strongly importuned me to preach at his house. When I went there, he did not open his own doors for worship, but provided another place. There was some appearance that he wished the people to collect, more to purchase his drink and dinner, than to have their souls converted. After some time, he pressed me again to come and preach; when I went, he would not open his house, nor could he get any other; we, therefore, repaired to a tobacco house for worship. In this instance, I felt as if my master was mocked; and if I had felt gracious enough, I should have shaken off the dust of my feet against him; but as I was a poor imperfect creature myself, I peaceably pursued my course, after the meeting was over. Some weeks afterwards, as I was travelling the road a little distance from the place, I saw the landlord's chimney standing, but the house was consumed by fire. When I saw it, my heart burst out in sacred language, "Righteous art thou, Lord God Almighty, because thou hast judged thus." In the year 1784, I travelled northward as far as Philadelphia, where I tarried six weeks. As I went in company with Mr. Winchester, the Baptists in Philadelphia were so fearful that I was a Universalist, that I was not invited by them to preach in their meeting-house. I therefore preached Sundays and almost every night in the Hall of the University, and in private houses. But when I saw the many thousands of people in the city, and those who attended at the Hall did not exceed 200, I was resolved to try the street. Accordingly, I appointed a meeting to preach one afternoon at five o'clock, at the sign of the Blue Bell. When I went, but few appeared. I stepped upon a stick of ship timber and began by singing: on which the people came running from every lane, and continued to increase until preaching was over, when I judged there was about three hundred people. I then appointed to preach there again, when there were about twice as many. During my stay in the city, I baptized four persons in Schuylkill river, and returned home to Virginia by water. Six years afterwards I was in Philadelphia, and having preached one evening in the Baptist meeting-house, a man took me by the hand and invited me to take lodgings with him that night, which I accepted of. As we were

walking to his house, he gave the following account of himself:

"Sir, formerly I attended meeting nowhere, but when you was here six years ago, as I was at work in my shop, I heard the voice of singing as if it came down from heaven. I left my shop and ran out to see what was coming, and beheld you, sir, upon a stick of ship-timber at prayer. After prayer, I attended to your preaching, which sunk so deeply into my heart, that I have never lost it; and am now a member in the Baptist church."

Late in the year 1784, I travelled to the south-east about one hundred and fifty miles, near the Dismal Swamp, and returned in six weeks. In the spring of 1785, I went to the same district, and ranged and preached much more than I did in my first visit.

I now come to a period when religious appearance began to assume a more pleasing face than it had done for many years. In Powhattan county the work first broke out, and many became the subjects of victorious grace. Some old professors, on the other side of James River, about Chickahominy, went to see what was going on, who caught the spirit, and returning home, were instrumental of a similar work in their neighborhood, and round about in Goochland. The last of this year I took a preaching tour into the lower part of North Carolina. Preached eighteen times in that state, in a circular course, then came into Virginia and steered home.

There was a place for preaching on the line between Louisa and Goochland, called Hodger's Seats, where I sometimes preached. In the spring of 1786, I appointed a long and circular string of meetings. And as I had a strong impression that God would work at that place, I reserved five days in my tour to spend among that people. After the Association at Boar Swamp was over, I travelled through Goochland, where many people seemed to be on the alert for heaven, and came to Mr. Hedger's, where a large number of people were waiting for me. I introduced worship by repeating a hymn, "O that my load of sin were gone," &c.

All of a sudden, it seemed as if something fell from heaven upon the people. I could not speak for weeping, for some time. I am but a poor preacher, at best, and the sermon which I then preached was hardly middling, but the effect on the people was amazing. Some were crying out, some on their knees, and others prostrate on the floor. In the course of a few weeks about forty were baptized; and I believe that a majority of them dated their first awakenings at the meeting at Mr. Hedger's. In August, the same year, I attended a meeting of the General Committee, at Buckingham; after which I travelled southward to Pittsylvania, to visit that great man of God, Rev. Samuel Harris; and on my return, preached on a Sunday in Prince Edward. In the midst of the meeting, a Mr. Owen Smith was brought out, and by his shouting, and praising, and exhorting, he set the whole assembly in motion. I have never seen him since, but have received a number of letters from him. His last letter was in 1816. He was then well, and reminded me of the meeting in Prince Edward, and wrote that nine of his family belong to the church.

I had met Mr. Harris on the banks of James river, and accompanied him at his meetings through Goochland, Fluvanna and Louisa to Orange. At a meeting in Goochland, after preaching was over, Mr. Harris went into the yard, and sat down in the shade, while the people were weeping in the meeting-house, and telling what God had done for them, in order to be baptized. A gentlewoman addressed Mr. Harris as follows: "Mr. Harris, what do you think all this weeping is for? Are not all those tears like the tears of a crocodile? I believe I could cry as well as any of them, if I chose to

act the hypocrite." On this address, Mr. Harris drew a dollar out of his pocket and replied, "Good woman, I will give you this dollar for a tear, and repeat it ten times;" but the woman shed no tears.

Among the seven that were baptized at that time, was a Mrs. Johnson, daughter of Colossians James Dabney, of whom take the following account: Colossians Johnson's son Christopher paid attention to the young lady, and gained her good will, but could not obtain the consent of her father; on which Miss Betsey agreed to elope with young Johnson; and from her chamber window, on a ladder, she descended in the night, and was conducted by her lover to the house of his father. In the morning Colossians Dabney missed his daughter, and suspecting where she was gone, he armed himself with sword and pistol, and steered his course to Colossians Johnson's. When he got within call, he demanded if his daughter Betsey was there? Being answered in the affirmative, he gave orders for her to meet him on the risk of her life. Betsey's affections no ways accorded with the demand of her father, and seeing him thus armed, she was greatly distressed. Colossians Anderson being at the house, seeing what was passing, said, "Come Betsey, don't be discouraged, I'll effect a reconciliation." With that, he armed himself with sword and pistol, and marched into the field to meet Dabney, with his arm stretched out, holding his glittering sword, and Betsey walking under it. When he got near Dabney, he exclaimed, "Colossians Dabney, here is your daughter, Betsey, who wishes for a reconciliation; I have undertaken to protect her, and shall defend her with the last drop of my blood." Betsey fell upon her knees - Dabney softened - a reconciliation was effected - the young couple were married; and, at the meeting just spoken of, she was baptized: nor was it long before her husband followed her example. This event has often led my mind to reflect on an incident, infinitely more important. The guilty runaway sinner is pursued by the holy, fiery law, and threatened with eternal death; but the Mediator appears to interpose, and when the sinner is humbled by grace, a reconciliation is obtained. In June, 1787, I was ordained by laying on of hands. The ministers that officiated, were Nathaniel Saunders, John Waller and John Price. By this, not only a union took place between myself and others, but it was a small link in the chain of events, which produced a union among all the Baptists in Virginia, not long afterwards. In 1787, old Colossians Harris made me a visit, whose coming called out a vast crowd of ministers and people. His eyes - his every motion was preaching; but after he had read his text, his mind was so dark that he could not preach; and of course the lot fell on me. From my house, Colossians Harris went down to Spottsylvania, where the work of the Lord, like a mighty torrent, broke out under his ministry. A few weeks afterwards, I went down through Spottsylvania and Caroline, and was glad to see the grace of God, but was extremely mortified to find myself so far behind the work of God. In this visit, however, I caught the spirit of prayer, which lasted me home. 4 Indeed, before I got home, I gained an evidence that God would work in Orange. Having such confidence, I addressed myself to the work of the ministry with fresh courage. There was a dancing school set up in the vicinity, which was much in my way. On Sunday, after service, I told the people that I had opened a dancing school, which I would attend one quarter gratis: that I would fiddle the tune which the angels sung, if they would dance repentance on their knees. The project succeeded; the dancing school gave way, and my meetings were thronged. Solemnity, sobs, sighs and tears soon appeared. The last Sunday in October I began to baptize those that were brought out, and the work prevailed greatly. The tract of land which I occupied in this revival was more than twenty miles square, including the corners of Orange, Culpepper, Spottsylvania and Louisa. When the work seemed to languish in one neighborhood, it would break out in another, and consequently, there was a continual fall of heavenly rain from October, 1787, until

March, 1789, during which time I baptized about 400. Precisely 300 of them were baptized in 1788 - more than I have ever baptized in any other year. During the ingathering, the following events took place. In the south part of Orange, a man took his gun, with the professed intention of killing me. He had given his consent for his wife to be baptized, and the meeting was appointed for that purpose; but when we got to the water, and I had taken her by the hand to lead her into the water, there was an alarm that the man was coming with his gun. While a detachment of the congregation went to meet the man and pacify him, I thought, "now or never," and baptised her. No mischief ensued. In another part of Orange, a woman, who was in the habit of intimacy with myself and wife, invited me to preach at her house on a certain evening. When we got at the gate, her son, who was a Captain, (having been reprov'd by his mother, and taken offence at it,) met us, and said I should not preach there. I asked him if he thought he was right. "No, " said he, "I know I am wrong, and I expect to be damned for it; but I have said it and shall abide by my word." The man of the house came also to the gate, and desired us to go into the house, and said the house was his own and not his son's. The woman was at a loss what was best. I hesitated, but finally went in. As the people began to collect, the Captain withdrew with threatenings. After I arose to open the meeting by singing, he came rushing into the house, like a bear bereaved of her whelps- sprang upon the bed - took his sword and drew it out of the scabbard - and stepping off the bed with his arm extended and sword glittering, exclaimed, "let me kill the damned rascal!" As he made a stroke towards me, the point of the sword hit the joists, and he behaved like an awkward soldier. The case was this: my wife, who was seated near the head of the bed, when she saw the Captain step from the bed with his sword drawn, and draw back his arm to give the thrust, like a female angel, sprang like the lightning of heaven, clasped her arms within his elbow, around his body, locked her hands together, and held him like a vice, till the men took away his sword. We then took a lantern and went into the road and carried on our meeting. As God would have it, a young man and a young woman dated their change of heart at this meeting. As I was returning from Fredericksburg, in the lower part of Orange, a young man had married and brought his bride to his father's, where there was music and dancing. I stopped in the road, and the groom came out and wished me to drink sling with him. I asked him what noise it was that I heard in the house? He answered it was a fiddle. As he was going to the house, I requested him to bring the fiddle to me. But as this was not done, I lighted off my horse and went into the house. By the time I got in, the fiddle was hidden, and all was still. I told them, if fiddling and dancing was serving God, to proceed on, and if I could gain conviction of it, I would join them. As they did not proceed, I told them I would attempt to serve God in my way. I then prayed among them and took my leave. The next week I was sent for to come and preach at the same house. The power of the Lord was present to heal. In the course of a few weeks, numbers were converted and turned to the Lord, whom I baptized in a stream of water near the house. At another time, I had a meeting at John Lea's, in Louisa, when something seemed to descend on the people, like that which took place at Mr. Hedgers's, (mentioned before,) but the effects were not so great. The next day there were five to be baptized. The day was very cold.

While Mr. Bowles was preaching to the people, I composed the hymn:

Christians, if your hearts be warm, Ice and snow can do no harm;

If by Jesus you are priz'd, Rise, believe, and be baptiz'd.

Jesus drank the gall for you, Bore the Cross for sinners due; , Children, prove your love to him,,
Never fear the frozen stream.

Never shun the Saviour's Cross, , All on earth is worthless dross; , If the Saviour's love you feel, ,
Let the world behold your zeal. At an Association in Caroline, two others with myself were chosen to preach on Sunday. When my turn came, I felt every way unprepared. I was hoarse with a cold, and exceedingly barren in spirit. I therefore declined, and one of the others preached. While he was preaching, I doubted whether I was right in declining, and resolved that as soon as he had finished, I would do what I could. Accordingly I did. My voice improved; my ideas brightened so much that I preached about forty minutes. The people were greatly affected. On account of a similitude used, together with the shortness of the discourse, it was called the GINGER-CAKE sermon. Mr. Waller, who was the stated minister at that place, told me afterwards, that in the relations which the people gave before baptism, not less than fifteen persons had reference to the GINGERBREAD sermon. In the year 1789, nothing of importance turned up. In 1790, I travelled into New England, to see my father and relations. I preached on the way, going and coming. The term of my absence from home was four months. The number baptized thirty-two. The winter following, I made my arrangements to move into New England. Having baptized precisely seven hundred while I lived there, and leaving two churches, one in Orange, and the other in Louisa; the first containing three hundred and the other two hundred members. On the last of March, I started, with my family of a wife and eight children, and a small quantum of effects, and travelled by land to Fredericksburg, where I took ship for New England. We fell down the Rappahannock river, crossed the Chesapeake, and entered the sea between the Capes of Henry and Charles. The day after we entered the Atlantic, we were attacked by a thunder gust and heavy gale of wind, which lasted fifteen hours. The boat was crippled, the oars swept off, the quadrant injured, and some of my goods were swept from the quarter-deck. That passengers should be affrighted, is not to be wondered at; but here, the sailors all turned pale. In the midst of the gale, the wind shifted, and flung the vessel into the trough of the sea; on which the Captain stepped to the cabin door and said, "We shall not weather it many minutes." This he said, (as I judged,) not to terrify the sailors, but for my sake. The sense of it, to me, was this: "Leland, if you have got a God, now call upon him. " But there was no need of this admonition, for I had begun the work before; and can now say, that that night is the only one of my life that I spent wholly in prayer. That I prayed in faith, is more than I can say; but that I prayed in distress, is certain. About day-light, April 15th, the wind abated, but we knew not where we were for five days; for the quadrant was injured. The distress which I had at that time, so affected my nervous system, that I did not entirely recover from it for more than ten years. In time, however, we gained the port of New London, on a certain Saturday night. I did not intend to make any stay at that place, save only to get some refreshments, but the Captain had written from Fredericksburgh, to his friends in New London, that he had turned his vessel into a meeting-house, and was bringing a preacher and his family with him. On Sunday morning early it was known that the vessel lay by the wharf, and before I was up the brethren in New London came down to the vessel, to see what, for a cargo, the Captain had brought into port. The Captain told them that he intended to go to the insurance office, and demand the sum that was insured on the vessel; for if it had not been for my prayers he was sure the vessel would have been lost. The brethren invited me to go ashore, and preach to them in the state-house, which I acceded to. Finding myself courteously received, I tarried there about two months. Here I met with some success in winning souls; and here my wife was sick nigh unto death; but she had more faith

in prayer than she had in physic. The godly old Elder, Z. Darrow, came to visit us, whose prayer for my wife seemed to be answered, and she recovered. The people were very kind and liberal to me; but the expenses of my family, and the sickness of my wife, cost me about twenty dollars more than I received. But this thought came to my mind: "Jesus gave his life and blood for sinners, and shall I begrudge a few dollars for their salvation!" After preaching around in the towns about New London, on the 1st of July we left the place, and, in boats and scows, went up Connecticut river to Sunderland, and then by land to Conway, where my father and old acquaintance were living. In Conway, I purchased a house and small lot, for a temporary residence until I gained more acquaintance in the country. At this place, my family abode eight months. My travels in the meantime in the country were considerable - my success some. The last day of February, 1792, I moved into Cheshire, which has been my home the chiefest of the time since. For two or three years there was a sprinkling of blessings on the people in Cheshire, Lanesborough and Adams, so that about seventy were baptized. And in Philip's town, Canaan and the Gore, I had good success. In the year 1795, the work of God appeared in Conway. A messenger came and desired me to visit them; I went and preached twelve times among them, and baptized twelve persons at that time, and more afterwards. Here my heart caught a little heavenly fire, and I returned home to Cheshire, longing and praying that God would pour out his spirit on the people in Cheshire. I set up evening meetings, and preach about as often as once a day, for seventy days running. I have never known a time like this, when I had so much of the spirit of praying and preaching, and met with so small success. No more than seven came forward as the reward of my painful labor. In the compass of these seventy days, I had a night meeting at Deacon Wood's, in Cheshire. Going to the meeting, my mind was so solemnly impressed, that I could hardly walk. When I arose to speak, I could scarcely stand. Of the many thousands of sermons that I have preached in my life, (for solemnity of mind, discovery of heavenly things, and flow of words,) I give that the preference, and yet but small effects followed. An individual young woman only was divinely wrought upon. Christ's time was not yet come to work miraculously in Cheshire.

I continued my travels in the New England states, and state of New York, until 1797. In August, that year, I made a tour to Virginia, and was gone six months. I preached all the way there, and travelled and preached among my old friends three months, and then returned home, having travelled more than two thousand miles, and preached more than one hundred and seventy times. My friends through the whole received me kindly; but I saw no great revivals of religion anywhere, save only at Scotch Plains, among Mr. Vanhorn's people. After my return, I was busily employed in domestic concerns for about eighteen months, preparing to go to Virginia again, in August, 1799. To this end, I had sent on appointments for meetings, about one hundred miles on my way, as far as Carmel meeting-house. Having finished my domestic affairs a fortnight before my appointments began, I told the people in Cheshire, that I would preach for them every day or night until I started. At this time, a heavenly visitant came to my house - my heart, with the salutation of "Peace be to you - peace on earth and good will to men." 5 When I sat in my house, it would seem as if the room was white-washed with love. When I went into the field, a circle of heavenly mildness would seem to surround me, and the following words would be injected into my heart again, again, and again: "The Lord will work." My meetings, during this feast of tabernacles, (as I called the fortnight,) were crowded. At the meeting-house, such silence reigned as I had never seen before. My struggle of mind was great, whether I should go to Virginia and leave these hopeful appearances, or stay at home and strive to fan the sparks. And as the time drew on, my struggles

increased. I prepared for my journey, and preached my last sermon a few miles on the way. The people followed in droves, and, in time of meeting, wept bitterly. I finally went on my journey, and attended my appointments, which I before had made, the distance of one hundred miles, and then returned back. I was gone about twenty days, and preached about the same number of sermons, and baptized thirteen persons. On my return, I found the work had broken out like the mighty rushing waters. This induced me to preach every day or night until the March following, in which time more than two hundred were baptized.

Before the work made a visible appearance, and for three months afterwards, there was not a day but what I had the spirit of prayer, and a travail for souls; and often felt as if I should sink under the weight of my burden if souls were no delivered. Sometimes, individuals would lay in my heart; at other times, the longing desire would be more general. After three months I felt that spirit of prayer abate, but the spirit of preaching continued for three months afterwards, until the ingathering was over, and then the peculiar impression which I had, subsided. 6 In 1800, I made a tour of four months, travelling southward as far as Bedford, N. Y. Then eastward through Connecticut to New-London. Then pursued my course through Rhode Island, (visiting Providence and Newport,) into Bristol county. Then returning through Worcester and Hampshire counties, reached home the last of October. I was somewhat debilitated when I left home, and the summer was unusually hot, but I was preserved and enabled to preach about as many times as there were days. In this journey, I saw eight old preachers, whose ages in average, exceeded eighty years. The venerable Backus was one of them. There was a revival in his congregation, and on his request I baptized a few in the place. I have never seen him since, nor either of the eight; nor shall I ever see them in mortal bodies, for they are all dead. My journey was not altogether lost. By letters and verbal accounts, I was afterwards informed that in several places a divine blessing attended the preaching, which proved effectual unto salvation. In November, 1801, I journeyed to the south, as far as Washington, in charge of a cheese, sent to President Jefferson. Notwithstanding my trust, I preached all the way there and on my return. I had large congregations; led in part by curiosity to hear the Mammoth Priest, as I was called.

After this, I lived several years in great barrenness of soul, and had but little, if any success. In March, 1804, I removed into Dutchess County, N. Y., where I continued two years, which, (as it respects my ministry,) was a gap of lost time. Just before I left the place, a revival took place about ten miles off, where brother Luman Birch, an unordained preacher, improved, which called me there to baptize a few. In 1806, I removed back to Cheshire. The day before the total eclipse, brother Birch was ordained. It was my lot to preach the sermon, which seemed to be blessed among the people. The substance of that sermon was offered to the public, in a pamphlet, afterwards entitled "The Flying Seraphim." The following winter, I sunk into great distress of mind. It has' always been a question with me of great importance, to know how to address a congregation of sinners, as such, in gospel style. And this winter it attacked my mind with great force. Neither Gill, Hopkins, Fuller nor Wesley, could remove my difficulties. My fears were, that I did not preach right, which was the cause why I was so barren in myself and useless to others. This burden lay heavy upon me a long time. At length, at an evening meeting at a school house in Cheshire, my heart waxed a little warm with holy zeal, and I gave my spirit vent to the youth and school children, regardless of all authors and systems, which had a good effect. Four of the school children and a young man besides, came forward for baptism in a few weeks, who dated the

beginning of their religious impressions at that meeting. This little success, obtained at that trying time, gave me both relief and courage. 7 The year 1808 was a memorable year in Pownal. Religion had a great triumph in that place at that time. A man by the name of John Williams was their preacher; but he was not ordained; of course I preached and baptized, through the cold winter. The number baptized was more than sixty. Williams did not behave like a wolf, seeking to destroy, but like a goat, as if he was ignorant of what was going on. He finally turned out an abandoned character. In this revival some little boys set up a conference meeting; and as they were poor, they would meet in cowsheds and on the mountains. This was in the winter, and some of them had no shoes. When it was known, the neighbors gladly opened their houses for their accommodation. In the year 1811, while I was in the General Court at Boston, a time of refreshing came in Cheshire. After my return I baptized forty. There was a division among the people. Other ministers baptized about ten. In the height of this revival, I was taken sick of the typhus fever. What I passed through in that sickness has been published in a pamphlet. 8 In December, 1813, I started again for Virginia; and preaching on the way to Washington, I crossed the Potomac into Virginia the last day of January, 1814. I was in the state eighty days, in which time I travelled seven hundred miles, and preached more than seventy times. I never had before - I never have since - nor do I ever expect to preach to as many people in so short a time. The kindness of the people to their old friend, whom they had not seen for sixteen years, was unbounded. I shall never forget it while my memory remains. I reached Richmond on Saturday, March 5th. The Sunday before that, Elder Courtney had baptized seventy-five persons in the basin on the canal. He descended into the water and took his stand, from which he did not remove until all were baptized. He had assistants who led the candidates to and from him; and he performed the whole in seventeen minutes, notwithstanding he was seventy years old. The chiefest of the candidates were people of color. As I returned home, I preached in Dr. Staughton's meeting-house in Philadelphia, on the evening preceding the meeting of the great Convention which formed the plan of the missionary society. I arrived at home in June, after an absence of six months; having travelled in that time eighteen hundred miles, and preached about one hundred and fifty times.

After my return home, I went into the Genessee country to see my children, and late in the fall I sold my residence in Cheshire, with a view to move westward; but before I had made any purchase, as I was travelling for that purpose, about eighty miles from home, the beast on which I rode, like Balaam's ass, not only crushed my feet, but threw me to the ground and fell upon me, which broke my leg. After nearly a fortnight, I was carried home in a sleigh. The old bone was a long while growing and strengthening, and I was reduced very low. As this disaster happened, I was entirely defeated in my object of moving to the westward. My family advised me to purchase the place where I now live, which, with great reluctance I consented to, and was drawn in a sleigh, on bare ground, to my new home. After my leg got well enough, and my strength sufficient, I began to preach again, leaning on my staff.

Late in the fall of 1817, there was a precious, though not a very extensive revival in Hancock, where I attended as preacher, and baptized thirty-one, who (excepting three others) were the first that I baptized after my leg was broken. In March, 1819, a like work began in the north part of Adams, which progressed several months. The people in that place had no settled minister, but were visited by ministers who lived around them; of the seventy who united with the church, I baptized twenty-seven.

Since I began to preach in 1774, I have travelled distances, which, together, would form a girdle nearly sufficient to go round the terraqueous globe three times. The number of sermons which I have preached, is not far from eight thousand. The number of persons that I have baptised is one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight. The number of Baptist ministers whom I have personally known is nine hundred and sixty-two. Those of them whom I have heard preach, in number, make three hundred and three. Those who have died, (whose deaths I have heard of,) amount to three hundred. The number that have visited me at my house is two hundred and seven. The pamphlets which I have written, that have been published, are about thirty.

I am now in the decline of life, having lived nearly two-thirds of a century. When Jacob had lived twice as long, his days had been few and evil. I have spent my years like a tale that is told. Looking over the foregoing narrative, there is proof enough of imperfection; and yet what I have written is the best part of my life. A history seven times as large might be written of my error in judgment, incorrectness of behaviour, and baseness of heart. My only hope of acceptance with God, is in the blood and righteousness of Jesus Christ. And when I come to Christ for pardon, I come as an old grey-headed sinner; in the language of the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner."

How long I have to stay on earth I know not. What labors or sufferings I have yet to sustain below, I cannot tell. O, that the God of all grace would keep me in his holy care, and never suffer me to make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, but make me faithful unto death, that I might finish my course with joy and receive a crown at last.

June 15, 1824. - It is now more than four years since I closed the fore-going narrative of events. My life and health have been preserved until the present time. In several places within the district of my ministration, there have been times of refreshing, so that I have baptized seventy-four persons in the four years. The 14th of May past was my birthday: I preached on the occasion a septennarian sermon.

January 14, 1825 - I have preached in four hundred and thirty-six meeting-houses, thirty-seven court-houses, several capitols, many academies and school-houses; barns, tobacco-houses and dwelling-houses: and many hundreds of times on stages in the open air. Not the place, but the presence of Christ, and a right temper of mind, makes preaching solemnly easy and profitable. My congregations have consisted of from five hearers to ten thousand.

December 12, 1826. - Faint yet pursuing. The summer past I have spent chiefly in travelling and preaching. I have attended three Associations - the jubilee and funeral of the Presidents - as also a general meeting which lasted four days - preached eighty-one times, and seen eighty-six Baptist preachers since the first of June.

Two remarkable events have taken place the present year. Two old patriots, both of them Ex-Presidents, died on the 4th of July; just fifty years after they signed the Declaration of Independence - John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. The first aged ninety-one, the other eighty-three. Mr. Jefferson drew the Declaration of Independence; and by his writings and administration, he has justly acquired the title of the Apostle of Liberty. In the state of Vermont, the Governor and Lieutenant - Governor are both Baptist preachers - Ezra Butler and Aaron Leland. This is a new thing in the world.

March 25, 1827. - Baptized ten candidates, which makes my baptismal number one thousand three hundred and sixty-two. It is not probable that I ever shall baptize many (if any) more. From pretty correct information, I find I have now living eighty-two descendants, including children, grand-children, and great-grand-children. A few of my posterity have died at their respective homes; but I have never had a coffin or a death at my house.

If a conscious sinner may apply words to himself which were spoken of Abraham, they are as follows: "For I called him alone, and blessed him, and increased him." May 6. - Beyond my expectation, this day I baptized fifteen, making up the number 1,377 May 27. - Wondering still: preached this day to a large concourse, and baptized eleven, making 1,388

Baptized 4 July 4. - Preached to nearly 1,000 people, and baptized six, two of whom were my grandchildren, making 1,398 July 15. - Baptized another of my grand-children and four others, 5 Baptized 3 July 29 - Baptized 6 Aug. 12. - Baptized five in Cheshire and three in Lanesborough, 8 Making 1,420

I have a great-grand-child, (Helen Maria Brown,) who has now living ten direct, and great grand-fathers and grand-mothers.

Aug. 26. - Baptized 5 Baptized 1 Sept. 9. - Baptized 5 Oct. 7. - Baptized 10 One of these last was Eunice Baxter, whose grand and great grandmothers I baptized more than thirty years past.

Oct. 21. - Baptized 4 Nov. 4 - Baptized 2 Nov. 5. - Baptized 2 Nov. 11, - Baptized 2.

One of these was seventy-seven years old, which added to the age of the administrator, (seventy-three) would make one hundred and fifty years.

Nov. 30. - Baptized 1 Dec. 9. - Baptized 2 Dec. 17. - Baptized 1 Dec. 30. - Baptized 2 Feb. 1, 1838. - Baptized 1 The father and mother of this candidate have fourteen children now living; ELEVEN of whom I have baptized.

Baptized five more, making 1,465. May 14, 1828. - I am this day seventy-four years old, able to travel and preach as doors open; and labor with my hands as duty calls. The sins of childhood - the vices of youth - the improprieties, pride and arrogance of riper years; with the presumptuous and blasphemous suggestions of my mind, up till the present time, lie heavy on my mind, and sink my spirits very low. It is true, I have had a hope for more than fifty years, that my sins were atoned for by the blood of Christ, and forgiven for his name's sake; but still I find them attached to my character, and must forever, for truth cannot decrease. When the saints in heaven look on the blessed Jesus, and remember the doleful sorrow and pain which their sins cost him, what kind of feeling must they have? To call, their feeling sorrow, tears or mourning, would be unscriptural; but a remembrance of their sins, a view of their Redeemer, and a sense of his bloody agony, must give them a surprizing - - , fill them with an exquisite hatred to sin, and raise their songs of praise to him who has redeemed them.

December 7, 1828. - This day, for the first time, I baptized a man in a font, near the pulpit, in Albany. During my stay in Albany, which was four days, I was introduced to three governors. My rusticity of manners, and the humble rank I fill, make such interviews more painful than flattering. May 14, 1829. - This day I am seventy-five years old. Nothing singular with respect to myself has occurred in the course of the last year. My greatest afflictions in life have been of that character

that I have had to bear them all alone; a communication of them to others, (if indeed I could have done it,) would only have added to their weight.

I noticed, in a former page, that in the year 1795, I had the most solemn meeting at Deacon Nathan Wood's, that I had ever experienced, which was attended with but small success. I have now to add, that in the lapse of something more than thirty years, I have baptized fifty-seven grand and great-grandchildren of the said Deacon Wood; all of whom, except one, are now living, as is believed. May 14, 1830. - Another year of my unprofitable life is gone. Nothing worth recording has taken place with me in the year. Of the fourteen hundred and seventy-one that I have baptized, but very few of them had the seal of the covenant put upon them in infancy, and but one or two ever attended Sunday Schools. May 14, 1831. - I am yet living and enjoying good health. The year past I have had a large epistolary correspondence with distant friends; and have been advertised in the newspapers, through the states, as an infidel and an outcast. May the Lord increase my faith and make me more holy, which will be the best refutation of the libel. From the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs; even glory to the righteous: but I said, my leanness, my leanness. It is now said that there is a great ingathering into the fold of Christ in all the country around; but according to appearances, I am left behind. Well, let me, like John the Baptist, be full of joy, that others increase while I decrease. I have had my day, and must now give way to the young. The unchangeable God has one class of servants after another to work in his vineyard.

July 11. - Why art thou cast down, O my soul! The morning cometh as well as the night. Since writing the above note, God has graciously poured out his spirit in Hancock.

Yesterday I baptized ten, which, together with three scattering ones, raises my baptismal list to fourteen hundred and eighty-four.

Baptism does not put away the filth of the flesh; it is the answer of a good conscience towards God, and only figures out the salvation of the soul; which is by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead: who died for our sins and rose again for our justification.

July 17. - Baptized 4 " 24 - Baptized 2 " 31 - Baptized 4

One of these four was eighty-two years old. In the winter of 1800, I baptized one who was ninety years of age. The youngest that I ever baptized was nine years old, in 1788. I have ever found water a harmless element, and baptism a pleasing work.

Aug. 22. - Baptized 1 Sept. 4 - Baptized 1 " 18. - Baptized 2 Oct. 2. - Baptized 4 Oct. 16 - Baptized 3 " 23 - Baptized 7 " 30. - Baptized 3 "

Total Making 1,515

Nov. 10. - After living in New-Ashford more than sixteen years, this day I removed into Cheshire again. My age and decays admonish me that the time of my departure is not far distant. When I die, I neither deserve nor desire any funeral pomp. If my friends think best to rear a little monument over my body, "Here lies the body of JOHN LELAND, who labored - 9 to promote piety, and vindicate the civil and religious rights of all men, " is the sentence which I wish to be engraved upon it. May 14, 1834. - I am this day fourscore years old; have just returned from Chatham, (30 miles off,) where I preached three times, at the opening of a new meeting-house, and this day at Cheshire, to 600 people by estimation. I have now several little preaching tours appointed; but my

Maker only knows whether life and strength will be given me to fill them.

It is now sixty years since I began to preach. But ah! how little I have done! and how imperfect that little! May 15. - Last night fell the largest snow that I ever knew so late in the season.

Many changes in the mechanical, political and religious world have taken place in the course of my life. Most of the changes among us in factories and machines are trans-Atlantic. The steam machines are original Americans. The plea for religious liberty has been long and powerful; but it has been left for the United States to acknowledge it a right inherent, and not a favor granted: to exclude religious opinions from the list of objects of legislation. Sunday schools and missionary societies are of long standing; but camp-meetings and protracted meetings (in their present mode of operation) are novel. What changes may hereafter take place, to me is uncertain. None, however, that will change the character of God, destroy the kingdom of Christ, or assure any of heaven without repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus.

I have never labored hard to support the CREED of any religious society; but have felt greatly interested that all of them should have their RIGHTS secured to them beyond the reach of tyrants.

Brevity is the soul of wit, the nerve of argument and the bone of good sense, but loquacity palsies attention, massacres time, and darkens counsel.

August 17, 1834. - This day I baptized five, which are the first that I have baptized since I was eighty years old. My baptismal list is now fifteen hundred and twenty-four.

January 28, 1835 - I have been preaching sixty years to convince men that human powers were too degenerate to effect a change of heart by self-exertion; and all the revivals of religion that I have seen have substantially accorded with that sentiment. But now a host of preachers and people have risen up, who ground salvation on the foundation that I have sought to demolish. The world is gone after them, and their converts increase abundantly. How much error there has been in the doctrine and measures that I have advocated, I cannot say; no doubt some, for I claim not infallible inspiration. But I have not yet been convinced of any mistake so radical as to justify a renunciation of what I have believed, and adopt the new measures. I am waiting to see what the event will be; praying for light; open to conviction; willing to retract, and ready to confess when convicted.

July 4, 1835. - It is now fifty-nine years since the independence of the United States was declared. In this length of time the inhabitants have increased from three to fourteen millions. The changes that have taken place are innumerable. Sixty-five years ago I was old enough to observe the face of things, and see what was going on: had I been in a dead sleep the sixty-five years, and were now to awake, such a change has taken place in the face of the earth, in architecture, in all the arts, in costume and regimen, and in the forms of religion, that I should doubt whether I had awakened in the same world. The love of money, sexual correspondence, diseases and death, however, remain stationary.

1. To quote and transcribe all the texts, with the peculiar bearings each had on my mind, would swell the narrative too large.

2. From a manuscript, written mostly in 1800, the following extract is taken:

"Volumes might be written upon the wanderings, darkness and errors of my life, which would afford no pleasure to others in hearing thereof, and which would be of no advantage to myself to relate; and, therefore, I shall pass them by, and attend only to a few of God's gracious and notable dealings with me, a great sinner, in my ministerial labors. Under all the trials and temptations that I have passed through for twenty-six years, I have never felt guilty for undertaking to preach at the time when I began. I cannot reproach myself with undertaking the work from any other motive than a real belief that it was my indispensable duty. I might have been deceived; but a hypocrite I was not, so far as I have ever yet seen. Yet, from the 20th June, 1774, until November, 1779, I had one general trial in my mind. It was this: I did not possess that strong desire for the conversion of sinners, that many others evidently had. This made me fear that all was not right with me."

3. In June, this year, the first Camp Meeting was attended in Caroline county, that I ever heard of. By arrangement, eight or ten Baptist preachers held the meeting three days and nights; but, as nothing extraordinary followed, it was not repeated; and it was a number of years before those meetings arose in the West, and have spread all over the United States.

4. "On my return through Caroline county, after I had been preaching, I sat in the door-yard of a friend's house conversing as usual; but here a strange solemnity seized my mind, and a strong drawing of soul to God inspired my breast, such as I had not enjoyed for some years. I soon lost sight of my company, and was conversant at the throne of grace. This frame of mind continued, with some abatements, until I reached home, which was two days afterwards. About three miles before I reached home, I obtained great comfort in believing that God would work among the people in Orange.- MS.

5. In August, 1799, my soul was again visited with the same peace and holy longings after God and the salvation of men as at former times. My preaching then, through grace, was not coasting around the shallow shores of doubt and uncertainty, but launching out into the deep for a draught. Attention and solemnity followed." - MS.

6. At the close of the original MS., before referred to, he writes, "I have experienced seven instances in my life in praying for the sick and maimed, when there appeared to be such an immediate relief granted, that I should be unbelieving and ungrateful not to mention them among the signal favors of God to me. I have passed through many fatigues in travel, several perils occasioned by mobs and furious men, many wants and pinches in life, and many tokens of providential relief; but after all, remain an unholy, helpless creature, and if the Lord does not keep me, I shall fall, disgrace myself, bring the ministry under blame, and be ashamed to read what I have now written. Amen."

7. "At the close of the year 1806, I got amazingly distressed on account of my preaching, fearing that my barrenness in the ministry was owing to improper addresses. The Methodists were amazing successful and zealous, and the addresses of their ministers were general and undaunted. I visited them - I conversed with them; they were all for heaven, and assured they were in the way; but their zeal and confidence appeared to me like the mighty wind and fire in Elija's vision, and I could not discover that any with whom I conversed had any knowledge of themselves, of the law of God, or of the way of pardon. The Gillite mode of addressing sinners, seemed a little different from the New Testament mode. The Hopkinsian method appeared as if it took all the wisdom of God to devise a way for an honorable pretence to damn men. Dr. Fuller only cast

another bundle of straw on the fire. So that the great query which has agitated my mind for more than thirty years, 'How is a congregation of sinners to be addressed?' at the time I am speaking of, fell with such distress upon my mind, that I could hardly contain myself. But in the midst of my difficulties, I had a meeting at a school house; in the time of service my soul got into the trade winds, and without consulting Gill, Hopkins, Fuller, or Wesley, without comparing our translation with the Septuagint, Chaldee, or the King of Spain's Bible, I addressed the scholars and young people in a way I never can without God helps me. The spirit of the Lord fell upon them. Very soon after this, five of them came forward and confessed Christ." Continuation of MS. 1807.

8. Five Hours Conflict.

9. It is now (1831) 57 years.

003 Further Sketches

FURTHER SKETCHES OF THE LIFE OF JOHN LELAND.

IT is much to be regretted that Mr. Leland has not left us a more full and minute history of his eventful life. Rich as it was in interesting and instructive incidents, he has compressed the whole in the space of a few pages, remarking, with his characteristic modesty and humility, that "this was all that was worth preserving;" while, had he registered them all with as much minuteness as is usually found in biographies, the narrative must have extended to volumes. The difficulty of authenticating incidents, as well as the narrow limits to which the further notices must be confined, render it impossible to add more than a brief continuation of his history to the time of his death, together with slight sketches of some important circumstances, which he has deemed proper entirely to omit, or slightly to mention. The intervening period, between the year 1835, (at which time his narrative closes) and the death of his wife, October 5th, 1837, was spent in Cheshire, Massachusetts, to which place he had removed in 1831. Here he occupied the leisure left him by his ministerial labors, in the care of the little spot of ground he had chosen, where he probably expected to end his days; while Mrs. Leland, who had been emphatically a "helpmate" for him through many years, attended, alone, to the management of his domestic affairs, and gave considerable attention to the cultivation of a small garden. Here they exercised that cordial hospitality for which they were always remarkable, in the entertainment of the many friends who visited them from time to time, setting examples of piety and of the Christian virtues which will not soon be forgotten by those whose good fortune it was to be their neighbors. The afflictive stroke which at length deprived him of the companion who had trodden with him so great a share of the rough path of life, was rendered doubly painful by the nature of the disease, which left to her friends not even the sad consolation of alleviating the distress they could not remove. A difficulty in her throat, which had been a long time increasing, at length reached such a height, that some months before her death, she could swallow nothing but liquids. The ability to do even this, continued to decrease from day to day, her strength wasting for want of nourishment, till life could no longer retain its feeble hold, and she literally starved to death. A more than passing notice is due to the character of this extraordinary woman. She was not less remarkable in her sphere, than her husband in his. Her eulogy has been written by the pen of inspiration. No one who knew her and was acquainted with her history, can fail to observe that in the whole of the admirable description of the virtuous woman, (Proverbs 31:1-31..) there is scarcely a circumstance named, that did not meet in her, a literal fulfilment.

Liberality, and kindness to the needy, formed a prominent feature in her character; none that appealed to her for aid that it was in her power to bestow, were ever sent empty away. This liberality, joined with that love of independence, which was always a predominant and cherished peculiarity of both Mr. and Mrs. Leland, forbade her ever forgetting an act of kindness shown to herself, or failing to cancel the obligation by bestowing a much greater in return. In strength of mind, firmness of purpose, courage and self possession in danger, fortitude in circumstances of trial and suffering, indeed, in all those qualities that combine to produce energy of character, she

has probably had few superiors, in any age; yet, in the exercise of these manly virtues, as they are sometimes called, she never acquired that masculine bearing that is too apt to accompany the possession of these qualities in the female sex. Though far removed from the softness and weakness which unfits a woman for enduring hardship, privation, and suffering, she was equally so from the opposite extreme; sustaining as well the delicacy as the dignity of the female sex. An example of that habitual presence of mind as well as courage, which never failed her in any emergency, is found in the instance in which, like a guardian angel, she saved her husband from the murderer's sword. A similar illustration of these, and other strongly marked traits, is presented in the fact, that when one of her children, a little girl of four years old, had her head crushed under the wheels of a loaded cart which passed directly over it, she sat through the long hours of night with the child in her arms, pressing with her fingers a divided artery, to prevent the effusion of blood which would have caused immediate death. The child, almost miraculously saved, "rose up to call her blessed," and still lives to receive the same tribute of gratitude from a numerous posterity.

Constant, active industry was a distinguishing characteristic of Mrs. Leland. From its beginning to its close, her life was one of unceasing toil. Even in age, when necessity no longer required such exertion, the habit of active employment had become so much a part of her being, and her natural independence of feeling was so strong, that she could not be prevailed upon to desist from her accustomed round of domestic labors, till her exhausted strength compelled her to relinquish them into other hands. Neither was her industry of that noisy, bustling kind, whose results are usually in inverse proportion to the amount of effort employed. To her might be applied, with peculiar propriety, the encomium bestowed upon another. "She was always busy, and always quiet." The guiding hand of Providence was never perhaps more evident, than in directing Elder Leland's choice to so suitable a companion for the stormy times of the revolution. Her training had been emphatically in the school of adversity; and her history is a striking exemplification of the sentiment which one of her own sex has no less truly than beautifully expressed.

-Strength is born In the deep silence of long suffering hearts; Not amidst joy." At the age of two years she lost a fond and somewhat affluent father, and was driven from a good home by a brutal step-father, when a little more than four years old. Her feet were partly frozen off by exposure; soon after the canker attacked her throat, eat out her palate, 10 and for a long time her life was despaired of. At length, he, who in the midst of wrath even remembereth mercy, bound up her broken constitution, and gave her grace to see how great things she must suffer for his name's sake. When she recovered her health, she found that others had taken possession of all the property, and nothing lay before her but a life of dependence and servitude. But the God in whom she trusted fortified her heart and strengthened her hands, and when he, to whom her faith was plighted, said, "I go to proclaim a Saviour's love in a land overrun with British soldiers and American Tories, and trodden down by a dominant established clergy, she replied like Rebecca, "I will go. " Her faith was firm in him who had said, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." The "poor man's blessings" were here. She had a numerous family, but scanty means, and through the revolution which had begun when she married, her trials were many and severe. Often was she left alone with her little ones, far from neighbors, her husband gone, with very little prospect of pecuniary reward, while runaway blacks who had neither courage to join the British army, nor patriotism to join the American, were horded together around her for plunder and sometimes

murder. Many a long hour she plied her needle by moonlight, to prepare clothing for her little ones, fearful lest the ray of a lamp from her window might attract a bloody foe. Often, too, the famished soldier came to her for food and shelter through the stormy night. Her God had said, "feed the hungry," and she obeyed; but when she had given till naught was left, the sleepless hours were spent in watchfulness and prayer - for oh! if the assassin's knife should be concealed beneath the soldier's garb, she could not fly and leave her little ones behind. How often she prayed that God would preserve the children he had graciously given, and all were preserved to lament the best of mothers. This sketch, given by one of her family, who had often heard from her own lips, the story of those "troubulous times," may serve to give some idea of the strength of character and depth of piety which sustained her in the midst of trials such as few women are called to endure. The following circumstance is introduced as illustrating her capability of endurance, not only of physical, but of mental suffering. Incredible as it may seem, and inexplicable as it certainly is, the fact itself is unquestionable, as it rests on the testimony of Elder Leland himself.

One afternoon, they were startled by a sound somewhat similar to that made by a large fly when suddenly confined, apparently proceeding from within the wall of the house. After an unsuccessful effort to discover the cause, he left home and was absent six weeks without thinking again of the circumstance. On the evening of his return, however, he was reminded of it by a groan so sudden and piercing as to make him start up in amazement; his surprise was not lessened, when, upon inquiry he learned that the same had been heard every night of his absence, recurring each night a few minutes later than the preceding, and continuing about ten minutes at a time. It continued to be heard in the same manner, eight months, becoming at every return louder and more terrible. As this was at the period (spoken of in the autobiography) of an extensive revival in York and the adjacent counties, he was, consequently, absent a considerable part of the time, and Mrs. Leland was left alone with two little children, the eldest less than three years old, who, when the sound began to be heard, would cling around her in terror, exclaiming "the groaner has come." As often as any examination was made of the spot whence the noise seemed to issue, with the view of discovering whether it proceeded from some animal confined within the wall, it removed to another place, and thus defied all attempts at investigation. Wearied at length by unsuccessful efforts to discover a natural cause, Elder Leland resolved to try the effect of prayer; accordingly, when in the darkness of midnight, the dreadful moanings again commenced, he betook himself to the all-conquering weapon. Said he, in relating it to a friend, "if ever I prayed in my life, it was then." He prayed, that if it was a messenger of good, he might be emboldened to speak to it, and learn its errand, but if it was a spirit of evil, that it might be commanded to depart, and suffered to trouble them no more. During the prayer, the sound grew louder and more terrific, till at the conclusion, in a piercing shriek it departed, and never returned again. Those who have heard Elder Leland relate the incident, describe the sound he made in imitation of it, as unearthly and frightful to the last degree. It may be left to the imagination of the reader to picture to itself the amount and intensity of mental suffering which this event alone must have produced.

It has been remarked of Mrs. Leland, that her faith was strong. Indeed, on some occasions, it seemed to rest on grounds that partook of the character of revelations. An instance of this kind occurred in the storm by which they were overtaken on their passage from Virginia to New England, in 1791. After twelve hours of incessant watching and agonizing prayer, expecting momentarily to go to the bottom, she appeared to sink into a slumber; but presently turning to her

husband, she exclaimed, "We shall not be lost." She had received this assurance from a figure in white which seemed to stand before her, measuring off piece after piece of a long white cord, and which said to her, "The vessel cannot sink, I have under-girded it." In her last illness, she exhibited the utmost patience and resignation under all her sufferings. She spoke with great warmth and animation of the Divine goodness to her, and especially found cause of thankfulness in the circumstance, that for many weeks before her death, she did not feel the sensation of hunger. She had very humiliating views of herself; and desires proportionably great to exalt and magnify the riches of that grace which had proved sufficient in every scene of trial hitherto, and which she trusted would not fail her in the last; and truly it did not; for when the hour of release arrived, so gently did the hand of death loosen the bonds of her captivity, that not a groan was heard by those who stood around her bed, and a long life of eminent usefulness was crown'd by a death of "perfect peace." On the 12th October, 1837, a few days after the death of his wife, Elder Leland removed to the house of his son-in-law, Mr. James Greene, in Lanesborough, where he resided most of the time until his death. Thence he made frequent preaching excursions to the neighboring towns, and sometimes took journeys of considerable length. In the summer of 1838, he visited Utica and its vicinity, (the residence of his eldest son,) and was absent several weeks. The following letter, to his daughter, was written during his absence.

August 8, 1838.

* * I am now at Deerfield, and have made it a call by home for about ten days past. The crops of the earth, and the heat of the air, are great in all places where I have been. I have calls enough to preach, and have hitherto had strength to answer those calls, though in a poor, imperfect manner. My health and appetite are as good as common. All is uncertain when, or whether ever I shall return to Berkshire again. My life is not in my own hands, but I commit it, and all that I have, to the care of that Gracious Being who has fed and preserved me through an unprofitable life. I hope you will indulge no unnecessary anxiety about me; for I deserve but small favors from men, and less from the Creator. Farewell, my Fanny. Shun all the errors you have seen in me: be faithful unto death, and you will receive a crown of life.

JOHN LELAND. His health, after his return, was such as for some days seriously to alarm his friends. He, however, soon recovered. In the fall of 1839, his daughter, with whom he resided, was attacked by an illness, which, after two years and a half of intense suffering, released her from the world and its cares; not, however, till she had seen her father, whose anxious solicitude in her behalf she fully reciprocated, removed to a better world. During the winter of 1840-41, he thought best, in consideration of her health, and some other circumstances, to remove, for a few weeks, to the house of Mr. Chapman, in Cheshire. He continued to "do the work of an evangelist;" and at the time of his last call at his daughter's, was on his way to North Adams, where he was soon to end his days. On the evening of the 8th January, he preached, for the last time, to the people of that village. It is matter of regret, that this discourse, interesting not only in itself, but especially so from the circumstances of its delivery, cannot be presented entire to the public. But, as it is well known that he never wrote even the heads of his sermons, the memories of his hearers are the only source from which we can draw, for even these. A friend has kindly furnished a sketch from recollection, which is here sub-joined.

"The text was from 1 John 2:20; 1 John 2:27 - 'But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. But the anointing which ye have received of him, abideth in you; and you need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.'

"He first spoke of the nature and character of the Holy Spirit, the unction referred to, from whence it came, &c., and remarked that the same that is sometimes compared to fire and water, is here likened to oil. He spoke of the properties of oil; its being used to lubricate the wheels of machinery; and when ignited, to give light and heat; and when applied to an abraded surface, or painful limb, to mitigate pain and suffering, and to heal the injury or wound., in all which uses it resembled the unction spoken of in the text. True Christians are anointed ones; anointed with gifts and spiritual endowments by the Spirit of Grace which comes from the Holy One, enlightening and strengthening the eyes of the understanding, and enabling those who receive it, to 'know all things' concerning Christ and his religion. Those who know the truth, are by it prepared to discern what is contrary thereto. It will preserve those in whom it abides, and teaches them to abide in Christ. He spoke of the resurrection - of the new birth - said no one could experience it while believing in the doctrine of universal salvation. 11 He could extend hope and charity to those who believed that sentiment, after a change of heart, but not before.

"It is pleasant and mournful to my soul, at this moment, to recollect with what benignity of countenance he pronounced his last benediction."

After the services were closed, he went to the house of Mr. Darling. A number of friends calling, he conversed freely and cheerfully, and attended prayers before retiring to bed, which he did at a rather late hour. An unusual noise being soon after heard in his chamber, Mr. D. went immediately to the room, where he found him prostrate on the floor. Feeling unwell, and a disposition to vomit, he had attempted to rise, and, as he said, "his limbs would not obey him. " He was placed in bed, and means used to restore warmth to his stiffened limbs. They were partially successful, and he obtained a little rest. He had chills, however, through the night, followed by heat and thirst. He arose and dressed himself in the morning; but, being very feeble, a medical friend in the village was called in. He was pronounced very ill; and, when asked whether he thought he should recover, said "he had not the token." In his former illnesses, though he had been, to human appearance, on the very verge of the grave, he had received some token which impressed him with the conviction that he should recover. But as, in this instance, he gained no such evidence, he seemed to think it useless to make much effort for his recovery.

"In this," says the physician who attended him, "I was not much disappointed, having known before that he had little confidence in medicine, unless well mixed with prayer. He freely consented, however, to use whatever remedies I thought best to administer. Not wishing to burthen his mind with even the small quantity of medicine I thought proper to give him, I directed the watchers, during the night, to mingle it with his drinks. This plan succeeded only until the next morning, when he said, 'take it away, and give me some clean water.' On the morning of the 10th, he was apparently better - rather talkative - related a story, or drew a comparison at every change in the conversation. At evening he was worse. He complained that he could neither stop thinking, nor direct his thoughts. His cough was becoming harder, and his breathing more laborious. He spoke with difficulty - said his tongue would not obey him. He had now most of the distinguishing

symptoms of peripneumonia notha.

"11th. In the morning, easier - at evening, worse than the preceding. He had so little command of his tongue, that it was difficult to understand him. I continued the use of some medicine, though I now despaired of his recovery. On the morning of the 12th, we thought him somewhat better. He conversed pleasantly, and his eyes sparkled with much of that brilliancy of intellect which they were accustomed to exhibit when in health. In the evening, he was again worse; and while I was sitting by his bed, supposing him asleep, he said, (addressing himself,) 'well, I have nothing more to do, but die.'

"13th. Failing. He suffered apparently little, except his laborious breathing. Indeed, during his sickness, there was but a solitary instance in which he mentioned having any pain - it was in his left side, and continued but a few minutes. His dissolution was now almost hourly expected.

"On the 14th, Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, with whom he had been boarding in Cheshire, visited him. He seemed much gratified, and, to our surprise, immediately began to make arrangements to return with them. In this, a little aberration of mind was apparent. With some assistance he clothed himself, called for his satchel, into which he put his Bible, then for his bills for board and medical attendance, all which being adjusted, he expressed a desire to set out for home. He was, however, prevailed on to lie down and rest a while after the fatigue he had undergone, and was assisted to the bed, from which I do not recollect that he ever again rose." To those members of his family who could not be with him, it was a consoling reflection, even in the midst of their grief, that the hand of Providence had cast him into a family of kind friends, where nothing conducive to his comfort or recovery, would be left untried. One daughter alone was permitted the privilege of watching his pillow of sickness, and standing by his dying couch. Speaking of some of his exercises, and of the closing scene, she thus remarks:-

"In the beginning of his sickness he seemed conscious of his approaching dissolution - said he was ready when called, and calmly gave orders respecting his funeral. The day on which he died, he said to his physician- 'Yesterday, doctor, a dark cloud came over - I did not know but I should fail in my expectations above.' Choked with the bitter remembrance, he paused, but soon added - 'It's not so today.'

"His thoughts would frequently run back to her who had so often bent over his wasting form in previous sicknesses, and he would speak of the good things she used to do for him.

"Early in the evening, a young preacher (Rev. Mr. Alden) came in, and said to him - 'Well, Father Leland, we are going to hold a prayer-meeting this evening. Have you any advice to give?' 'If you feel it in your hearts, I am glad. Forms are nothing.' These were nearly his last words; but his arm was not paralyzed, neither was his heart chilled. With his own hand he gave his own tobacco to his friends present, and indicated by signs that they should smoke. About 11 o'clock, he beckoned me to him, and tried to say 'go to bed.' I found his limbs were stiffening, and his senses lulling, and anxious to be near him till all was over, I hesitated, but finally, at the solicitation of one of the watchers, left the room. The man soon followed, and said, 'you had better come back.' I, came. Not a finger had moved. His spirit had taken rest in the bosom of its God."

Thus died JOHN LELAND - a man eminent above many for piety and usefulness, whose name is connected with all that is pure in patriotism, lovely in the social and domestic virtues, philanthropic

in feeling and unction, arduous, disinterested, and self-denying in the labors of the ministerial calling; one whose place in society, in the church, and in the ranks of the ministry, will not soon be filled - in the hearts of those who knew him - never.

He died, as he had lived, a witness for the truth, testifying, with his last breath, the value of that religion, and that only, which has its seat in the heart. His life had been unostentatious; his aspirations after worldly honors, ever low and feeble; his humility and sense of dependence on God, deep-felt and abiding- and thus he died.

"Being with him in his last illness," (Mr. Alden remarks in his funeral sermon,) "more or less every day, I think I may say, I never saw a Christian feel more deeply his own unworthiness. 'Bury me,' said he, 'in an humble manner. I want no encomiums; I deserve none. I feel myself a poor, miserable sinner, and Christ is my only hope.' Being asked, very near his end, what were his views of the future, he exclaimed, with both hands extended upward, and a smile I can never forget, 'My prospects of heaven are clear.' He seemed already to feel the everlasting rest laying its sweet influences over his soul, and bearing it up, taking away the sting of death." His remains were conveyed to Cheshire for interment, where, on the 17th, a funeral discourse was pronounced over them by Rev. John Alden, from Revelation 14:1-20 and Revelation 13:12 The weather was extremely unpropitious, yet the concourse, assembled from that and the adjacent towns, was large, and many a tearful eye testified that no common occasion had called them together. Though but one child, "according to the flesh," was permitted to follow his relics to the grave, yet many, from the youth to the gray-haired man, who mingled their tears over his coffin, felt that they were gazing for the last time upon the countenance of a beloved "father in the Lord."

He was laid beside his wife, and a simple obelisk of blue marble, commemorative of both, marks their common resting-place. On its west side is inscribed the epitaph prepared by himself some years before his death: "Here lies the body of the Rev. JOHN LELAND, of Cheshire, who labored 67 years to promote piety and vindicate the civil and religious rights of all men. He died January, 14, 1841, aged 85 years and 8 months." On the north side is the following: "Sarah, consort of Rev. John Leland. She died October 5, 1837, aged 84 years." On the south: "This monument was erected by the children of the deceased, to point out the resting-place of their revered parents."

Having followed him to the end of his course, it remains for us to glance, in a brief retrospect, at some circumstances which he has omitted. It is doubtless the case that many of these, could they be collected, and their authenticity proved, would add greatly to the interest of the narrative; but the fact, that it has been found impossible to obtain them, will sufficiently account for the omission of any that may be deemed important. To understand and appreciate the character of Elder Leland, it is only necessary to read his writings, and to trace the operation of the principles and sentiments they contain, in the actions of his life. That his writings were a transcript of his mind and heart, none will deny, who knew him. The candor and openness with which he ever avowed his sentiments, even when they subjected him to reproach and censure, are well known. Conversing with a friend on one occasion, he remarked - "Though I have secrets which I would not reveal to you, or any one else, I have not a religious secret in the world." The same frankness marked the expression of his political opinions. That his independence of mind aided materially in supporting this character, will be evident when we consider how many individuals there are who dare not be honest - who have not the moral courage to sustain them in a course which they feel

to be right, and in the expression of sentiments which they inwardly approve. A remark of Elder Leland, on this subject, is suggested by these reflections.

"Though in a religious point of view," said he, "self-dependence (by which he meant the opposite of the Christian's-trust in God) is most pernicious and fatal in its tendency, yet, in worldly matters, it is one of the best qualities a man can possess."

Through a long life, Elder Leland sustained, with uniform consistency, the two-fold character of the Patriot and the Christian. For his religious creed he acknowledged no directory but the Bible. He loved the pure, unadulterated word of truth; and, as a minister of that word, zealous and faithful, he preached it, as far as he was able, unmixed with the doctrines and commandments of men, "not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind." He was clear in exposition, happy in illustration, often powerful and eloquent in appeals to the conscience and heart. He insisted, in absolute and unqualified terms, on the great fundamental truths of the gospel, the necessity of regeneration, faith and repentance; but, on points not essential to salvation, though his opinions were no less firmly established, and he never shrunk from advocating them on proper occasions, yet he did not censure or denounce those who differed from him, nor exclude from fellowship, as Christians, any who gave evidence of a gracious change, whatever might be their peculiar doctrinal views. He never engaged in controversy; and when any of his published opinions were disputed, or commented upon, as was sometimes the case, with severity, he preferred to "let the matter rest a little, and then give another thrust," as he expressed it, to the waste of time, repetitions, and tediousness of reviews and replies. His political creed was based upon those "self-evident truths" of equality, and of inherent and inalienable rights, recognised by the master spirits of the revolution as the principles for the support of which they pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." As a politician, he was above the influence of any but sincere and patriotic motives. He was a statesman, rather than a politician. He studied the fundamental principles of government, and drew his conclusions directly from them, without any intervening medium of self or party interest. He judged men by their measures, and measures by their adaptedness to secure that result which he deemed the legitimate object of government - the greatest good of the greatest number. In his attachment to the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and Van Buren, he felt that he was contending for the same principles of democracy that nerved the arms and strengthened the hearts of the whigs of '76. His sentiments, on particular measures, it is unnecessary to comment upon, as they are clearly expressed in his writings. His feelings on the subject of slavery may be gathered from the fact that, during his fourteen years' residence in Virginia he never owned a slave, as well as from his remarks in the Virginia Chronicle, and from the resolution offered by him, when a member of the Baptist General Committee, and passed by them, in 1789, in the following words:-

"RESOLVED - That slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature, and inconstant with a republican government; and we, therefore, recommend it to our brethren, to make use of every legal measure to extirpate this horrid evil from the land, and pray Almighty God that our honorable legislature may have it in their power to proclaim the great Jubilee, consistent with the principles of good policy." His late writings on this subject, though expressing disapprobation of the measures of abolitionists, we apprehend, will not be found, upon examination, materially different in sentiment. In all, while he recognizes the supremacy of law, he pleads for individual right. The great object, (next in importance to his mission as a preacher of Christ,) for which he seems to

have been raised up by a special Providence, was to promote the establishment of religious liberty in the United States. His efforts, perhaps, contributed as much as those of any other man, to the overthrow of ecclesiastical tyranny in Virginia, the state of his adoption, and exerted a beneficial influence, though less successful, towards the promotion of the same end in that of his nativity. In the former, in the years 1786-7-8, we find his name in the doings of the Baptist General Committee, with which he stood connected, as messenger to the General Assembly, appointed to draft and present memorials respecting the Incorporating act, the application of the glebe lands to public use, etc. Though the cause of religious freedom was the common cause of all dissenters, yet the Baptists, as a sect, took the lead in those active, energetic, and persevering measures, which at length prevailed in its establishment. Many individuals of other denominations took an active part, and aided materially in bringing about the glorious result; 13 nay, that even many of the more conscientious and patriotic among the members of the established church, made praiseworthy exertions in its favor, is a fact too honorable to themselves, and to the state that produced them, to be passed unnoticed. Enrolled among the ardent champions of religious liberty, are the names of Virginia's most illustrious sons - of Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Madison. To particularize, in regard to the efforts made, and the good accomplished by each, is unnecessary in this place; the following Address¹⁴ and Reply, which are inserted entire, will serve to exhibit the enlarged views and the unselfish spirit of the patriots of that day, as well as the harmony, one might almost say identity, of sentiment that prevailed among them.

Address of the Committee of the United Baptist Churches of Virginia, assembled in the city of Richmond, 8th August, 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 fully adequate to the exigencies of the dangerous attempt; who, by the philanthropy of his heart, and the 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 valor and wisdom to make an advantage of a 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 honor to preside. A national government, in all its parts, was recommended, as the only preservation 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 or life, was not sufficiently secured. Perhaps our jealousies were heightened, by the usage we received in Virginia, under the regal government, when mobs, fines, bonds 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 that we should be accessory to some religious oppression, should any one society in the Union preponderate over the rest; yet, amidst all these inquietudes of mind, our consolation arose from this consideration,- the plan must be good, for it has 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 hearts, we are satisfied that we express the sentiments of our brethren, whom we represent. The very name of Washington is music in our ears; and although the great evil in the States is the want of mutual confidence between rulers and people, yet we have all 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 rivalry, 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, whom, by the smiles of Providence, you saved from vassalage by your valor, 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 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 HARRISS, Chairman.

REUBEN FORD, Clerk. 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 public life. But when the exigencies of my country seemed to require me once more to engage in public 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 by the Convention where I had the honor 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 even 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 any 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 endeavors to advance their prosperity. In the meantime, 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.

Elder Leland's removal to New-England took place in 1791. 15 As soon as he landed again on its shores, he commenced anew the warfare against religious intolerance, and the defence of the cause that had so signally triumphed in Virginia. During his stay in New London, he published his "Rights of Conscience Inalienable," and afterwards, from time to time, other works of the same character; some of which will be found in these volumes, and others it has been impossible to obtain. Our limits do not allow us to enter upon the history and progress of religious liberty in Massachusetts. This may be found elsewhere. It had struggled for existence, and found some advocates from the first settlement of the state, but was kept constantly shackled by certificate laws, and other expedients of ecclesiastical tyranny. At length, in the beginning of 1811, a decision by Judge Parsons, that no society, not incorporated by law, could claim even the pitiful privilege of drawing back money, awakened the fears of the dissenters, and a circular Address, accompanied by a petition to the legislature, praying for a revision of the laws respecting public worship, was circulated through the state. At the solicitation of the people of Cheshire, Mr. Leland accepted a seat in the legislature, for the special purpose of aiding the measures petitioned for. His speech, delivered during the debate on the subject, may be found in another part of this work. A law was finally passed that gave some relief, but not complete satisfaction. The "stump" of the tree of ecclesiastical oppression, so carefully preserved "with a band of iron and brass," continued, therefore, to furnish a subject for his animadversion, in various essays, addresses, etc., and he improved such opportunities as were offered him, as a matter of duty, and in fulfilment of the public pledge he had given, that "as long as he could speak with his tongue, wield a pen, or heave a cry to heaven, whenever the rights of men, the liberty of conscience, or the good of his country were invaded by fraud or force, his feeble efforts should not lie dormant." His letters, etc., on the Sunday Mail question, have the same bearing, and breathe the same spirit. To neutralize the effect of these, and to destroy the confidence reposed in him, reports were industriously circulated in some newspapers, that "he had renounced the Christian faith, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and been excommunicated from the church." The reader is requested to turn to his reply to a letter from Rev. O. B. Brown, on this subject, where he will find a sufficient refutation of this calumny. To show its probable foundation, however, it will be necessary to return to the period of his removal to

Cheshire, and give a connected narrative of a series of events, which misrepresentation and falsehood have so distorted to his prejudice, as to render a true statement of them an act of indispensable justice to his memory. As the professed object of this work is to exhibit fully his character and sentiments, facts which have so important a bearing upon that object, cannot, with propriety, be withheld.

Soon after Elder Leland came to reside in Berkshire, the town of Cheshire was organized. There was, at that time, within its bounds, a large and flourishing church, called New Providence Grant, whose pastor was Elder Werden. There was also, another, called the Six Principle Church, making the laying on of hands a prerequisite to communion. The church, with which Elder Leland united, and of which he continued a member until his death, had dissented from the Six Principle Church, and contained about seventy members. This was usually called the Second Baptist Church.

Considerable additions were soon made, and in 1793, it was determined to build a meeting-house. Elder Leland drafted a Constitution which was unanimously adopted, and the house was built during the succeeding year. The Constitution reserved the control of the pulpit to the Baptist church, giving any proprietor, not a member, the liberty of inviting any man, "in character," to occupy it his proportional part of the time, and if, at any time, the church should fall away, or be unable to support a meeting, or a minister, it secured the property to the original proprietors, and their heirs at law. The inhabitants of Cheshire, were, at that time, principally thriving farmers, who had removed there when the country was yet a wilderness, and by untiring industry had cleared their lands, built comfortable houses, school-houses, etc., and were training up large families of very intelligent children. The wealthier portion of the church seemed ever ready to help the poor, and encourage the weak. Their records furnish numerous instances of their watchfulness and promptness in providing for the wants of their needy members. This church, with all others in Berkshire, belonged to the Shaftsbury Association; a very respectable body, but containing a number of talented men, who were every way aristocratic, in their views of the powers of Associations over churches, and of churches over their respective members. As Elder Leland, and his brethren in Virginia, had just thrown off the yoke of the established clergy, and built up their institutions upon the most liberal plan, it will not be thought strange if his feelings and views were not relished by the more narrow-minded, and his increasing popularity looked upon with other than friendly feelings.

Revivals of religion in Cheshire, and the adjacent towns, for some time kept up large congregations in their new meeting-houses, and scarcely a covenant-day passed, without the addition of one or more to their number. Under date of December, 1795, the following entry is found upon the records: "Elder Leland appears to stand in the power and demonstration of the spirit of God, in the administration of the word and ordinances of the gospel." But when religion began to decline, and a worldly spirit crept in, he was exceedingly pained to see leading members of the church, (of which he then had the care,) indulging in harsh language towards each other; yet ever ready to give a word of exhortation, to draw the reins of discipline closely with their neighbors, and virtually to say, by coming to the communion, "we are one. " This became very trying to his feelings, and as he had never enjoyed the Lord's supper, as he had preaching and baptizing, he felt no little embarrassment in constantly administering it under such circumstances. But as these members were respectable, stood high in church and society, were warm friends to him, and not complained of by others, he thought it more prudent to smother his feelings, and seeing his own

imperfections to be great, to exercise forbearance towards the faults of others. At length, however, he manifested his feelings to the church, who, being unable to remove them, consented, according to his request, to "have patience to wait on him a little longer." It is not certain at what time he left the pastoral charge, but it is probable he had not filled that office for some time previous to 1799, when he was requested to resume it, but declined. He spent considerable portions of every year in travelling and preaching from place to place, but when at home, (as may be seen by reference to the auto-biography,) he was never idle. In August, 1799, the powerful work of grace, called, by way of eminence, the great Reformation," commenced in Cheshire, and its vicinity. His labors and successes during that interesting season, are recorded by his own hand. One of the members of the church, who had, during the ingathering, not only absented himself from public worship, and church-meetings, but "spoken lightly of the work of God among the people," professed to be aggrieved that Elder Leland should not break bread to the church, "let the embarrassments be what they might in his own mind," and also found fault with the church "for not forbidding him to pray and preach, inasmuch as he had neglected a known precept." The church sustained Elder Leland in his course, and contended that they had no right to forbid him to pray and preach, "inasmuch as he had been guilty of no immoral conduct." After a series of unsuccessful efforts to convince the refractory member of his errors, and to bring him back to duty, the church withdrew from him the hand of fellowship.

Thus it appears, that the church both knew and respected his feelings, and did not feel disposed to urge him forward in the performance of that which he could not look upon as duty, nor to impute to him the omission, as a crime; and it is believed, that, when he removed to Dutchess county, he left no enemies in Cheshire. Not long after his removal, Elder Lemuel Covell, a young, talented, and highly esteemed minister, passing through Cheshire, preached so much to the edification of the church, that they immediately appointed a committee to visit him, with a view to obtain his services as pastor. They found him rather disposed to come; but as he had been unfortunate in his outward concerns, had become involved, and the church at Pittstown had paid the demands against him, (amounting to nearly seven hundred dollars,) on the condition, "that he should never leave them to become the pastor of any other people, unless that people would refund the money to them; an obstacle was presented apparently difficult to be overcome. The trial which followed, would, but for its consequences, have found no place in these pages. The committee, who waited on Mr. Covell, were disposed to engage him, but on submitting it to the church, a number of the members in good standing, and somewhat wealthy, objected, and by their arguments, nearly dissuaded others. The committee took the alarm - insisted strongly upon the powers of the church - and, though their reasoning did not convince, their perseverance conquered - and perhaps it will not be uncharitable to say, that Elder Covell's debts were paid, and his family removed to Cheshire, rather in a spirit of defiance. The terms of settlement were the same as at Pittstown, with the additional proviso, that if the church failed in affording him a decent maintenance, the seven hundred dollars were not to be refunded, though he should leave the place.

About this time, a mortgage being closed on the farm where Elder Leland resided, his friends in Cheshire gave him a pressing invitation to come and reside with them; to preach whenever he felt disposed, and duty seemed to call him. Having children residing there, and being still a member of the church, he complied with the solicitation. He and Mr. Covell had always been warm friends, and their intimacy continued uninterrupted till the lamented death of the latter, while on a mission

to Canada, October 19, 1806, less than six months from the time of his removal to Cheshire.

Mr. Covell viewed the proceedings of the church in the same light with the majority of the people of Cheshire. In a conversation with Elder Leland, he said, "had I foreseen the troubles that would ensue in consequence of my coming here, I would sooner have begged my bread from door to door." The shock produced by Mr. Covell's death, was succeeded by a calmness, which lasted a considerable time, and gave the friends of peace, reason to hope that the breach in the church would soon be healed. Both church and society seemed seriously to regret the hurrying spirit that had set them at variance. Not so with a few leaders of the opposite party. "Recantation or excommunication," were their terms, and strange as it may seem, acquainted as they were with Elder Leland, they applied to him for help to carry out their plans. Owing no ill will to either party, his answer was such as might have been anticipated. He thought a little forbearance, on their part, might have saved all the trouble, and hinted, that by some recantation from them, the church might still be kept together.

Disappointed in their favorite plans, smarting under the loss of property, their fond hopes in the grave, they were not a little chagrined at receiving a slight rebuke where they had expected much assistance. They did not however proceed immediately to extremities, but, after conversing with members of the Shaftsbury Association, unfriendly in their views to Elder Leland, (of whom mention has already been made,) they determined to apply to him as friends, and pretending ignorance on the subject, to draw from him an expression of his views respecting church discipline, communion, etc. 16 He freely made a statement, and at their request committed it to writing. This paper has long been before the religious world, but as there may be many, who have never seen it, and who have but vague and indefinite, if not incorrect ideas of what Elder Leland's views were, a copy of it is here subjoined, taken from the original on file:

1. I have no doubt about the necessity of internal religion, nor of the great advantage of social worship, to preach, pray, and praise.
2. Some doubts have ever been in my mind, whether the advantage of what is called church order, more than compensates for the disadvantages. It is uppermost in my mind, however, that good church order is scriptural.
3. I lodge no complaint against communing with bread and wine, but for myself, for more than thirty years experiment, I have had no evidence that the bread and wine ever assisted my faith to discern the Lord's body. I have never felt guilty for not communing, but often for doing it. I have known no instance that God evidently blessed the ordinance for the conversion of sinners, which often attends preaching, praying, singing and baptizing.
4. Putting all together, the best conclusion that I can form, is, that church labor and breaking bread is what the Lord does not place on me, any more than he did baptizing on Paul.
5. If the church can bear with me, while I possess these feelings, and let me do what I have faith and confidence in, (which will be but a little while, for there is nothing left but a stump,) I shall be glad. Whenever I think I can do good, or get good, I will attend church-meeting and when ever the doubts of my mind are removed, I will commune.

6. If the church cannot bear thus with me, I wish them to give me a letter of dismissal - such a letter as they Song of Solomon 7:1-13. If such a letter cannot be given, consistently with the order and dignity of the church, I suppose excommunication must follow of course.

JOHN LELAND.

Cheshire, August 22, 1811. This is a compendium of what I stated last church-meeting, and is here written on your request. Let no man follow me where I do not follow Christ. - J.L.

It will probably appear evident to all, that more of the cunning of the serpent than of the harmlessness of the dove was displayed in this manoeuvre of false friends. Most of the church agreed to forbear according to his request. A motion (made at the same meeting) to call a council, was negatived. A similar attempt at a subsequent meeting also failed.

They therefore called an ex parte council; but being defeated in this attempt, by the refusal of the church to attend, etc., they applied to the Association for aid. A committee of fifteen were appointed, who came and made an effort to convince the people of their error, in holding in fellowship a man who entertained sentiments so heretical. The committee met with no better success than the council.

Previous to the sitting of the committee, Elder Hull, of Berlin, had endeavored to mediate a peace between the parties, and a vote had been passed mutually "to bury all passed difficulties, never again to call them up. " As subsequent events showed this to be a false peace, and it became evident to all, that real and permanent harmony could not now be restored, the ten dissenting members at length consented to accept letters of dismissal, of which the following is a copy:

"Whereas, there has been a difficulty subsisting among the members of this church, and a general agreement cannot as yet be obtained, we have thought it advisable to part.

Accordingly, the ten dissenting members are dismissed from us, and we will not nonfellowship any church that may receive them into their communion." 17 The result of another council, convened about a year after, to which the church deputed a committee, and submitted a written statement of facts, may be sufficiently gathered from the following allegory, written by Elder Leland:

NAVAL ENGAGEMENT. In the year 1811, a small, diminutive vessel, with American colors, was seen sailing on the coast near the place, supposed to have on board contraband goods. A number of gun-boats called "Aggrieved Brethren," formed a line and bore down upon the little vessel to sink her; but as the wind shifted they could not succeed. Their failure only fired them with resolution.

Some of the inhabitants provided a number of armed schooners called a Party Council, commanded by Captain H - , and made a second attack upon the little vessel, in March, 1812, but could not bring her to action. They next obtained two brigs, M - and T - , to join the squadron, and in May, following, attacked the little vessel with all their force; but when they had spent all their powder in raking her, they retreated without sinking the worthless vessel. They then applied to my Lord Shaftsbury for a squadron of armed brigs called a Committee, with Admiral W - the commander; but before this squadron arrived, there came a Hull of a vessel from Berlin, with a white flag, and the captain, in behalf of his government, tendered his services to mediate a peace between the enraged inhabitants and the little vessel: but did not effect his wish. The July

following, the line of armed brigs arrived; but with all their manoeuvring they could not bring the little vessel to action, nor get near enough to cut down the rigging. The inhabitants again applied to Lord Shaftsbury for a squadron of frigates to blow the little vessel from the ocean. His Lordship granted them five more frigates, to be commanded by the bold Admiral W - , which formidable force hove in sight August 25th, 1813. The little vessel came up to the fleet, and showed her papers, colors, and cargo, at sight of which the squadron divided. Two of the frigates veered off, and said the little vessel was not a picaroon, but was pursuing lawful commerce, and there were not contraband goods on board sufficient to condemn her according to the law of nations. The other frigates said they had no orders from Lord Shaftsbury as yet to sink her to the bottom; but unless the inhabitants would join and destroy the little vessel, they would inform his Lordship of it next June, who would send a force that would destroy every individual that gave aid to the little vessel, or allowed her to sail on the face of the deep.

Early in 1814, a vote was passed that the dismissed members should have the use of the meeting-house so much of the time as they were entitled to it, by the share they held in the property, and they were requested to appoint their days of worship. 18 At the meeting of the Shaftsbury Association in June, 1817, at the request of the messengers of the church, they were, dropped from their connection with the Association. In the afternoon of the same day on which this was done,

"A certain schedule of articles of belief, dated at Cheshire, August 22, 1811, signed John Leland, being presented by the messengers of the Leyden Association, who desired to know if we held in our fellowship a public character or church that embraced such sentiments:

Voted, unanimously, that this Association hold fellowship with no man or church, embracing, or countenancing such sentiments as contained in the paper then presented." 19

Possessed of that charity which "hopeth and endureth all things," and neither wishes nor works ill to its neighbor, Elder Leland was employed, during this long period of persecution, in the pursuit of his domestic concerns, and the duties of his calling. His friends, surprised at the extraordinary and unconstitutional proceedings of the "aggrieved party," 20 sought, by every means, for many years, to set the party and the public right. On the other hand, the wicked, seeing themselves backed by so many zealous professors, and ever ready to take advantage of such dissensions, spared no pains to invent and circulate the most unblushing falsehoods respecting his opinions and practices. No good ever resulted from the whole course of proceeding; nothing was gained by any one; but a bad impression was left upon the minds of the people generally, who seemed to doubt the purity of purpose that actuated to such a course of conduct as had been pursued, nor could ever be brought to see how any blame could justly fall upon Elder Leland.

Years passed on, the particular circumstances of which it is unnecessary to detail. At length, in 1824, a new church was formed, consisting, in part, of the surviving members of the aggrieved party, and partly of such as withdrew at that time from the Second Church, or had never united with any. Each church occupied the meeting-house half the time. A revival in 1827, produced some accessions to both, and also to a Methodist society which had been constituted in 1823. As many of the dissenting members had, in years previous to church difficulties, been warmly attached to Elder Leland, none but his God and nearest friends knew how trying to his heart was the loss of their society and friendship. At the darkest hour of the contest, no uncharitable

expression escaped his lips, nor could he ever be induced to occupy the desk, when he thought it belonged, of right to them. In 1831, another revival occurred. Numbers were baptized, and united with the churches to which their friends respectively belonged. Others were deterred from uniting with either, by the consideration that the existence of two churches of the same faith and order, in one place, necessarily involved the certainty that a wrong existed somewhere; and, as they could not determine satisfactorily to themselves where it existed, they judged it better to remain neutral. Indeed, for the most part, the younger portion of the community knew not why they should stand aloof from their neighbors in religious concerns, when they were all of one faith, and friendly in every other respect. The lapse of years had thinned the number of those whose grievances had first occasioned the division, and those living, seemed to feel deeply their estrangement from their brethren, and manifested, by suitable acknowledgments to Elder Leland and others, or by their friendly conduct, that they retained no longer any hostile feeling. Time had smothered the disputes that had once risen like mountains between them and their brethren, and the Holy Spirit's influence, which, as has justly been remarked, "can accomplish more in one hour, in bringing Christians together, than years spent in disputes and discipline," was doing its perfect work, and fostering a growing spirit of charity in all hearts. In the winter and spring of 1833-4, Elder Leland and his wife had some rather unusual exercises of mind respecting the churches, which left upon them the impression that a union might be effected. Prompt in executing what his feelings of duty led him to undertake, he immediately visited several members of his own church, told his feelings and wishes, and proposed, if possible, to bring about a reconciliation, by meeting their brethren of the other church, on the broad basis of universal forgiveness, and mutual oblivion of the past. Some did not readily concur: but he presented to their minds the powerful motives on which their common Master had urged the duty of forgiveness, and reminded them that every Christian must have a forgiving spirit. At length their scruples gave way to the reflection, that if he, who had suffered most, could heartily forgive, they ought to throw no obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of his wishes. A meeting was accordingly appointed, and the churches came together. Many spectators were also present; some, no doubt, drawn by curiosity, and expecting to hear the grounds of the long trouble laid open and discussed; and others, truly rejoicing at the prospect of a speedy end of those troubles. The plan proposed by Elder Leland was characteristically liberal. The following is a copy of it, as written by him on the first page of the "new church-book."

Cheshire, March 6, 1834. This day the Second and Third Baptist Churches in Cheshire united together, to be called hereafter the Second Church, upon the following plan of agreement, viz.:-

All former differences shall be buried in the sea of universal forgiveness; and all the members of both churches, whether present or absent, shall be considered in the union, under the following provisions:-

Any member here present, who, from local situation, or any other cause, may decline the union, shall be subject to no censure therefor. Those members who are not present, shall have the same indulgence, when they make their requests known. In both cases, the non-unionists shall be under no obligation to tell their reasons why. A clerk shall be chosen, in whose office the books and papers of both the former churches shall be deposited, merely for information, but shall not be appealed to for rules of proceeding. A new book shall be procured, in which the proceedings of the church hereafter shall be registered. As soon as the plan was laid before the meeting, a spirit of

union seemed to run from heart to heart; and, to the great joy of all present, not an opposing voice was raised. The union was effected without a discussion of difficulties, without a surrender of private judgment - upon the only ground on which it is believed it could ever have taken place. It was a source of great consolation to Elder Leland, to have his early friends take him so cordially by the hand; and from this time until his death, it is believed no member of either church bore him any ill will; such, at least, was the appearance. The approving smile of Heaven seemed to ratify the act; for though but few additions to their number have since taken place, a spirit of harmony has prevailed in all their deliberations, and brotherly love has continued uninterrupted among the members of the united church. In this brief sketch of events, we have endeavored to perform with candor the task which duty imposed. Its object has been, not to call up painful remembrances from the oblivion where they were buried, but to do justice to the memory of the man to whose prejudice those events have been perverted, and to exhibit his character, course, and principles in their true light. No apology is, therefore, deemed necessary for an act so clearly and imperatively demanded by truth and justice. That which goes down to later generations as matter of history, should be sober fact, divested of all the false coloring which prejudice, ignorance, or party spirit may have thrown around it. Such, it is hoped, this narrative may be found. Great care has been taken to ascertain truth, and few assertions have been made that are not sustained by documentary evidence of undoubted authenticity. A few observations of a miscellaneous character, will close these sketches. The following extract, from Semple's Virginia Baptists, published in 1810, will serve to show the estimation in which Mr. Leland was held in that state.

"Mr. Leland, as a preacher, was probably the most popular of any that ever resided in this state. He is, unquestionably, a man of fertile genius. His opportunities for school learning were not great; but the energetic vigor of his mind quickly surmounted this deficiency. His memory was so retentive, that by a single reading he stored up more of the contents of a book, than many would by a dozen careful perusals. It is probable that his knowledge, derived from books, at this day, taken in the aggregate, is surpassed by few. His preaching, though immethodical and eccentric, is generally wise, warm and evangelical. There are not many preachers, who have so great command of the attention and of the feelings of their auditory. In effecting this, his manner has been thought, by some, to approach too near to the theatrical. Cowper, the poet, says:- 'He that negotiates between God and man, As God's ambassador, the grand concerns Of judgment and of mercy, must beware Of lightness in his speech.'

"Here Mr. Leland and the poet are at variance; he does, sometimes, and, indeed, not unfrequently, 'Court the skittish fancy with facetious tales.'

"If Cowper says, 'So did not Paul,' Leland can say, So did George Whitfield, Rowland Hill, etc., and they have been the most successful of modern preachers. Mr. Leland's free and jocund manners have excited the suspicions of some, that he wanted serious piety. His intimate friends are confident that these are groundless suspicions. They believe that, among his other singularities, he is singularly pious."

It is true, there was nothing of superstitious austerity in the tone of his piety; it corresponded with his own description of the feelings of the heaven-born soul - "lively as angels, yet solemn as the grave." Deep solemnity characterized his public ministrations. 'In prayer, he seemed to have an overwhelming sense of the perfections of the Being he addressed; and his manner, his words, and

the tones of his voice, were expressive of the most reverential awe, the deepest self-abasement, and the humblest adoration. He was in the habit of confessing the immense distance of men, as creatures, below the infinite Jehovah, and the immeasurable increase of that distance by reason of sin. "Supremely great, infinitely glorious, highly exalted, everywhere present, all-wise and eternal God, " was often, either wholly, or in part, the introduction of his prayer. His audience felt themselves carried directly into the presence of Him who is "fearful in praises," and it was impossible to listen with an irreverent or trifling spirit. In the administration of the sacrament, few, if any, were ever more deeply solemn and impressive. In his preaching, he sometimes, by a single sentence, presented before the mind a view of eternal things, which left an indelible impression on the memory. Such was the manner in which he was accustomed to speak of death. It is, " he would say, "a solemn thing to die; to go - we know not where; to be - we know not what." His manner, however, was far from being affected or theatrical; and he did not deem it inconsistent, either with real solemnity, or with the spirit of true piety, to mingle, not only in his writings and conversation, but in his preaching, occasional strokes of humor or of satire. But the "facetious tales" had always a higher object in view than to excite a smile, or "court the skittish fancy." They were brought in illustration of some important truth, which he wished to exhibit in the clearest light, and to impress forcibly upon the mind; effects which their aptness was well calculated to produce. The shafts of satire, too, pointed though they might be, were not dipped in the gall of malice or ill will, nor aimed at anything which he esteemed valuable or sacred. Instances illustrative of this part of his character may be found among his writings, and will be recollected by all who ever heard him preach or converse. The following is one example, and will serve to show his manner of treating those circumstances, which, to many persons of different temperament, or of less elevated views and aims, would seem to afford sufficient ground for resentment, and which not unfrequently result in irreconcilable animosity. THE CHESHIRE RACES. 21 As the annual races of Cheshire drew nigh, about the first of April, 1823, the hippodrome was prepared for the contest. As the speed, wind, and bottom of the horses were to be tested, the hippodrome included hills, levels, lanes and hedges, reaching from Savoy to Hancock. The prize to be run for, was MEETING-HOUSE AND MAJORITY. The horses brought on the ground were, first, the Duke of Marlborough; a fine, high-bred horse, in fine style; supposed by some, who judge of horses, to be the best racer ever seen on Cheshire race ground. The second, was Little Jolly, sired by the imported Jolly Rogers, the famous courser. Little Jolly had never run but a few races; but his make, nimbleness and wind, raised the confidence of many. The third horse, was Old Dray, the sight of whom made some laugh, and others sneer. Old Dray had often been on the ground; but was never formed for speed, and rarely won the prize; had now grown old, and unfit to contend with young steeds in high perfection; in short, he had nothing to commend him, except his being of the fear-not blood. On this condition alone could he be admitted, that he should carry an extra burden of a plough and pitchfork on his back, during the race. The distance stake was stuck forty feet short of the goal, and all things were made ready for the start. At the beat of the drum, the halters were slipped, and, by some unknown cause, Old Dray got four feet in front; but this advance was very short, for the Marlborough came up, and went by him, with great facility; and, had it not been for two causes, there was every reason to believe that the Marlborough would have distanced all the rest. The first cause was, he made a violent kick and bite at Old Dray, and some affirm that he spake, (like the beast that Balaam rode,) and said, "If Old Dray can be kicked out of the path, it will be the most glorious race that ever was run, " which rather crippled him in the

stifle joint. His friends, however, say that there was neither kick nor bite; that although he is all activity to run the race, yet he has no venom in him. The second cause was, that when he came to Savoy Heights, far ahead, there was a certain berry on the hills, called Woodberry, which had so strong a scent, that it rather paralyzed his limbs.

Little Jolly started with great alertness, and the bets in his favor were greater than for any of the horses on the ground; but, making a bite at Old Dray, he incautiously stepped over the line, and crossed the path, in doing which he received a wound; but his friends produced a medicine, made of fabrication, and administered by offset, which proved a catholicon. They said that Old Dray had done as bad as Jolly, and one must be offset against the other. This medicine they had tried on a former occasion, and knew its efficacy. This treaty, made with their consciences, healed the wound of Jolly, and they declared him to be the soundest and swiftest horse in the race. And truly, in that part of the race ground called lanes and hedges, he performed wonders. Being acquainted with such kind of ground, he jumped with all the agility of a rabbit. In going over the flat ground of Hancock, Old Dray made considerable advances on Marlborough, but could not come up with him. In coming out at the goal, the Marlbo rough was seventeen feet in advance of Old Dray, and Old Dray seven-teen feet before the Jolly. The judges seemed somewhat divided; but the decision was, that the Marlborough should have the majority, the Little Jolly have the meeting-house, and that Old Dray should carry the plough and pitchfork upon his back as long as he lived, and never be allowed to enter the race ground again.

It will be admitted, perhaps, by all whose freedom from educational bias, and habits of close and independent thought, prepared them fully to appreciate the preaching of Elder Leland, that he was more than usually successful in reconciling those apparently conflicting portions of the system of gospel truth, which have been the theme of so much controversy in all ages of the Church. This was mainly owing to the care he took, never to mix law and grace together;" or, in other words, never to confound the "system of God's moral government," with the "scheme of grace through a Mediator." He viewed the line of distinction, as commencing at the' covenant of peace," formed in the counsels of eternity, and continuing for ever. He did not, therefore, apply to the unregenerate, the promises and precepts addressed to the penitent and believer, nor hold forth the terrors of the law to "them who are in Christ Jesus." Yet that he did not pretend to understand the whole mystery of the gospel, may be distinctly seen in the following detached paragraphs, from which, with other of his writings, may be gathered the fundamental points of his belief.

"The gospel is so internally profound, and the minds of men so limited, the obstructions to science so many and great, that it is but a little of the gospel that men understand; and yet, no scheme, fraught with fewer incomprehensibles, could have brought relief to fallen man. The unsearchable riches of Christ, which pass knowledge, will be continually unfolding themselves to the saints in light."

"To reconcile the eternal designs of God with the freedom of the human will, is a question that puzzles all men. That both are true, admits of no reasonable doubt; but there is a great doubt whether the mind of man is large enough to reconcile the question: if it is, why is not the matter settled long ago? It appears to be one of the deep things of God, which we are to believe without comprehension. Should the Lord use ever so many words to elucidate the subject, still, the mind of man is so limited, that the matter would remain in the profound. That God is good, and that men

are rebellious; that salvation is of the Lord, and damnation of ourselves, are truths revealed as plain as a sunbeam."

"The preceptive part of the gospel addresses men as able to do, and commands them to do; but the gracious part considers men as weak and polluted, and reveals what God does for them. The former shows holy authority, the latter gracious benevolence."

"Repentance for bad works, and the practice of good works, I strive to preach; but, as repentance will not expiate crimes, and the deeds of the law will not justify, redemption by Christ is essential. The salvation of God includes three things: first, something done for us, without us; second, something done for us, within us; third, something done by us."

"The moral insolvency of man, has not destroyed the equity of God's law, nor cancelled the demand."

"The sinner, until he is changed by grace, never feels guilty because he has not the holy unction, but for the sins he has committed. The prayer of his heart is not for internal holiness, but for deliverance from punishment."

"Adam, in innocency, with his life of natural purity, was happy on earth, but not fit for heaven. Had he never sinned, he must, nevertheless, have been born of the Spirit, (received the holy unction,) to have prepared him for heaven."

"Grace and effort. Some preachers fix their eyes so steadfastly upon the unchangeable nature of God, his immutable decrees, his personal and unconditional election of some unto eternal life, that they leave themselves but little liberty to preach, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand' - 'Repent, and believe the gospel' - 'Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out' - 'Labor not for the meat that perisheth, but for that which endureth unto eternal life' - 'While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light,' etc. Others place their minds on the rebellion of man, the necessity of repentance, and the willingness of Christ to save sinners, so strongly, that they overlook such passages as these: 'As many as were ordained to eternal life, believed' - 'The election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded' - 'No man can come unto me, except the Father draw him' - 'Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes' - 'Then shall ye seek me and shall not find me' - 'Not according to our own righteousness, but according to his own mercy he saved us,' etc."

Though his sermons, conversation and writings, were characterized by perspicuity and simplicity, it must be supposed that he was sometimes misunderstood; for he was claimed, by some sectarians, as the advocate of doctrines which he considered fundamentally opposed to the truth. He incurred, also, the censure of many, by carrying farther than they thought necessary the Protestant sentiment, of the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a guide to Christian faith and practice, and by questioning the propriety of measures for which Scripture authority could not be adduced. Some of this class of individuals, however, while they could not but acknowledge the sincerity of his desires to be "made right," and of his fervent prayers to be enabled to discern the truth, sought for other motives than love of truth, to which they might attribute his dissent from their own views. This was entirely uncalled for; for if ever there was a man, who, in his search after truth, was honest, unbiassed by sectarian partialities, unshackled by previously formed opinions, uninfluenced by any selfish considerations, none who knew him well, will hesitate to aver, that

John Leland was that man. There is evidently a wide difference between searching the Scriptures to find a system of truth, and searching them for evidence to support one already adopted. That the latter was not the course pursued by him, the candor evinced in all his researches fully proves. His object being not so much to convince others, as to discover truth for himself, he avoided those sophistical methods of reasoning which too many employ to bring the unwary and unreflecting to their own views, nor did he resort to denunciation and fiery zeal, or to quibbling and evasion, to cover the weak part of an argument. He did not undervalue the importance of the objections that might be urged against his opinions; but giving them their full weight, he advanced his own arguments to meet them; following, in this respect, the example of Madison, whom he often quoted as a model of candor and fairness in debate. With regard to his writings, it may be well to remark, that he never rewrote his pieces; whatever they are, they were in the original draught. This consideration, while it accounts for many inaccuracies in language, both rhetorical and grammatical, shows, at the same time, the systematic order in which his thoughts naturally arranged themselves, following one upon another with such method, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find an instance where any important proposition was assumed without proof, or a succeeding one in a series taken as proof of a preceding. His views, in relation to the office and work of the ministry, are contained in various parts of his writings. It was never either his principle or practice to set a price upon his labors, nor to demand or receive a fixed salary. But though he never solicited, or made money a condition of preaching, he never refused what any chose to give him; and he received it, not as alms, but as a gospel debt. It was his counsel to one who was about to engage in the work of the ministry, never to make any dependence upon what he expected to receive for preaching; "if you get anything," said he, "you can work it in afterwards." Such was his own practice. His own hands, and those of his family, who were all trained to habits of active industry, supplied their wants, and he had the pleasure of knowing that whatever he did receive, was given, "not grudgingly, but with free will, and of a ready mind." His practice with regard to baptism was in accordance with the views expressed in the letter found on page - of volume - . He considered baptism a duty plainly enjoined on all the followers of Christ, by an express command; but connection with a church to be a matter of choice and expediency. Accordingly he always baptized such as gave evidence of piety, if they desired it, and left them to connect themselves with whatever church they pleased, or with none, if such was their preference. He thought the First Epistle of Peter, to the "strangers scattered" through various places, was, probably, addressed to such as, from local situation, or other causes, were not numbered with any of the churches. His preaching, in latter years of his life, was almost entirely of the expository kind. He would frequently, after naming his text, go back a number of verses, or to the beginning of the chapter, and comment upon each clause in succession, and sometimes the close of the sermon would come without his having reached his text at all. But "it is no matter," he would say, "so long as I keep within the lids of the Bible. Indeed, it makes but little difference what text I take, I must come to the third of John before I close. If I take an Old Testament text, I must preach a New Testament sermon.

It was equally true of him as of Mr. Haynes, that

"though he seldom held a congregation long without exciting a smile, yet the predominant influence of his preaching was to produce solemnity of feeling, and deep conviction of truth. His eccentricities would have been faults in any other man, but in him they were so inherent and

essential to his character, and his wit was so spontaneous, and came, as it were, without his bidding, that they neither interrupted the current of his own piety, nor often weakened the religious influence of his discourses upon others." 22

Many anecdotes and amusing incidents have been related of him, some, probably, without foundation in truth. Want of space forbids the introduction of more than two or three in this place. The following, cut from a newspaper, is judged to be authentic, from the fact that it is characteristic of him. Riding one day in company with Elder Hull, they were overtaken by a slight shower. Elder Leland was for seeking a shelter, but the other remarked, "Brother, I am ashamed of you - a Baptist minister, and afraid of a little water!" "Ah! Brother Hull," replied he, "I never like these sprinklings."

Calling one day on a Baptist minister, to whom he was not personally known, said the latter, after the first salutations, "by what name shall I call you?" He replied, "Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?" "Well," said the other, "is this all the answer I am to have?" "It is the answer of an angel, what better can you wish for?" "If you are an angel, doubtless you are a fallen one." On another and similar occasion, being asked the same question, he replied, "call me Leland." "Ah!" replied the minister, "there are many who come along, wishing to be called by that name. I have been tricked in that way several times." But after looking steadily at him a few moments, his doubts seemed to yield to the conviction that he was indeed no other than he pretended, and he exclaimed, "Is it possible that the Almighty has placed such a soul as Leland's in such an insignificant body!" Should this expression convey the idea that he was small of stature, the impression will be incorrect. His height was not far from six feet, though as he advanced in years, his form became more stooping, and his stature, consequently, somewhat less. In flesh, he was rather thin and spare. Of his personal appearance, generally, the accompanying portrait will furnish a more correct and definite idea than any language can convey.

Perhaps these sketches cannot be more appropriately closed, than by the following brief extracts from the concluding part of the funeral sermon: "Great and good man, he is gone! The tender and affectionate father, the kind husband - the wise counsellor - emphatically the peace-maker - the social, warmhearted friend - the sage - patriot - the lover of sound doctrine - the eloquent and unusually successful minister of Christ, is no more! Is no more? He still lives, we doubt not, where his intellect has found congenial spirits, and a wider range in the upper empire of Jehovah. He lives below in the affections of thousands, and 'his works do follow him.' " "To live like him, is to mourn over the sins of earth, and hold up God's everlasting truth to a dying world. To die like him, is to stand on the confines of earth, looking off into eternity, and depart with the 'prospect of heaven clear.' To rest, at last, like him, is, we doubt not, to rest forever in the Paradise of God."

10. In consequence of this misfortune, her speech was so much impaired, that through life it was difficult for persons not well acquainted with her, to understand her.

11. He has been heard to express the same opinion on other occasions, drawing his conclusions from the fact, that persons, in being made partakers of the grace of life, are brought to view themselves utterly lost without that grace - a conviction which they cannot feel, while they imagine themselves in no danger of receiving the "wages of sin, which is death."

12. This discourse is already before the public, which circumstance, together with our limited space, will sufficiently account for the omission of any further extracts.

13. See quotation from the speech of a Presbyterian, Vol. - , page - .

14. Drafted by Elder Leland.

15. It may be proper to mention, in this place, that while a member of the General Committee, he was appointed one of a committee to collect materials for a history of the Baptists in Virginia; and had made considerable progress towards it, when his removal caused him to relinquish the trust into other hands.

16. For the sake of brevity, details are omitted, and only a sketch of the important facts given.

17. This was done at the July meeting, 1812.

18. Soon after this, Elder Leland removed to New Ashford. See autobiography for circumstances. He continued to preach from time to time in Cheshire.

19. See minutes for that year.

20. Though only a small minority, they had at one time assumed to be the church, and as such, had sent a letter and messengers to the Association, in addition to that sent regularly by the church.

21. To those acquainted with the circumstances, any attempt at an explanation of this allegory would be superfluous; to others, perhaps, impossible, as well as unprofitable. It will be sufficient to remind the reader that a revival occurred in 1823 - that the same year a Reformed Methodist Society was formed in Cheshire, and early in 1824, the Third Baptist Church was constituted. Among the ministers represented by three horses, no one, it is presumed, can fail to recognize the features of "Old Dray."

22. Reminiscences of Rev. Samuel Haynes.

004 The History of Jack Nips

THE HISTORY OF JACK NIPS.

I CANNOT say that my father was a Hittite, and my mother an Amorite, but my father was a Presbyterian, and my mother a high-flying, separate new-light. I was as far from being a new-light myself, as men's hearts are from their mouths, or as old darkness is from new light; but when my school-fellows got mad at me, they would call me a new-light, and if I asked them what a new-light was, they would be as confused in their answers as if they did not know B from a bull's foot. Sometimes, when I was reading, they would laugh at me for my new-light tone; once, in particular, as I was reciting a lesson, to a Latin master, he told me "not to preach like a new-light, but to speak like a scholar." This put me upon a search into the nature of tones, and I was soon convinced that a holy tone did not make a holy man, for some who had the tone, would be as hypocritical as Lucifer himself; but the same persons who laughed at me for my tone, had a disagreeable tone of lying, swearing, and sneering at all good sense and religion, yet there was no harm in that tone, because it was polite.

Like other boys, I wished to be in fashion, and as the Presbyterians were the most fashionable, I applied myself to the study of their books, but was not a little puzzled to reconcile their writings with my boyish thoughts. I could not, for my gizzard, understand their orthography, until I was more than sixteen. They would spell thus: c-i-r, cir, c-u-m, cum, c-i, ci, s-e-d, baptism. This, I say, puzzled me greatly: and if I asked any body how they reconciled it, they would tell me that "great, learned, and good men said it was right, and it would be presumption in me to call it in question." I further observed that sometimes those authors would put the cart before the horse; as for instance, where it said, "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," they would have it, "he that is baptized and believeth, shall be saved." Surely, said I, this is a Presbyterian tone; for I did not then know that there was a Papist, a Russian, or an Episcopalian in the world.

Another thing also confounded my youthful thoughts. Men and women would bring their children to the minister to be baptized, if but one of them was a believer, and it was supposed that the faith of one parent was sufficient to initiate the child; but my thoughts would be running thus:

"is the soul of that child made by God, and infused into the body while in the womb, or it is begotten by the parents? If it is made and infused by God, then the children of wicked parents bring as good souls into the world as the children of good parents do. But if souls are begotten in ordinary generation, then regenerate men will beget regenerate souls, and wicked men will beget wicked souls; and if Adam was regenerate before he begat any of his children, by succession down to this day, we are all regenerate." But as this was to me uncertain, I was casting my eyes and thoughts on my neighbors. Uncle Benson had married aunt Nancy, by whom he had a son whose name was Peter. Uncle was a believer, but aunt was not. Here I had a great query in my mind, to find from which parent the soul proceeded. Aristotle informed me, that the child, in animalcula, came originally from the mother. Surely, then, said I to myself, cousin Peter has no right to baptism, for his mother is an infidel. But the European philosophers said that the

animalcula that formed the foetus, came from the father. If so, said I, again, then Peter is a Christian. But here I was perplexed again: if Peter came into the world a Christian, how can he be made a Christian by water? Can a priest and water make him what he was before he was born? Uncle Sam said, Peter came into the world a Christian, and therefore had a right to baptism; but uncle Ned insisted upon it, that it was his baptism that made him a Christian, and confirmed his sentiment by observing, that the name given him in baptism, was his Christian name; that is, a name given him when he was made a Christian; but others declared that the child came half from each parent; then, said I, Peter ought to have but half his face sprinkled, for half of it came from his heathen mother.

While I was thus as full of thought as Don Quixote was of projects, I went to meeting: and how was I surprised to see a man and his wife stand in the broad aisle, owning the baptismal covenant, as they called it. I had read of baptism being a command - a fulfilling of righteousness - the answer of a good conscience; but never heard it called a covenant before. What wind next? said I within myself. But here I soon found that neither the man nor his wife were believers; that they had never given themselves to God, and yet were offering their child to him. This made me think of uncle Tim, who would never give any of his own interest to any body, but when he was at another man's house, he would be as liberal as a prince, in giving to every one that came in. If these people, said I, loved their child as well as they do themselves, they'd never trust it where they durst not trust themselves. But after the priest had read what he had written for them, and they had consented by a bow and courtesy, he declared that they had a right to all the privileges of the church except the Lord's supper. The thought that arose in my mind was this: they may have a right to the privileges of that church, but have they a right to all, or any, of the privileges of Christ's church? If, from the innocency of the children - the confession of the parents, or the faith of one or both of them, they have a right to baptism, why not to the eucharist? Here I remembered to have read an account of Cyprian, the African bishop, who, in the middle of the third century, first introduced infant baptism, and, to be consistent with himself, introduced infant communion at the same time. I could not but observe what force and violence were used on the occasion. The little candidate, who never proposed himself, nor, indeed, had sense enough to know anything that was going on, was taken by force, and, notwithstanding all his struggles and screams, had the name of the Trinity called over him, and was, somehow or other, shut up in the pales of the church. Is this Christian liberty? thought I, more than a hundred times.

About this time, my father, schoolmaster, and minister, took much pains to teach me the catechism, where it is observed that baptism is not to be administered to any who are out of the visible church, till they profess their faith in Christ, and obedience to his revealed will. What, in the world of wonders, thought I, do these people mean? The man and his wife, now in the broad aisle, do not profess to be believers, and yet they claim baptism for their child, contrary to that oracular catechism, composed by so many D. D.'s, and M. A.'s. Here my zeal broke over all bounds, and turning to old neighbor Turnpie, said I, "do these people hold to the West-minister catechism?" "Yes," said he, "but, they are constantly gaining more light, and, therefore, altering their modes; but still they are the same people." This made me think of the Irishman's knife which he kept for antiquity's sake, which had been his grandfather's, his father's, and his own; and, although it had worn out two or three blades, and three or four handles, yet it was the very knife that his grandfather first bought.

After pausing awhile, I remembered that the article concluded thus: "but the infants of those who are enemies of the visible church, are to be baptized." You lie, reverend sirs, said I. What! first tell us that baptism is not to be administered to any out of the church, and then tell us it is, and think boys and men too will believe your contradictions? Here I should have proceeded, but a man in the seats not only began to knock his black staff, but really came and took me by the hand. "What now?" said I. He replied, "I am a tything-man to keep order." Here a thousand thoughts rushed into my mind, some of which were as follows: did Jesus, or his apostles, ever appoint tything-men to keep boys or men in order? Did they ever give orders to civil rulers to make laws to force people to go to meeting once a month, or pay a fine? Did they ever institute black staves and stocks to prevent disorder in religious worship? Have those people New Testament authority to establish creeds for others, and go contrary to them, themselves, and punish others if they cannot receive their glaring inconsistencies and absurdities? Some say that the laws of men are the sinews of the gospel: but are they not rather the sinner's gospel? Is not every kind of cruelty and oppression executed under the pretext of civil law? Have not the majority in every part of the world christened all their madness and self-will by the names of civil law and good order? These things are so, said I, in my heart, but durst not speak, for the tything-man held me by the hand.

After meeting was over, and I had escaped from the black staff, I returned home, resolving to read for myself.

Carefully reading the New Testament, I found that the word baptize, with its various declensions, occurred about one hundred times; but in none of these places did it countenance baby baptism, and as I had made some proficiency in Greek, I searched the Greek Testament and lexicon, where I found that baptism came from the word baptizo, and that the word sprinkle, came from the Greek runtizo, so that sprinkling could not be baptizing. The Greek baptizo, in a few places, is translated wash; but as bodies, cups, and platters cannot be washed well, by sprinkling a few drops of water upon them, I concluded that all who undertook to baptize, by sprinkling, were religious sluts.

About this time, my father was often telling me that he designed me for the gown; that I was of a weakly constitution, not able to get a living out of the ground, and if I could furnish my mind with letter and theological knowledge, I might be inducted into a parish where I might receive a good benefice. But here my foolish heart kept running thus: my father intends me for a minister, but does God? Those who are sent by men to preach, must look to men for their pay; but those that are sent by God, must depend on him.

If I have but a weakly constitution, why should a runt, of a family, be imposed on a parish to eat more than he can work? If a benefice tempts me to preach, I shall preach for filthy lucre, and not out of love to God and souls. If I learn to preach by rule, I shall fall upon the plan of others, of long prayers and short sermons, to save the trouble of writing much. And when I have my sermons all penned down, I shall have to pray, not for God's assistance, but for good eyesight.

Upon the whole, I concluded that the religion I had been acquainted with, was little more than a state trick of court intrigue, and was therefore resolved to study politics. By this time, I had gained my twenty second year; and being fired with ambition to know what other men did, I first purchased a book containing the several constitutions of government adopted in the different states. Now, thought I, I shall be a wise man. I had such profound reverence for the men who framed these constitutions, that I concluded that it would be presumption, and almost blasphemy,

to call in question a single word: but, attending to their strictures, I found there were not two of them agreed. What, said I, do great men differ? boys, women, and little souls do; but can learned, wise patriots disagree so much in judgment? If so, they cannot all be right, but they may all be wrong, and therefore, Jack Nips for himself. What encouraged me to search and judge for myself, was this: when I was a small boy, I fancied that I stood in the middle of the world, and that the earth extended no further than my eye-sight explored: but people told me that I was wrong in my judgment; but after a few years study, I found I was half right. That the earth exceeded my eye-sight, I soon found by experience; herein I was wrong. But that I am always on the centre spot of the surface of the globe, is an undeniable truth. And as mature experience convinced me that my boyish thoughts were some of them right, I concluded it might be so with my study in politics. The above is the only portion of this piece that could be obtained; as every effort to find an unmutulated copy of it has proved unsuccessful.

005 The Bible Baptist

THE BIBLE BAPTIST. 23.

Discordant sentiments agree To make the sons of Adam free.

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE.

TRUTH needs no apology, and error deserves none. Prefatory lies have often atoned for ignorance and ill-will in the Eastern and European worlds; but let the sons of America be free. It is more essential to learn how to believe, than to learn what to believe. The doctrine and spirit of the following remarks, are left for the reader to judge of for himself. Truth is in the least danger of being lost, when free examination is allowed.

BIBLE BAPTIST.

Christian writers generally agree to reproach the Jews, for treating the Rabbies with as much respect as they did the Prophets; giving as great credit to their traditions as they did to the sacred volume. But many Christian writers are guilty of the same absurdity. It is not more insignificant for Jews to quote the Talmud or the Targum, to prove a Mosaic rite, than it is for Christians to depend on Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and the other fathers of the church, for a gospel ordinance. In the following remarks, no attempts will be made to mend our translation of the Bible, and equal credit will not be given to any other writings. The word baptism, is not to be found in the Old Testament; and if it were a thousand times, would be no precept for a New Testament sacrament. Nor is there but one place in the New Testament, 24 where the word refers to a transaction recorded in the Old Testament: 1 Corinthians 10:2, "and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, " referring to Exodus 14:19. "When Israel passed through the sea, the waters were a wall to them on the right hand and on the left," see Exodus 14:22. The cloud returned and stood behind them, covering them over in an arched form, 1 Corinthians 10:1. Now as the waters were a wall to them on the right and left, and the cloud over them, they were covered or buried in the cloud or in the sea; which is what Paul, in the above quoted text, calls baptism.

Some have feigned that the cloud at this time sprinkled down a shower of rain upon the Israelites, and a very vain fancy it is, for it is certain they all passed over dry-shod, which they could not have done had there been a shower of rain; Exodus 14:21; Exodus 14:29. Others have quoted this passage to prove household baptism; but it would be more natural to apply it to national baptism; for all the nation of Israel, and a mixed multitude besides, were there baptized to Moses: but if this is a proof for household or national baptism, in gospel times, it must be an equal proof for the baptism of quadrupeds. It is certain that their flocks and herds, even very much cattle went with them, not a hoof was left behind, and were all baptized: Exodus 10:26 - Exodus 12:38. If this wondrous miracle is a precedent for New Testament baptism, it requires us all to have our cattle baptized as well as our children. The New Testament is introduced with the history of a famous Baptist preacher and his order of baptizing. John, the forerunner of Jesus, is called a Baptist fifteen times in the four Evangelists. Is it ignorance or ill will, that so often reproaches the Baptists

with novelty? Is it not certain that the first preacher spoken of in the New Testament was a Baptist? Why should they be called a new sect, when they can name their founders antecedent to the founders of any other society? Did not Jesus submit to John's baptism, to fulfil all righteousness? Was not Jesus, therefore, a Baptist? These things are so. Baptism is no strange word in the New Testament. The noun, with its relative verb and participle, occurs one hundred times; which may be found in the following places: Matthew 3:6-7; Matthew 3:11; Matthew 3:13-14; Matthew 3:16. - Matthew 20:22-23. - Matthew 21:25.- Matthew 28:19. Mr 1:4-5,8-10. - Mr 10:38-39. - Mr 11:30. - Mr 16:16. Luke 3:3; Luke 3:7; Luke 3:12; Luke 3:16; Luke 3:21. - Luke 7:29-30. - Luke 12:50. - Luke 20:4. John 1:25-26; John 1:28; John 1:31; John 1:33.- John 3:22-23; John 3:26; John 4:1-2. Acts 1:5; Acts 1:22. - Acts 2:38; Acts 2:41. - Acts 8:12-13; Acts 8:16; Acts 8:39; Acts 8:38. 47-48. - Acts 11:16. - Acts 13:24 - Acts 16:15; Acts 16:33. - Acts 18:8; Acts 18:25. - Acts 19:3-5. - Acts 22:16. Romans 6:3-4. 1 Corinthians 1:13-17. - 1 Corinthians 10:2. 1 Corinthians 12:13. - 1 Corinthians 15:29. Galatians 3:27. Ephesians 4:5. Colossians 2:12. Hebrews 6:2. 1 Peter 3:21. As John the Baptist was the first who baptized with water by divine authority, it appears necessary to make a few strictures on his baptism. The place of his preaching was the wilderness of Judea, Matthew 3:1. His doctrine was repentance for sin, faith in the Messiah among them, and good works. See Matthew 3:2; Matthew 3:11-12. John 1:26; John 1:51. Luke 3:7; Luke 3:15. The places where he baptized, were the rivers Jordan and Enon, where there was much water: Matthew 3:6; Matthew 3:16 - John 3:23. What he required of his subjects was confession of sins, and good fruits, Matthew 3:7; Matthew 3:10. Mr 1:5., and he would not admit the multitude of the Pharisees and Saducees to his baptism, without confession and reformation, although they were the children of Abraham: Matthew 3:7; Matthew 3:10. Luke 3:7-8. What words soever John used when he baptized, whether the same that the apostles were taught to use at the ascension of our Lord, or a set of, words telling his subjects to believe in him who should come after him, or any other words, is to me unknown; but he certainly received his commission from heaven, and Jesus, the head of the church, submitted to his baptism.

Whoever carefully considers the texts quoted under the above head, together with corresponding texts respecting the ministry of John, will find that John baptized none but those who are old enough and good enough to make confession of sin, which babies cannot do; that parental virtue was not a sufficient recommendation, without "fruits meet for repentance," and that he baptized in the river Jordan and the waters of Enon. Not a word about infant sprinkling in the whole history of John, nor anything that looks like it. In John 3:22, and John 4:1, it looks as if Jesus himself baptized; which he did in the same manner that Solomon built the temple; that is, it was done by his orders, as John 4:2, explains it. "Though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples." As Jesus never baptized any with water, consequently the children brought to him were not brought for baptism. The passages referred to are Matthew 19:13; Matthew 19:16. Mr 10:13,17. Luke 18:15; Luke 18:18. These children were brought to Jesus, that he should put his hands upon them and pray; and the disciples forbade them. Had it been a usual thing for them to be brought to Jesus, for baptism or any thing else, it is not likely that the disciples would have forbidden them. Parents are generally too negligent about bringing their offspring to Jesus; but these, like the mother of James and John, seemed anxious for the good of their infants, and brought them to Jesus that he might bless them, which in great mercy he did, and said "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." From this, it is certain that some, if not all children are meet for the kingdom of God; and indeed, whoever is thus blessed by Jesus, whether young or old, is graciously prepared for that

holy place. There is no account that he ever did this but once, and not the least hint that he ever enjoined it upon his disciples; and with what propriety could he enjoin a work upon them, which none but God could do; that is, bless children. From the passage under consideration, I have heard the following argument drawn, viz., "that if Jesus received children, ministers should; and that if he declared them meet for heaven, they have a right to all the ordinances of the church below." If this argument has any weight in it, it equally pleads for the Lord's supper; and truly, if a child has a right to baptism, he has the same claim to the communion. As the face of the child can bear a few drops of water, while in the arms of the preacher or father, so the mouth of the child can receive a crumb of bread and a drop of wine while in the arms of the nurse or mother. But what man in his senses will quote these passages to prove infant sprinkling, when there is not a syllable in them about water sprinkling or dipping? If there is, let it be named, and I will take conviction.

Infant sprinkling can be no proof of obedience in a child, who is ignorant of the meaning, and passive in the action. If any virtue, therefore, attend it, it must be either in the parents, gossips, or priest. A virtue in the parents it is not, unless they can prove from scripture that God has commanded it. This proof I have not yet seen, and am inclined to believe I never shall, while the Bible remains as it is. A virtue in the gossips it cannot be, without religious lying is a virtue. They promise, before God and the congregation, to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, for the child, and keep God's holy law as long as life lasts; which an angel could not do, and which they take no pains to do. This, they promise, not only for the children of their neighbors, but for many that they never see afterwards; and priest, clerk, parents and gossips, all thank God that he has blessed the water to the mystical washing away of sin.

How inconsistently men talk! First, they say that children come into the world innocent, free from sin, fit for heaven; and next inform us that water, in baptism, washes away sin. If they are clear of guilt and corruption, how can water wash them away? If they are unclean, what can cleanse them but the blood of the Lamb? In one breath, we are informed that none have a right to baptism until they repent, believe, and are in the visible church; in the next, we are told that baptism is an initiating ordinance. While men speak so inconsistently, who can believe them? Can we think that they believe their own testimonies? A virtue in the priest it is not, because he has no New Testament commission for it; and what is not virtuous must be vicious, and everything vicious should be abandoned.

After the resurrection of our Lord, just as he was going to heaven, to leave his apostles, he renewed their commission, made some enlargements and additions thereto, and more fully described their work; which Matthew 28:19, expresses thus: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Mr 16:15; 16, has it - "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." Matthew seems to speak most on the work of the preacher, and Mark on the character of the disciple. This enlargement of the commission authorized them to go and preach among the Gentiles, as well as the scattered Jews. Wherever they went, they were to preach, and those who were taught and believed, were to be baptized; and those who were taught, believed, and were baptized, had the promise of salvation.

Those who practise infant sprinkling, often have recourse to this commission of the apostles, as a foundation for their practice. It is altogether likely that the apostles understood their own commission, and acted accordingly. The surest way, therefore, to get a true understanding of the nature of the commission, is carefully to consider their conduct. Let Peter take the lead. In Acts 11:14; Acts 11:30, Peter lifted up his voice, and preached a very pointed sermon; and when the people heard his doctrine,

"they were pricked in their hearts, and said to Peter and to the rest of the apostles, men and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them, repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call. Then they who gladly received his word, were baptized; and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. And they continued steadfast in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." - Acts 11:30; Acts 11:30. From this passage, we find that Peter preached according to his orders; the people heard, which was their duty; the Holy Ghost applied the truth to their hearts. Filled with godly sorrow for sin, they cried out, "what shall we do?" which is the language of grace in its first operation; Peter had an answer ready, and said, "repent," (this little word is always a prerequisite to baptism,) "and be baptized, every one of you. " He does not say, be baptized if you feel the weight of it upon you, but enjoins it upon every one of them, that they might receive remission of sins; and, to encourage them in their godly sorrow for their sins, in general, and crucifying the Lord, in particular, he adds:

"For the promise (of the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost) is to you, (fathers,) and unto your children, and to all that are afar off, (both scattered Jews and Gentiles,) even as many as the Lord our God shall call." The promise here does not intend baptism, which is never viewed in the light of a promise, but always as a command. Here, observe, none were baptized, but such as asked what they should do? who did repent, gladly receive the word, continue steadfast in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and in prayers; all of which things infants can not do. The objection raised here, that three thousand could not be baptized by immersion in one day, equally militates against sprinkling, which takes as long a time. The twelve apostles, and seventy disciples, could soon do it. Three thousand, divided among eighty-two, would be about thirty-six or thirty-seven for each, who could easily be baptized in less time than an hour. It is no novelty in Virginia, for a Baptist minister to baptize more than thirty-seven in a small part of a day. The next account of Peter's baptizing, is in Acts 10:1-48, Cornelius was warned of God by a holy angel, and Peter was called by a vision to go to Cornelius. When he came to his house, and preached to him and his neighbors, the Holy Ghost fell on all those who heard. "Then answered Peter, can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord." No account that he went to baptizing before they were converted, but as soon as they received the Holy Ghost, he commanded them, in the name of the Lord, to be baptized. And these were persons who heard Peter, spake with tongues, and magnified God.

What Peter thought baptism figured out, appears from his 1 Peter 3:21. "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us, (not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." Here observe, that baptism

does not remove the filth of the flesh, but figures out the way in which we are saved: viz., by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. When we are plunged beneath the wave, we figure out the death and burial of Jesus; and when we rise from beneath the wave, we figure out the resurrection of the Saviour; in doing which, we have a good conscience. From the history of Peter, then, we have every reason to believe that he understood his commission in such a manner as did not entitle him to baptize any but penitent believers. The next baptizer to be taken notice of, is Philip. Whether this was Philip of Bethsaida, one of the twelve, or Philip the deacon, who was an evangelist, or another man of the same name, is not certain; but Philip went down to Samaria, and preached Christ unto them. Acts 8:5. "And when they believed Philip, preaching concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women." See Acts 8:12. They were not baptized until they believed, and yet were baptized before they received the Holy Ghost in its great effusion; which proves that faith should be antecedent to baptism, and that the receiving of the Holy Ghost in this sort, is something distinct from that grace which makes men saints. In this same chapter, from Acts 8:26, to the end, we have another account of baptism by Philip. A certain eunuch of Ethiopia had been up to Jerusalem, to worship the God of Israel; and, as he was returning home-ward in his chariot, was reading Isaiah 53:1-12; from which it appears that he was a Jewish proselyte, and, no doubt to me, a real saint, who had not yet been taught a risen Saviour. Philip was commanded by the Spirit to go and join himself to the chariot, which he did, and began at the same scripture which the eunuch was reading, and preached unto him Jesus. And as they came to a certain water, the eunuch said, "See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized?"

How the eunuch came to the knowledge of his duty, in this ordinance, is not certain. Whether he had learned at Jerusalem, or some other place, that such was the practice of the Christians; or had some impressions of the Spirit upon him, teaching him his duty; or whether Philip taught it to him, I cannot say; but he certainly requested baptism of Philip. "And Philip said unto him, if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he said, 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 came up out of the water," &c. What can be plainer? Philip preached Jesus; the eunuch believed in him; they came to a certain water; they went down both into it, both the administrator and the subject; baptism was administered; and then they came up out of the water. The next baptizer in course, is Ananias. When Saul was struck to the earth by the power of God, and led blind to Damascus, the Lord sent Ananias unto him, who went and laid his hands on him, and he received his sight. Then said Ananias unto him, why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord. And he arose, and was baptized. Acts 9:1; Acts 9:19 - Acts 22:16.

Paul, the chief apostle of the Gentiles, comes next before us. The first place where he baptized any, that we have an account of, was in Macedonia. (Acts 16:14.) He was called by a vision to go to Macedonia; and when he came to that part of it called Philippi,

"Upon the Sabbath day went out of the city by a river's side, where prayer was wont to be made; and he sat down, and spake unto the women who resorted thither; and a certain woman, named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, who worshipped God, heard him, whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things that were spoken of Paul. And when she was baptized, and her household, she besought Paul, and his companions, saying: If ye have judged

me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house." This woman came from Thyatira to Philippi, trading in purple: she was a female merchant, and, perhaps, a manufacturer, who first made her purple, and then sold it. She employed either her own children or journeymen to assist her in her trade. She was a worshipper of God, heard the gospel, had her heart opened, attended to the things spoken by Paul, and was judged to be faithful to the Lord, and, therefore, a proper subject for baptism. The character of her household is not given in this place; but, in the last verse of the chapter, they are called brethren, and were comforted by Paul; which could with no propriety be said of children or unbelievers. In the 33d verse of the same chapter (Acts 16:33), an account is given of the baptism of a certain man, and his household. The jailer being alarmed by the earthquake, and the open doors of the prison, drew out his sword, and would have killed himself, supposing that the prisoners had made their escape; rather, therefore, than be tried, condemned, and executed for his neglect, he would have been his own judge, jury, and executioner.

"Which Paul perceiving, cried out: do thyself no harm, for we are all here. Then he called for a light, and sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas, and brought them out, and said, sirs, what must I do to be saved? And they said: believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. And he took them, the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes, and was baptized, he and all his, straightway. And when he had brought them into his house, he sat meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God, with all his house."

Here note, the word all is mentioned three times. The jailer and all his household heard the word of the Lord; he and all his house believed and rejoiced in God; he and all his house were baptized. Let his house-hold be young or old, they all heard, believed, rejoiced in God, and were baptized. Now it is well known that infants can neither hear, (so as to understand,) believe, nor rejoice in God, and, therefore, are not fit subjects for baptism,. Next, observe, the jailer brought them out of prison into his house; and as he brought them again into the house to eat, after he was baptized, it is altogether likely that they were baptized out of any house. The next instance of Paul's baptizing, is, Acts 18:8 : "And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house; and many of the Corinthians, hearing, believed, and were baptized." Crispus, Gaius, and the household of Stephanas, were baptized by Paul: 1 Corinthians 1:14; 1 Corinthians 1:16. The rest of them, to complete the many, very likely, were baptized by Silas and Timotheus, who were Paul's companions at Corinth, 1 Corinthians 1:5. Paul was a wise master-builder, among the Corinthians, who laid the foundation, and left Silas and Timotheus to build thereon: 1 Corinthians 3:10. It is not certain that the household of Crispus were baptized, but it is certain that they all believed, and very likely that they, with the other Corinthians, that heard and believed, were baptized. The character of Stephanas and his household is given, 1 Corinthians 16:15, where they are said to be the first fruits of Achaia, and they addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints, which is a work too masculine for infants. The family and neighbors of Cornelius, were baptized, even those who heard and received the Holy Ghost, and magnified God. The household of Lydia, were baptized, who are called brethren, and were comforted by Paul. The household of the jailer, were baptized; such as heard, believed, and rejoiced in God. The household of Stephanas were baptized, who were the first fruits of Achaia, and ministered to the saints. And, if the household of Crispus were baptized, they believed in God, as well as Crispus himself.

Now, if there is any account of any one household beside, that were baptized upon the faith of their father, or promises of their gossips, I should be glad to see it. I confess I have not yet found it

in the New Testament.

Some have quoted 1 Corinthians 7:14, to prove the right of household baptism - "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now are they holy." If this sanctity, or holiness, is truly gracious, we are all in a safe state. Noah, the father of the new world, was a strong believer, if his wife was not; before he married her, she was sanctified on the wedding day; their children, consequently, were holy, Ham among the rest; and so, by succession, down to this day, all are sanctified; which is a doctrine that good Pedobaptists do not believe, any more than we do. The word, therefore, must have a qualified signification, and if we attend to the context, we shall easily find their quality. Read the first part of the chapter. So many of the Corinthian church were connected with unbelievers, (who were idolaters,) in marriage, that they wrote a letter to Paul, to know whether they had not better part believers and unbelievers, that were joined together in wedlock; which Paul did not consent to. The text under consideration, is a part of his answer to their letter, and which, according to our common dialect reads thus: "For the unbelieving husband is legally bound to his wife, and the unbelieving wife is legally bound to her husband; else were your children bastards, but now are they a lawful offspring." This text has no more relation to baptism, than the first verse of Genesis. But one place more remains to be considered concerning Paul's baptizing: Acts, 19:1,8. These twelve men believed, and were baptized unto John's baptism, I suppose by apostles, who had not been taught a risen Saviour, nor received the Holy Ghost in its great effusion. Whether Paul baptized them again, or only explained John's baptism to them, is not so certain. When John taught his disciples, he charged them to believe in one who stood among them, and when they heard it, they were baptized in the name of Jesus. But if it is true, that John's baptism is done away, and that the baptism instituted by Jesus, and practiced by the apostles, is radically different from that of John, and so these twelve men were baptized again by Paul, it is no proof at all for the baptism of infants or unbelievers. If these men were baptized by Paul, they believed first, as the text is plain; and although they had been baptized by John, or more likely by apostles, (one of John's order,) they were not baptized until they brought forth the fruits of repentance. The opinion of Paul concerning baptism, may be seen in Romans 6:3-4 - 1 Corinthians 12:13; Colossians 2:12, where baptism is called a burial; that it represents the death of Christ, and a putting on of Christ. Now, I appeal to common reason, whether believers, baptism, by immersion, upon confession of sin, and an annunciation of a life of obedience to Christ, or infant sprinkling, comes nearest to the sense of these expressions.

I have proved, and can prove, that persons were forbidden baptism on the claim of parental holiness, because they did not bring the fruits of repentance with them; that others were not suffered, until they gave satisfaction of faith in Christ; that when they were baptized, they went down into the water; that they were baptized before they came out of the water; that baptism is a burial of the body; and that, after baptism, they came up out of the water. And, now, if any man can prove from scripture, that infants were ever baptized upon the faith of their parents or promises of their gossips, in private houses, or meeting-houses, by sprinkling water in the face, I will own that they have an equal authority with us for what they do: otherwise, we shall triumph and say, that we act according to the scripture, and they according to human tradition.

Some have run into a gross error respecting the baptism of the Holy Ghost; thinking that nothing more is meant thereby than regeneration. The phrase occurs six times in the New Testament, and

is implied in other places, but always intends something extraordinary. Zachariah and Elizabeth were filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, but not in such a manner as to be called a baptism, and to speak with tongues. The disciples never received this blessing, while Jesus was with them on earth; he always spoke of it as something to come; and after his resurrection, he told his disciples plainly, that they should be baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire in a few days; which was fulfilled, first at the day of Pentecost, and afterwards at particular times, in a wonderful manner. Some were not baptized until they had thus received the Holy Ghost, and others were before; but though many were baptized before they were thus overwhelmed with the spirit, yet none were until they had repentance and faith, or at least made profession of them.

It is said by some, that baptism, by immersion, before a large congregation, especially of the female sex, is very indecent. This objection may have weight with those who are too delicate to obey God rather than man; but will have no effect with those who simply regard the Bible. Circumcision was performed, not only on children, but on old Abraham, and upon more than six hundred thousand men at Gilgal; and the reader may judge for himself, which of the two is more indecent. If circumcision, therefore, was an institution of heaven, no man can object to baptism upon the principle of modesty.

Others observe, that, although the scripture says that Jesus was baptized by John in Jordan, and that Philip, and the eunuch, went down into the water, and came up out of the water; that nothing more is meant than that they went down to the water. Although this objection is void of good sense, yet I wish to make a few remarks upon it. If the observation be true, it is not complied with by any but the Baptists; other societies never go nigh the water to baptize. I have never known of an instance of a man, whose faith, in this sense, carried him to the water-side, but it also led him into the watery tomb. The law of nature, is one criterion to explain scripture by. When it is said that Jesus went up into the mountain, nature says, that he went into, or among the trees, or whatever grew upon the mountain; for into the earth he could not go, without miraculous power, which we have no reason to think he exercised at that time: that he went further than the foot of the mountain, is certain, for he went up. Where it is said that Philip and the eunuch went down into the water, by the law of nature, the argument turns. A man can no more walk upon the water without sinking, than he can walk into the earth. This objection is no good criticism, it is mean pedantry: a desperate subterfuge, to shelter in, for want of plain truth. Can any man believe it, who is not blinded by tradition, prejudice, or systematical mists? If he can, he will then believe, that when the hogs ran down into the sea, and were choked, they only ran to the sea-side, and were choked in the sand. A like observation is made on Mr 16:16. "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." The argument is formed thus: that the auxiliary, is, and the participle, baptized, determine the sentence in the past tense. Why not then written, "He that believeth, and has been baptized, shall be saved?"

It is not certain that the Jews ever baptized their children; and if they did, it was one of their vain traditions, for they had no divine command to do so; and I wish to know who had been in the Gentile world to baptize before the apostles went thither? Matthew records the same commission: "Go teach all nations, baptizing them," &c.; and I am inclined to believe that it would puzzle the greatest scholar in Virginia, to prove that the verb, teach, and participle, baptizing, place the sentence in the past time.

I confess I am presumptuous enough to say that, let other Christians have ever so many promises made to them, yet the promise in Mr 16:16, is made to none but Baptists; and the same is true of Acts 2:38. But the most serious and weighty objection against believers' baptism, that I have seen or heard of, is this: "That many great reformers, and very successful preachers, in past ages, have believed in, and practised infant sprinkling; and if this was an error, would not God have convinced them of it, when he was with them, in so great a degree?" As this objection appears judicious, I shall endeavor to give it a candid answer.

If our inquiries extend as far back as the first ages of Christianity, immediately after the close of inspiration, we shall find ourselves upon disputed ground. Some say that infants were never sprinkled, upon the faith of their parents, until the third century; others say they were, in the first; and, if we consider the carelessness of transcribers, and the partiality of translators, it will not be wondered at. My argument is, that if they were sprinkled the first day after John finished his Revelations, they had no order from Jesus, or his apostles, to do so; and, therefore, it was no way valid or exemplary. The mystery of iniquity began to work, and the man of sin to show his power, before the apostles were dead; and, by little and little, prevailed over all Christendom, and sunk the church into the greatest labyrinth of darkness, as all Protestants confess, which lasted a number of centuries. But in these last ages of the world, God has raised up men of renown, to reform his people, who have been successful in their work; and these have, for the most part, believed in, and practised infant sprinkling.

If we consider the principles of the great reformers, from Luther to the present day, we shall find no entire uniformity in sentiments; which proves them fallible, uninspired men. A number of the real, or supposed errors of one reformation, have been always opposed in the next. That Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Knox, and the English reformers, did much for God, we do not deny; but what enlightened American would make any of them his complete pattern? If God never blessed a man, while holding some error, he could never have blessed but one of them, for no two of them agreed in all things. If the men of one reformation improve upon the doctrine and forms of a prior reformation, we cannot think it a piece of arrogance to say that, in point of baptism, all the Pedobaptist reformers were in an error. The feast of tabernacles was instituted in the days of Moses. Leviticus 23:38-43. Deuteronomy 16:13. At this feast, the children of Israel were to dwell in booths; but from the days of Joshua, the son of Nun, to the days of Nehemiah, this rite was never observed, (Ne 8:13-18,) which was more than a thousand years; in which time, all the good kings of Israel, and many prophets of high rank, lived. It is, then, not sophistry, but honest reasoning, to say, that if there had not been a Baptist in the world, since John the Divine, it would be no sufficient objection against believers' baptism by immersion now.

I have human testimony to prove that a number of the reformers were Baptists, and, particularly, John Wickliff, the great reformer in England, called, by way of eminence, the Morning Star; but if there never had been one, from the days of Constantine to the present day, the Scripture is full of proof, that all were of that order, in the days of Christ and the apostles; at least, no account is given of any other way of baptizing, save only by immersion, upon profession of repentance and faith. The argument, to prove infant sprinkling from circumcision, I have said nothing about. Consequences upon consequences, drawn from false premises, are used so much in the argument, that it appears foolish to an accurate mind, and inconclusive to the vulgar. If its advocates can produce a single text, where the last is a substitute for the first, it will be worth

regarding; otherwise, infant sprinkling may as well be proved from the Hebrew servant's ear, that was bored through with an awl.

23. Published in Virginia before the year 1790; the precise year is not known.

24. No notice is taken of Hebrews 6:2, because, it is doubtful whether the word refers to the Levitical customs of washings, or to the practice of Christians. The same Greek word is found elsewhere, but differently translated in our version.

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THE VIRGINIA CHRONICLE.

PREFACE.

I have neither his Lordship, his Grace, nor his Highness, to dedicate this little Chronicle unto, for patronage; but, like its author, it must stand upon its own merits, and like him, it has many imperfections. The piece will in no wise answer its title, save only in giving an account of the different religious sects in the state: and, even in this particular, the account is general, without descending to minute circumstances. To make the pamphlet small, where I have quoted the words of others, or taken passages out of histories, I have given the authors no credit. If I have bourn too hard upon the Episcopalians, it is because they only have been established by law, and I am no great admirer of legal religion. And even in this point, I hope the note, under the twelfth head, will sufficiently palliate. In the description of the Baptist principles, I have sometimes used the plural pronoun, we, us, etc., but if I have inadvertently misrepresented the general opinion, and only written my own, I I should be glad to be corrected. A particular narration how the Baptist religion broke out and spread, and by what means, and marvellous ways God wrought, is likely to be offered to the world, in a History now preparing by the General Committee. Although I have presumed to appear in public, yet I will by no means recall a former observation:

Some books are written in ambition, Others to change a low condition;

Some are th' effect of pride and spite, And some, perhaps, are written right; But should the gospel clearly shine, How many books, now call'd divine, Would be committed to the flames, And authors lose their mighty names. THE VIRGINIA CHRONICLE 25.

Truth is as essential to history as the soul is to the body. - FREDERICK. In omnibus rebus magis offendit nimium quam parum. A DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA. THIS state, from the Virgin Queen, (Elizabeth,) is called VIRGINIA. Bounded on the north, by Maryland, Pennsylvania, etc.; on the west, by the Ohio and the Mississippi; on the south, by Carolina, and on the east, by the Atlantic. From east to west, the state is about seven hundred and fifty-eight miles; but from north to south, it is very unequal, being much wider at the west than at the east. According to the best calculation of the boundary lines, it includes one hundred and twenty-one thousand, five hundred and twenty five square miles, or, seventy-seven million, seven hundred and seventy-six thousand acres. The state is divided by several ridges of mountains: the Blue Ridge, the North Mountain, and the Alleghany, are the most notable. Though some mountains are of a greater altitude from their bases in the two first ridges mentioned, yet the Alleghany is the ridge-pole of the state. All the waters, east of that mountain, fall into the Atlantic; and all west of it, fall into the Mississippi, and empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico. The state, at present, is divided into ninety counties, each of which, is entitled to send two delegates to the General Assembly. There are also, in the state, about one hundred parishes. In England, there are nine thousand three hundred and forty-eight parishes; in Scotland, nine hundred and thirty-eight; in Ireland, fifteen hundred and eighty-six; in all, eleven

thousand eight hundred and seventy-two. In some counties, there are not more than one parish; in others, there are as many as four; in rare instances, parishes include parts of two counties. Those counties that have been established since the revolution, have no parishes in them. Under the regal government, parish-officers provided for the poor, as well as the preachers; but now, the poor are otherwise provided for, and preachers are not supported by legal force; and was it not for the preservation of parish property, viz., glebes, churches, etc., there would be no need of parish bounds in the state.

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS. IN the year, 1584, Queen Elizabeth, by her letters patent, licensed Sir Walter Raleigh, to search for remote heathen lands, not inhabited by Christian people, and sent out two ships, which visited Wococon Island, in North-Carolina; and the next year he sent one hundred and seven men, who settled Roanoke Island.

And, in the year, 1586, he sent fifty men more, and in 1587, one hundred and fifty more, with a governor and twelve assistants, who landed at Hatteras. Sir Walter being attainted at home, could take no more care of his new colonists; and what became of them, whether they were devoured by hunger, or wild beasts - destroyed by savages, or incorporated among them, no mortal man can tell.

But, in 1607, King James executed a new grant of Virginia, to Sir Thomas Gates, and others, which was superseded, 1609, to the Earl of Salisbury, and others. The first settlement they made, was at Jamestown, few in number, and surrounded almost by savage nations; but, by the blessing of God, the little one is become a strong nation. Mr. Jefferson says, that in 1782, there were in this state, five hundred and sixty-seven thousand six hundred and fourteen inhabitants, of every age, sex, and condition. Of which, two hundred and ninety-six thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, were free, and two hundred and seventy thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, were slaves; which makes the proportion of slaves to the free, nearly as ten to eleven. Mr. Randolph, in 1788, stated the round numbers, thus: three hundred and fifty-two thousand whites, and two hundred and thirty-six thousand blacks; in all, five hundred and eighty-eight thousand. According to Mr. Randolph's statement, from 1782, to 1788, the whites had increased above fifty-five thousand, but the blacks had decreased about thirty-four thousand. These gentlemen had both official accounts, being both governors of Virginia, but the returns from the counties are imperfect, and from some counties, no returns at all are made to the Executive. According to Mr. Randolph's account, the proportion of blacks to the whites, is nearly as two is to three. To do honor to both these great characters, and to make allowance for population, and emigration in the west part of the state, since 1788, I conclude that the number of six hundred thousand inhabitants, is not far from truth. And to form a compromise between their proportions, ten to eleven, and two to three, we may suppose that the number of blacks, compared to that of whites, is like six to seven. By this rule, there are in Virginia, three hundred and twenty-three thousand and seventy-seven whites, and two hundred and seventy-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-three blacks. It has been observed, that the number of acres in Virginia, is seventy-seven million seven hundred and seventy-six thousand, which, equally divided among the inhabitants, would be more than one hundred and eleven acres for each soul; which is above thirty times as much as the nation of Israel had, when they took possession of the promised land, according to Richard Tyron, Esq. OF THE QUAKERS. THE first settlers in this state, were emigrants from England, of the English church, just at a point of time when the Episcopalians were flushed with complete victory over all other religious

persuasions; and having power in their hands, they soon discovered a degree of intolerance towards others. The oppressed Quakers, flying from persecution in England, cast their eyes on these colonies, as asylums of civil and religious liberty, but found them free for none but the reigning sects. Several acts of the Virginia Assembly, of 1659, 1662, 1693, made it penal in parents, to refuse to baptize their children; prohibited the unlawful assembling of Quakers, and made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the colony; ordered those already here, and those who should come thereafter, to be imprisoned till they should abjure the country; provided a milder punishment for their first and second return, but death for the third; forbid all persons from suffering Quaker meetings in, or near their houses, entertaining them individually, or disposing of books that supported their tenets. It is a satirical saying, that every sect will oppress, when they have the power in possession, and the saying is too serious as well as satirical. When we read of the sufferings of the Quakers, or any other society, we can hardly believe that those oppressed innocents, would ever retaliate, if it was in their power; much less, that they would ever oppress those who had not oppressed them; but stubborn fact declares the contrary. I have pretty good authority, that the Penn Quakers, in Pennsylvania, imprisoned and fined the Keithian Quakers, in 1692, on account of some religious disputes. What contributes greatly towards this kind of oppression, is the erroneous scheme of receiving all the natural offspring into the pales of the church: by this method, in general, a great majority of the church will be ignorant of the new birth, and consequently of the nature of the gospel; and therefore, of course, appeal to the civil law, for protection, which naturally brings on oppression upon all nonconformists.

Notwithstanding the laws of Virginia were so severe against the Quakers, yet there is no account that any of them were put to death; and a remnant of them have continued in Virginia, down to this day, holding the same principles, and pursuing the same manners, of their brethren in the northern states, and those in Europe. OF THE SLAVES. THE horrid work of bartering spirituous liquor for human souls, plundering the African coast, and kidnapping the people, brought the poor slaves into this state; and, notwithstanding their usage is much better here than in the West Indies, yet human nature, unbiased by education, shudders at the sight. They populate as fast as the whites do, and are rather more healthy, The first republican assembly ever holden in Virginia, passed an act, utterly prohibiting the importation of any of them into the state. In some things, they are viewed as human creatures, and in others, only as property; their true state then, is that of human property. The laws of Virginia, protect their lives and limbs, but do not protect their skin and flesh. The marriage of slaves, is a subject, not known in our code of laws. What promises soever they make, their masters may and do part them at pleasure. If their marriages are as sacred as the marriages of freemen, the slaves are guilty of adultery, when they part voluntarily, and the masters are guilty of a sin as great, when they part them involuntarily; and yet, while they are property, it is not in the power of the masters to prevent their being forced apart, in numberless instances. The marriage of a Hebrew servant, with a Canaanitish slave, could be dispensed with, at the servant's option, without sin. From this, we should imagine, that there was little or no validity in the marriage of two slaves; but, if it is maintained that their marriages are equally binding with the marriages of the free-born, the inevitable parting of married slaves, holds forth the idea of slavery in a still more aggravated point of view.

Liberty of conscience, in matters of religion, is the right of slaves, beyond contradiction; and yet, many masters and overseers will whip and torture the poor creatures for going to meeting, even at

night, when the labor of the day is over. No longer ago than November, 1788, Mr. - made a motion in the assembly, for leave to bring in a bill, not only to prevent the assembling of slaves together, but to fine the masters for allowing it; but, to his great mortification, it was rejected with contempt. No change is yet discernible among the negroes in Virginia, in point of color; but the children of the third and fourth generations retain as much of the jet, as their ancestors did, who were imported from Africa. The difference of climate, therefore, cannot be the cause of the difference of colors; and, as they live upon the same kind of food that the whites do, their diet cannot be the cause of a diversity of color, hair or shape.

Letters were not much used, if any at all, before the days of Moses; consequently, 2,500 years elapsed without registers, which answers for our ignorance of the cause of the many colors, different shapes, and diversity of hues among the sons of grandfather Adam, and father Noah; and also apologizes for our uncertainty, how the many islands and continents were peopled, at first, with those animals that the ark unladed upon the mountains of Ararat. From the blacks, in Virginia, there have been few Albinos born. These Albinos proceed from black parents, but are in color like the tawny plastering of a wall, without any seams in their flesh, or much Cornelian. Their hair, in length and curl, is like that of blacks, but of a white color; their shape like blacks. Their eyes are sharp and tremulous, and cannot endure the light of the sun as well as others, but see better in the night. Some of their children are black, and others are Albino. I have seen a few of them, and heard of others.

Romulus, the first king of Rome, placed the patricians in the senate, and divided the plebians into tribes, but as for the slaves, they were not considered at all, which is true of the slaves in Virginia, as far as it respects incorporation, but not in every respect. Among us, they are tried before magistrates and courts, and their evidences are as valid, one against another, as the testimonies of the free-born are; but the concurring testimony of a thousand blacks against a white man, is but a cypher in law. If a slave is ever so much abused by his master, or overseer, with unmerciful tasks, barbarous chastisement, etc., if his life and limbs are secure, nothing is done to the abuser. The slave has none to apply to for redress. In our federal government, the slaves are treated with some more respect than they are in the state government. Although they have no vote in the choice of representatives to Congress, yet, according to the census established in the federal constitution, five of them number equal to three whites, which amounts to this, that a slave is possessed of three-fifths of a man, and two-fifths of a brute. The state of slaves is truly pitiable, and that of the master, in some things, more so. Slaves, drudge and toil for others, and but seldom please them. Men seldom please themselves, and others are almost sure to displease. When the mind is out of humor, it always seeks an object to accuse with the cause of its trouble: so Adam blamed Eve, and Eve the devil. Overseers commonly scold at slaves, let them do ill or well, from the generally received opinion, that negroes will not bear good usage; the slave grows heartless, and sinks in despair, and, knowing that he labors for another, has nothing to stimulate him. The master finds that, without force, nothing will be done; and, therefore, without rage and lightning in his eyes, and a lash in his hand, can make him happy, he is sure to be miserable. If a hard hand and a meek heart, are preferable to a soft hand and a turbulent, fretted, disappointed heart, the master would be better without them than with them. The whole scene of slavery is pregnant with enormous evils. On the master's side, pride, haughtiness, domination, cruelty, deceit and indolence; and on the side of the slave, ignorance, servility, fraud, perfidy and despair. If these,

and many other evils, attend it, why not liberate them at once? Would to Heaven this were done! The sweets of rural and social life will never be well enjoyed, until it is the case. But the voice of reason, (or perhaps the voice of covetousness,) says, it is not the work of a day; time is necessary to accomplish the important work: a political evil requires political measures to reform. Insurmountable difficulties arise to prevent their freedom. Can government free them? The laws have declared them property; as such, men have bought and enjoyed them. Is it not unconstitutional for government to take away the property of individuals? Can government ransom them? Their number Isaiah 276,923; if they should be valued at £30 in average, the sum would be £8,307,690, infinitely beyond what the commonwealth could pay to the holders of slaves, for their ransom, unless they should be made to ransom themselves in discount; which would cast an intolerable burthen upon those who, through conscience or poverty, have none of them in possession.

Some men have almost all their estates in slaves, while the estates of others are in lands; should the legislature, therefore, force one part of the community to give up their property, and leave the other part in full possession of all, would they not be justly accused of injustice?

Others, there are, who owe great sums of money; they were credited upon the value of their slaves; should their slaves be now emancipated by law, the creditors would lose their just dues. The custom of the country is such, that, without slaves, a man's children stand but a poor chance to marry in reputation. As futile as this may appear to a foreigner, I am well convinced, that now it is one of the great difficulties that prevent liberation of slaves among the common sort. To this I would add, that bad custom has so far prevailed, that it is looked upon rather mean for a free man to be employed in drudgery. Were they freed from their masters, without being eligible to any post of honor and profit, it would only be another name for slavery; and, if they were eligible, it is not easy to say what governors, legislatures, and judges we should have. If they were walking at liberty, in every respect, I know not what past injuries might prompt them to do. And how much mixing of colors in marriage, and how many forcible debauches there might be, no mortal man can foretell. 26. But one thing is pretty certain, that fancy can hardly point out, how they could serve the whites worse than the whites now serve them. Something must be done! May Heaven point out that something, and may the people be obedient. If they are not brought out of bondage, in mercy, with the consent of their masters, I think that they will be, by judgment, against their consent.

It is the peculiarity of God, to bring light out of darkness, good out of evil, order out of confusion, and make the wrath of man praise him. The poor slaves, under all their hardships, discover as great inclination for religion as the freeborn do. When they engage in the service of God, they spare no pains. It is nothing strange for them to walk twenty miles on Sunday morning to meeting, and back again at night. They are remarkable for learning a tune soon, and have very melodious voices.

They cannot read, and therefore, are more exposed to delusion than the whites are; but many of them give clear, rational accounts of a work of grace in their hearts, and evidence the same by their lives. When religion is lively, they are remarkably fond of meeting together, to sing, pray, and exhort, and sometimes preach, and seem to be unwearied in the exercises. They seem, in general, to put more confidence in their own color, than they do in the whites. When they attempt

to preach, they seldom fail of being very zealous; their language is broken, but they understand each other, and the whites may gain their ideas. A few of them have undertaken to administer baptism, but it generally ends in confusion. They commonly are more noisy, in time of preaching, than the whites, and are more subject to bodily exercise, and if they meet with any encouragement in these things, they often grow extravagant. THE UNIFORMITY OF RELIGION FOR ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS.

UNDER the regal government, the Episcopal form of worship was established by law in Virginia. The ministers of that order, solemnly affirmed, that they gave their unfeigned assent and consent to the thirty-nine articles, and book of common prayer, and declared that they were inwardly moved, by the Holy-Ghost, to enter upon the work of the ministry; this they avowed at their ordination, and being consecrated by a spiritual lord in England, they were proper subjects to fill the vacant, or new created parishes in Virginia. If it could be supposed, that they were avaricious salary-hunters, they surely had a tempting bait before them; like the people of old, who said, "put me, I pray thee, into the priest's office, that I may have bread to eat. " But, as it is not my wish to inculcate slander, or raise a mean jealousy in the minds of any, I shall attend to matter of fact. When an incumbent was inducted into a parish, he was entitled to a wealthy glebe, having all necessary houses built upon it, at the expense of the parish, which he held during good behaviour. His fixed salary was sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, which was stated at 16s and 8d per hundred, which made the sum of £133 6s 8d, Virginia currency. He was also entitled to 20s, for every marriage that he solemnized in the mode of a license, and 5s for every one by publication. He had a further perquisite of 40s for every funeral sermon that he preached. His parishioners, were under no legal bonds to have a funeral sermon preached for their deceased friends, but custom led all persons of reputation, to request it. Whether it was owing to their superabundant virtue, or the indolence of the people, or any other cause, it seldom so happened that they were dismissed from their parishes, after they were once inducted into them. The king of Britain was the head of that church; every child that was baptized was a member of it, and no discipline was executed among them but the civil law. The Quakers were few and peaceable, and, as there were none to oppose Episcopacy, it may be said, that they enjoyed the full possession of the state, until about 1740, without having any to call in question their doctrine and forms of worship. OF THE PRESBYTERIANS. THAT part of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany, is peopled in part by emigrants from Pennsylvania, of Irish extraction, and Presbyterian profession, who, before the middle of this century, set up their form of worship; but, being in the then frontiers of the state, were not troubled by government; but the rise and treatment of the Presbyterians, below the Blue-Ridge, was as follows: A number of persons in the county of Hanover, grew very uneasy in the state they were in; could not find that satisfaction, under the preaching of Episcopal ministers, which they desired, and had no opportunity of hearing any others; but, in the year 1743, a young gentleman from Scotland, got a book of Mr. Whitfield's sermons, and one Mr. Samuel Morris read it, and received great benefit therefrom. He next invited his neighbours to come and hear the book read, and as the truth had great effect upon them, Mr. Morris was invited to meet the people at various places, and read to them, which was much owned and blessed of God; but, for absenting from the church, they were cited to appear before the court, to assign their reasons, and declare what denomination they were of. As they were not acquainted with any dissenters but the Quakers; and as they had heard and read of Luther, the Reformer, they declared themselves, Lutherans. About this time, Mr. William Robinson, from a northern Presbytery, travelled through

the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. On his return, he founded a Presbyterian congregation in the county of Lunenburg, Virginia, and preached, with great success, in Amelia. The people in Hanover, hearing of him, sent a messenger, desiring him to come into their Macedonia, and help them. Accordingly, on July 6th, 1743, he came and preached among them four days, with remarkable success, and directed them to pray and sing, at their meetings, as well as read. After him, came Mr. Roan, from the Presbytery of Newcastle, who was instrumental in spreading the work further around; but, for speaking a little freely of the degeneracy of the Episcopal clergy in Virginia, he was accused of speaking blasphemy. A vile wretch, (like Jezebel's witnesses,) deposed that he blasphemed God and the clergy, whereupon an indictment was drawn up; but he was returning to the northward, when the trial came on, no witnesses appeared against him, so that the indictment fell through. The people in Hanover, then sent to the Synod of New York, in 1745; the Synod drew an address to Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, and sent it by the Rev. Messrs. Tennant and Finley. The governor received them very politely, and gave them license to preach. After they left Virginia, Mr. Morris was several times presented to the court, and fined, for neglecting the church. Soon after, came Messrs. William Tennant, and Samuel Blair, and after them, Mr. Whitfield, and preached among them four or five days. In the spring of the year, 1747, came Mr. Samuel Davies, in a time of great need. A proclamation was set up at their meeting-house, obliging all the magistrates to suppress all itinerant preachers; but, Mr. Davies went to the governor and obtained a license to preach at four meeting-houses. He moved into Virginia, in 1748, and preached there eleven years; he had seven meeting-houses, three of them were in Hanover, and four in the counties of Henrico, Caroline, Goochland, and Louisa. In 1759, he removed from Virginia to New Jersey, to be President over Nassau Hall College, at Princeton; but the great and good man, did not live long there, for he departed this life, February, 1761.

About the time of the revival, in Hanover, there was a great awakening in Augusta, under the ministry of Messrs. Dean and Byram, and something of a like work in Frederick. The Presbyterians are pretty numerous in Virginia; they have several academies in the state, and one college in Prince Edward, presided over by Mr. Smith, under whose ministry there has been a sweet revival of religion of late. Their doctrine and discipline, are too well known to be repeated. They were all obliged to pay the Episcopal clergymen, as much as if they had been Episcopalians, until the late Revolution; and, if their preachers solemnized the rites of matrimony, in the mode of license, the parish preachers claimed and recovered the fees, as though they had solemnized the rites themselves. The Presbyterians indulge, perhaps, in too much mirth at their houses, yet, it may be said in truth, that they have the best art of training up children, in good manners, of any society in the state. OF THE METHODISTS. THE Methodists took their rise in England, fifty or sixty years ago; but what concerns us at present, is to consider their rise and spread in America, and particularly in Virginia, which was as follows:

About 1764, Philip Embury, a local preacher, from Ireland, came to New York, and formed a society, of his own countrymen, and others. About the same time, Robert Strawbridge, another local preacher, from Ireland, settled in Frederick county, in Maryland, and formed a few societies. In 1769, Richard Boardman, and Joseph Pilmoor, came to New York, who were the first regular Methodist preachers on the continent. In 1771, Francis Asbury, and Richard Wright, came over, and many classes were formed, and many ministers were raised up among them. From their first

rise in America, until 1784, they called themselves the members of the church of England, and went to the Episcopal ministers for baptism and the eucharist.

They never spread much in Virginia, till about 1775. Since that time, they have spread so much, that they have a sprinkling all over the state, and, in some counties, are numerous. In 1784, Rev. Thomas Coke came over from England, having authority from Mr. John Wesley, (the first founder of the society,) to organize the Methodists into a distinct church. Pursuant thereto, Mr. Francis Asbury was ordained superintendant, and a number of elders and deacons were consecrated for inferior services. Their number, on the continent, is above forty-three thousand, and they have been the most fortunate, in increasing their number of preachers, of any society in Virginia. They deny the doctrine of predestination, according to the Calvinistic explanation; hold that Christ died for all Adam's progeny; believe that, after men are converted and sanctified, they may fall away, and be finally damned; their doctrine, in fine, is Arminian, their magazine bears the name. Their ministers are very constant preachers, and they exceed all societies in the state, in spreading their books and written tenets among the people. They generally baptize by sprinkling, but their rules allow of pouring or immersion. 27. OF THE TUNKERS

THERE are a few Tunkers and Mennonists in Virginia, and, as it is the design of this chronicle to treat of all the religious sects in the state, I shall give an account of their first rise and peculiarities. First of the Tunkers. The Germans sound the letter t like d, for which reason they are called Dunkers, which name signifies Sops or Dippers. They first arose in Schwarznau, in the year 1708. Seven religious neighbors, chiefly Presbyterians, consorted together, to read the Bible, and edify each other in the way that they had been brought up, having never heard that there was a Baptist in the world. However, being convinced of believers' baptism, and congregational government, they desired Alexander Mack to baptize them, which he objected to, considering himself unbaptized; upon which they cast lots for an administrator. 28. Upon whom the lot fell, has been cautiously concealed; but baptized they were, in the river Eder, by Schwarzzenau, and then formed themselves into a church, choosing Alexander Mack for their minister. As God prospered their labors, and made them increase, both in members and preachers, so Satan raised persecution against them. Some fled to Holland, and some to Creyfelt; and the mother church voluntarily removed to Frizland, and thence to America. In 1719, and in 1729, those of Holland and Creyfelt followed them. In Pennsylvania, Maryland, etc., there is a considerable number of them; and a few from those states have found their way into Virginia. They hold that Christ not only died for all Adam's race, but that he will finally restore all to glory. They practise trine-immersion in baptism; leading the candidate into the water, he kneels down, and the minister dips him, face downward, first in the name of the Father, then in the name of the Son, and then in the name of the Holy Ghost; which being done, while he continues on his knees, the minister imposes hands upon his head, prays, and then leads them out. They also practise washing of feet, anointing the sick with oil, and the holy kiss. They will neither swear, fight, nor keep slaves. They make little or no use of the civil law, and take no use for money. As Christians, they live mortified, self-denying lives; and, as citizens, they are patterns of peace; well deserving their common title - harmless Tunkers. OF THE MENNONISTS. THE Mennonists derive their name from Menno Simon. He was born in the year 1505 - got into orders in 1528 - continued a famous preacher and disputer till 1531. He then began to question the validity of many things in the church of Rome, and among the rest, infant baptism; but neither the doctors of his order, nor those of the Protestant faith, gave him

the satisfaction he wished for. He finally embraced believers' baptism, and continued preaching and planting churches in the low countries for thirty years, and died in peace, January 31, 1561. Menno was dipped himself, and dipped others, and so did his successors, except when they were in prison, or were hindered from going to the water, and then pouring was practised. What they used in Europe, only of necessity, is become the only mode practised by them in America. They hold a profession of faith a prerequisite to baptism, which, in Virginia, is made by learning to answer a number of questions. The candidate being received, kneels down before the minister, and water is poured on his head; after which, follow imposition of hands and prayer. They believe the doctrine of universal provision, but not the doctrine of universal restitution; they are equally conscientious of swearing and bearing arms, with the Quakers and Tunkers. The only Virginia Baptist church that I know of in the state, that refuse to bear arms, or take an oath before a magistrate, is one in Shenandoah; the chiefest of whom, are the natural descendants of the Mennonists. In worship and discipline, they are like other Baptists in the state; but some peculiarities of the Mennonists, keep them from uniting. The Tunkers and Mennonists seem to be more consistent with themselves than the Quakers, in disusing the law as well as arms. Perhaps the reason is, because the two first have been small, persecuted societies, and have learned to bear affliction patiently, and have but little to do with mankind; but should they undertake to settle a colony themselves, as the Quakers did Pennsylvania, it is probable that they would see the necessity of civil law. Civil government is certainly a curse to mankind; but it is a necessary curse, in this fallen state, to prevent greater evils. It is yet a question, whether the good Quakers have a sufficient reason for using the law, and not appealing to arms. If an internal foe arises, and kills a man, they execute the law, and hang the murderer; but if external foes invade, and kill and burn all before them, no means must be used to bring them to punishment. Is it bad reasoning to say, that when innocency is injured, it appeals first to law for redress; but if it finds no redress at law, it finally appeals to arms? The law of a state, is the compact of citizens in the state, and the law of nations in confederation, is the compact of bodies of men; and why the violators of one should be punished, and the breakers of the other pass with impunity, is not so easily answered. If all nations were true to their engagements, there would be no war in the world; so, if all the citizens in a state, lived agreeable to the laws of it, there would be no punishment. If there was no sin in the world, there would be no laws needed. The more virtuous people are, the more liberal their laws should be; but the more vicious the people are, the more severe the laws must be, to restrain their unruly passions. Where rulers are more virtuous than the people, the more independent and important the rulers are, the better for the people; but where the people are more virtuous than the magistrates, magistrates should be dependant on, and responsible to the people. As it is generally seen that the people are more virtuous than those in power; consequently, a republican, responsible government is best. Great salaries given to officers, are as dangerous to the good of the community, as no salaries are. Great salaries stimulate avaricious men, to make use of undue means to acquire those offices, while men of real merit feel a disgust to prey so much upon the industrious. Incompetent salaries, disable men of small fortunes from filling those offices their real merit entitles them to, and consequently fix government in the hands of the rich, who generally feel more for themselves, than they do for the poor. To fix salaries high enough, and not too high, is the work of the wise; and to give power enough to men to do good, and yet have it so counterpoised, that they can do no harm, is a line so difficult to be drawn, that it has never yet been done.

OF THE BAPTISTS. THE Baptists took their rise in Virginia, before the Methodists; but, as I purpose

to treat more largely on the doctrine and forms of the Baptists, than I have done on other societies, I have reserved them for the last.

There were a few Baptists in Virginia, before the year, 1760, but they did not spread, so as to be taken notice of by the people, much less by the rulers, till after that date. About the year, 1764, they prevailed so much, that, in the year following, they formed an Association, called, "the Kettocton Regular Baptist Association." 29. From 1764, to 1774, the Baptists spread over the greatest part of the state that was peopled. Several ministers, of that order came from Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and settled in the northern parts of the state, and others were raised up in the southern parts, who travelled about, and preached like the old Baptist, John, "repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand," and great numbers of the people went out unto them, and were baptized, confessing their sins. Many of the young converts caught the spirit of their teachers, and zealously engaged in the work. In a course of time, the fires from the northern preachers, and those in the south, met, like the two seas, in St. Paul's shipwreck, in Orange county, 1767. Two or three ministers, from each side, assembled in conference, but did not so happily unite, as candor desired. A division took place. The northern members called themselves, "Regular Baptists," and the southern members called themselves, "Separate Baptists;" and, if some alienation of affection did not attend this division, in some instances, it was because they were free from those temptations that have always mingled with religious divisions, and if there was not a little zeal discovered to proselyte, as well as convert the people, I have been wrongly informed. The Regulars, adhered to a confession of faith, first published in London, 1689, and afterwards adopted by the Baptist Association of Philadelphia, in 1742; but the Separates had none but the Bible. Just upon the spot of ground where the division took place, the members knew something of the cause; but those who lived at a distance, were ignorant of the reason, and whenever they met, they loved each other as brethren, and much deplored that there should be any distinction, or shyness among them. The Separates, who also formed an association, increased much the fastest, both in ministers and members, and occupied, by far, the greatest territory. The Regulars were orthodox Calvinists, and the work under them was solemn and rational; but the Separates were the most zealous, and the work among them was very noisy. The people would cry out, "fall down," and, for a time, lose the use of their limbs; which exercise made the bystanders marvel; some thought they were deceitful, others, that they were bewitched, and many being convinced of all, would report that God was with them of a truth. THE PERSECUTION OF THE BAPTISTS.

SOON after the Baptist ministers began to preach in Virginia, the novelty of their doctrine, the rarity of mechanics and planters preaching such strange things,³⁰ and the wonderful effect that their preaching had on the people, called out multitudes to hear them - some out of curiosity, some in sincerity, and some in ill will. Their doctrine, influence and popularity, made them many enemies; especially among those who value themselves most for religion in the Episcopal mode. The usual alarm of the Church and State being in danger, was echoed through the colony; nor were the Episcopal clergymen so modest, but what they joined the alarm; like the silversmiths of old, crying "our craft is in danger of being set at naught." Magistrates began to issue their warrants, and sheriffs had their orders to take up the disturbers of the peace. The county of Spottsylvania took the lead, and others soon followed their example. Preaching, teaching, or exhorting, was what disturbed the peace. A like work disturbed the peace of Satan, when he cried

out, "let us alone." Sometimes, when the preachers were brought before the courts, they escaped the prison by giving bonds and security, that they would not preach in the county in the term of one year; but most of them preferred the dungeon to such bonds. Not only ministers were imprisoned, but others, for only praying in their families, with a neighbor or two. The act of toleration, passed in the first of William and Mary's reign, afforded the suffering brethren some relief. By applying to the general court, and subscribing to all the thirty-nine articles, saving the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, and thirty-sixth, together with one clause in the twentieth, and part of the twenty-seventh, they obtained license to preach at certain stipulated places; 31. but, if they preached at any other places, they were exposed to be prosecuted.

Some of the prisoners would give bonds not to preach, and as soon as they were freed, would immediately preach as before. This was done, when they had reason to believe that the court would never bring suit upon the bonds. I have never heard of but one such suit in the state, and that one was dismissed. The ministers would go singing from the court-house to the prison, where they had, sometimes, the liberty of the bounds, and at other times they had not. 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 around the prison; others, would employ half drunken strolls to beat a drum around 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 of the preachers were honored 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 colored. Virginia soil has never been stained with vital blood for conscience sake. Heaven has restrained the wrath of man, and brought auspicious days at last. We now sit under our vines and fig-trees, and there is none to make us afraid. THE REASONS OF THEIR DISSENT. BUT why this schism? says an inquisitor. If the people were disposed to be more devotional than they had been before, why not be devout in the church in which they had been raised, without rending themselves off, and procuring so much evil unto themselves? This question may be answered in part, by asking a similar one. Why did the Episcopal church rend off from the church of Rome, in the Reformation? Why not continue in that church, and worship in her mode? What necessity for that schism, which occasioned so much war and persecution? If we are to credit Frederick, in his "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg," the cause of the Reformation was, in England, the love of a woman - in Germany, the love of gain - in France, the love of novelty, or a song. But can the church of England offer no other reason for her heretical schism, but the love of a woman? Undoubtedly she can: she has done it, and we approve of her reason; but after all, she is not so pure in her worship, but what we have many reasons for dissenting from her. Some of which are as follows:

1. No national church, can, in its organization, be the Gospel Church. A national church takes in the whole nation, and no more; whereas, the Gospel Church, takes in no nation, but those who fear God, and work righteousness in every nation. The notion of a Christian commonwealth, should be exploded forever, without there was a commonwealth of real Christians. Not only so, but if all the souls in a government, were saints of God, should they be formed into a society by law, that society could not be a Gospel Church, but a creature of state.

2. The church of England, in Virginia, has no discipline but the civil law. The crimes of their delinquent members are tried in a court-house, before the judges of the police, their censures are laid on at the whipping-post, and their excommunications are administered at the gallows. In England, if a man cast contempt upon the spiritual court, the bishop delegates a grave priest, who, with his chancellor, excommunicate him. The man thus excommunicated, is by law, disabled from being a plaintiff or witness in any suit. But for heresy, incest or adultery, the bishop himself pronounces the exclusion. The outcast, is not only denied the company of Christians, in spiritual duties, but also, in temporal concerns. He not only is disabled from being plaintiff or witness in any suit, (and so deprived of the protection of the law,) but if he continues forty-days an excommunicant, a writ comes against him, and he is cast into prison, without bail, and there continues until he has paid the last mite. Mrs.

Trask was judged a heretick, because she believed in the Jewish Sabbath, and for that, she was imprisoned sixteen years, until she died; but a Gospel Church has nothing to do with corporeal punishments. If a member commits sin, the church is to exclude him, which is as far as church power extends. If the crime is cognizable by law, the culprit must bear what the law inflicts. In the church of England, ecclesiastical and civil matters are so blended together, that I know not who can be blamed for dissenting from her.

3. The manner of initiating members into the church of England, is arbitrary and tyrannical. The subject, (for a candidate I cannot call him,) is taken by force, brought to the priest, baptized, and declared a member of the church. The little Christian shows all the aversion he is capable of, by cries and struggles, but all to no purpose; ingrafted he is; and, when the child grows up, if he differs in judgment from his father and king, he is called a dissenter, because he is honest, and will not say that he believes what he does not believe; and, as such, in England, can fill no post of honor or profit. Here, let it be observed, that religion is a matter entirely between God and individuals. No man has a right to force another to join a church; nor do the legitimate powers of civil government extend so far as to disable, incapacitate, proscribe, or in any way distress, in person, property, liberty or life, any man who cannot believe and practice in the common road. A church of Christ, according to the Gospel, is a congregation of faithful persons, called out of the world by divine grace, who mutually agree to live together, and execute gospel discipline among them; which government, is not national, parochial, or presbyterial, but congregational.

4. The church of England has a human head. Henry VIII. cast off the Pope's yoke, and was declared head of the church, 1533; which title, all the kings of England have borne since; but the Gospel Church, acknowledges no head but King Jesus: He is lawgiver, king, and judge - is a jealous God, and will not give his glory unto another.

5. The preachers of that order, in Virginia, for the most part, not only plead for theatrical amusements, and what they call civil mirth, but their preaching is dry and barren, containing little else but morality. The great doctrines of universal depravity, redemption by the blood of Christ, re-generation, faith, repentance and self-denial, are but seldom preached by them, and, when they meddle with them, it is in such a superficial manner, as if they were nothing but things of course.

6. Their manner of visiting the sick, absolving sins, administering the Lord's supper to newly married couples, burying the dead, sprinkling children with their gossips, promises, cross, etc., are

no ways satisfactory, and, as they were handed to us through the force of law, we reject them in toto. These are some of the reasons we have for dissenting from the Episcopalians in Virginia, and though they may not be sufficient to justify our conduct, in the opinion of others, yet they have weight with us. 32.

THREE GREAT PRINCIPLES.

THERE are three grand, leading principles, which divide the Christian world: I say leading principles - for each of them is subdivided into a number of peculiarities; these three, I shall call fate, free-will, and restitution.

1st. Fate. Those who believe this doctrine, say, that God eternally ordained whatsoever comes to pass: that if the minutest action should be done that God did not appoint, it would not only prove a world of chance, but create an uneasiness in the Divine mind; that providence and grace are stewards, to see that all God's decrees are fulfilled. Sometimes a distinction is made between God's absolute and permissive decrees; that God absolutely decreed the good, and permissively decreed the evil. Other times it is stated thus: that upon the principle of God's knowing all things, every thing comes to pass of necessity. With this sentiment, most commonly, is connected the doctrine of particular redemption: that Jesus Christ undertook for a certain number of Adam's progeny, and for them alone he died; that those for whom he died, shall be called, by irresistible grace, to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved; that if one of these, whom he chose and redeemed, should miss of Heaven, his will would be frustrated, and his blood lost. And as this, at first view, seems to excuse the non-elect for not believing in the Mediator, it is sometimes said that Jesus died virtually for all, but intentionally for a few. Others, who disdain such pitiful shifts, say, that the want of the faith of God's elect, is no sin; that justice cannot require a man to have a more divine life than Adam possessed in Eden; that if we, as rational creatures, do not believe as much as Adam could have believed in innocency, when revealed to us, that we are guilty of the sin of unbelief; but that the law cannot require us to believe in a Mediator, and therefore, the want of that faith is not a sin. Those who adhere to this principle, are called, Fatalists, Predestinarians, Calvinists, Supralapsarians, etc.

2d. Free-Will. Those who adopt this principle, affirm that God eternally decreed to establish the freedom of the human will. That if men are necessary agents, the very idea of virtue and vice is destroyed; that the more angels and men are exalted in their creation, in the state of free agency, the greater was the probability of their falling; that sin could never have entered into the world, upon any other footing; that if man does what he cannot avoid, it is no rebellion in the creature; that God never offers violence to the human will, in the process of grace; that Christ has fulfilled the law, which all were under - bore the curse for all - spilt his blood for all - makes known his grace to all - gives to each a talent - bids all improve - and finally, that if men are damned, it will not be for the want of a Saviour; but for refusing to obey him, damned for unbelief, and that those who are damned will have their torment augmented for refusing an offered Saviour. Some, who adhere to this doctrine, believe that when men are once born again, that they can never perish, and others believe, that there is no state so secure, in this world, but what men may fall from it into eternal damnation. The advocates for the above sentiment, are called Arminians, Free-willers, Universal Provisionists, etc.

3d. Restitution. Those who espouse this sentiment, declare that God eternally designed to save all men; that he made them to enjoy him for ever, and that he will not be frustrated - that Christ died for all, and will not lose his blood - that if more souls are lost than saved, Satan will have the greatest triumph, and sin have a more boundless reign than grace - that if even one soul should be miserable, world without end, the sting of death and the victory of the grave would never be destroyed - that Jesus will reign till all his foes, even the last enemy, shall be rooted up - that he will reconcile all things unto himself, and make all things new - that every creature in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, shall join in the celestial doxology. But those who hold this doctrine are equally perplexed and divided, with those who believe the two before-mentioned principles.

Some of them extend the doctrine to fallen angels, others confine it to the human race - some believe there will be no punishment after death, others conclude that torment will be inflicted in Hades, upon rebellious souls, even until the resurrection of the body; and others think that they will not all be restored, till the expiration of several periodical eternities. Those who avow this doctrine, are called Universalists, Hell-Redemptioners, &c.

Whether it is a blessing or a curse to mankind, it is a certain truth, that the theoretic principles of men, have but little effect upon their lives. I know men of all the before-written doctrines that equally seem to strive to glorify God, in the way which they conceive will do it the most effectually. It is no novelty in the world, for men of different sentiments, to stigmatize the doctrines of each other, with being pregnant with dangerous consequences; but it is not the doctrine or system that a man believes, that makes him either a good or bad man, but the SPIRIT he is governed by. It is a saying among lovers, that "love will triumph over reason," and it is as true, that the disposition of the heart will prevail over the system of the head. The third principle, mentioned above, has few, if any, vouchers among the Baptists in Virginia; but the two first spoken of, divide counties, churches and families, which, about the year 1775, raised a great dispute in Virginia, and finally split the Separate Baptists, which division continued several years; but, after both parties had contested till their courage grew cool, they ceased their hostilities, grounded their arms, and formed a compromise upon the middle ground, of "think and let think;" and ceded to each other its territory and liberty.

I am acquainted with men of all these principles, who are equally assured they are right. No doubt they are right in their own conceits, and they may be all right in their aims; but I am assured they are not all right in their systems; and far enough from being right, when they bitterly condemn each other. OF MARRIAGE.

IT is a question, not easily answered, whether marriage was appointed by the Divine Parent, merely for the propagation of the human species, or for the education of children. Whether one or the other, or both were reasons of the institution, it certainly was appointed by God, honored by Jesus, and declared to be honorable unto all by St. Paul. What lies before me at present, is to consider the mode of marriage, in Virginia, before the late revolution, and the alterations that have since taken place.

Under the regal government, the rites of matrimony were solemnized two ways. The first, and most reputable way, was this: From the clerk's office, in the county where the bride lived, a license was issued to the bridegroom, which cost twenty shillings, which was a perquisite of the governor; and fifty pounds of tobacco for the fee of the clerk, which raised the price to a guinea. This license was

delivered to the clergyman on the wedding day, for his security; and for solemnizing the rites, he was entitled to twenty shillings. This way of getting wives, was too expensive for the poor, and, therefore, another mode was prescribed by law, as an alternative. The clergyman published the banns of marriage on three holy days, for which he was entitled to eighteen pence, and for joining such couples together he was entitled to five shillings. The Presbyterian ministers sometimes solemnized the rites; but if it was by a license, the parish preacher claimed and recovered his fee, as though he had solemnized the rites himself. After the declaration of independence, in 1780, an act passed the general assembly to authorise as many as four ministers in each county, of each denomination, to solemnize the rites; but the act was so partial that some would not qualify, others took what indulgence the act gave, and still petitioned for equal liberty. The Episcopal clergymen were allowed to join people together in any part of the state, while others were circumscribed by county bounds. In 1784, this partiality was removed, and all ministers were set on a level. By presenting credentials of their ordination, and a recommendation of their good character in the society where they are members, and also giving bond and security to the court of the county where they reside, they receive testimonials, signed by the senior magistrate, to join together any persons who legally apply in any part of the state. Publication is now abolished. From the county in which the bride resides, a license is issued out of the clerk's office, which costs the groom fifteen pence; this license is given to the preacher, for his security; and for joining them together, he is entitled to five shillings. The preacher is under bonds to certify the clerk, from whom the license came, of the solemnization; and the clerk, for registering the certificate, is entitled to fifteen pence more: so that it costs but seven shillings and six pence to get a wife in these days.

THE DECLENSION AMONG THE BAPTISTS. A REVIEW of head eleven, informs us what persecution the Baptist preachers were subject to, which continued in some counties until the revolution. Upon the declaration of independence, and the establishment of a republican form of government, it is not to be wondered at that the Baptists so heartily and uniformly engaged in the cause of the country against the king. The change suited their political principles, promised religious liberty, and a freedom from ministerial tax; nor have they been disappointed in their expectations. In 1776, the salaries of the Episcopal clergymen were suspended, which was so confirmed in 1779, that no legal force has ever been used since to support any preachers in the state. But as they gained this piece of freedom, so the cares of war, the spirit of trade, and moving to the western waters, seemed to bring on a general declension. The ways of Zion mourned. They obtained their hearts' desire, (freedom,) but had leanness in their souls. Some of the old watch-men stumbled and fell, iniquity did abound, and the love of many waxed cold. But the declension was not so total, but what God showed himself gracious in some places; his blessings, like small showers in the drought of summer, were scattered abroad. Delegates from the churches assembled in association once or twice in each year; but so much of the time was taken up in considering what means had best be used to obtain and preserve equal liberty with other societies, that many of the churches were discouraged in sending delegates. Many of the ministers removed from their churches, to Kentucky, and left their scattered flocks, like a cottage in the vineyard, like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers. In this point of view was the Baptist Society in Virginia, at the close of the war, and the return of auspicious peace.

October, 1783, was the last General Association the Separate Baptists ever had. They divided into four or five districts; but to maintain a friendly correspondence, and be helpers to each other, in a political way, they established a General Committee, to be composed of delegates sent from each

distinct Association, to meet annually. Not more than four delegates from one Association are entitled to seats. This committee give their opinion on all queries sent to them from any of the Associations, originate all petitions to be laid before the legislature of the state, and consider the good of the whole society. It may be here noted, that the General Committee, as well as the Associations, exercise no lordship over the churches - all they attempt is advice, which is generally received by the churches in a cordial manner. Should they attempt any thing more, without legal authority, they would appear ridiculous; and with legal authority, they would grow tyrannical. Of this Committee, the regular Baptist Association became a member. In 1784, the Episcopal society was legally incorporated, and such exertions were made for a general assessment, to oblige all the citizens in the state to pay some preacher, that a bill for that purpose passed two readings; but the final determination of the bill was postponed until November, 1785; when the time came, the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists,³³ Deists, and covetous, made such an effort against the bill, that it fell through. In 1786, the act, incorporating the Episcopal society was repealed; but in 1788, their trustees were legalized to manage the property, which is the state of things at this time.

Several attempts were made, at different times, to unite the Regular and Separate Associations together, but all proved in vain, until August, 1787, when they united upon the principle of receiving the confession of faith, before mentioned, as containing the great essential doctrines of the gospel, yet, not in so strict a sense, that all are obliged to believe everything therein contained. 34. At the same time, it was agreed, that the appellations, Regular and Separate, should be buried in oblivion, and that in future they should be called "the United Baptist Churches of Christ in Virginia." THE GREAT WORK. THE first part of the last head gives an account of the declension of religion among the Baptists, which continued until 1785. In the summer of that year, the glorious work of God broke out, on the banks of James River, and from thence has spread almost over the state. In treating of this great revival, I shall not write as a divine, a philosopher, or an opposer, but solely as an historian. In the greatest part of the meetings, when religion is low among the people, there is no unusual appearance among them; a grave countenance, a solemn sigh, or a silent tear, is as much as is seen or heard, and sometimes a great degree of inattention and carelessness: but in times of reviving it is quite otherwise, in most places. It is nothing strange, to see a great part of the congregation fall prostrate upon the floor or ground; many of whom, entirely loose the use of their limbs for a season. Sometimes numbers of them are crying out at once, some of them, in great distress, using such language as this:

"God, be merciful to me a sinner - Lord, save me or I must perish - what shall I do to be saved?" etc. Others breaking out in such rapturous expressions as these: "Bless the Lord, O my soul! O, sweet Jesus, how I love thee! - Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord! - O, sinners! come, taste and see how good the Lord is!" etc.

I have seen such exercise, and heard such melody for several hours together. At Associations, and great meetings, I have seen numbers of ministers and exhorters, improving their gifts at the same time. Such a heavenly confusion among the preachers, and such a celestial discord among the people, destroy all articulation, so that the understanding is not edified; but the awful echo, sounding in the ears, and the objects in great distress, and great raptures, before the eyes, raise great emotion in the heart. Some of the ministers rather oppose this work, others call it a little in question, and some fan it with all their might. Whether it be celestial or terrestrial, or a complication

of both, it is observed by the candid that more souls get first awakened at such meetings, than at any meetings whatever, who afterwards give clear, rational accounts of a divine change of heart. This exercise is not confined to the newly convicted, and newly converted, but persons who have been professors a number of years, at such lively meetings, not only jump up, strike their hands together, and shout aloud, but will embrace one another, and fall to the floor. I have never known the rules of decency broken so far as for persons of different sexes, thus to embrace and fall at meetings. It is not to be understood that this exercise is seen in all parts of the state, at times when God is working on the minds of the people. No, under the preaching of the same man, in different neighborhoods and counties, the same work, in substance, has different exterior effects. At such times of revival, it is wonderful to hear the sweet singing among the people, when they make melody in their hearts and voices to the Lord. In the last great ingathering, in some places, singing was more blessed among the people than the preaching was. What Mr. Jonathan Edwards thought might be expedient in some future day, has been true in Virginia. Bands go singing to meeting, and singing home. At meeting, as soon as preaching is over, it is common to sing a number of spiritual songs; sometimes several songs are sounding at the same time, in different parts of the congregation. I have travelled through neighborhoods and counties at times of refreshing, and the spiritual songs in the fields, in the shops and houses, have made the heavens ring with melody over my head; but, as soon as the work is over, there is no more of it heard. Dr. Watts is the general standard for the Baptists in Virginia; but they are not confined to him; any spiritual composition answers their purpose. A number of hymns originate in Virginia, although there is no established poet in the state. Some Virginia songs have more divinity in them, than poetry or grammar; and some that I have heard have but little of either.

Candidates generally make confession of their faith before the whole assembly present; but, sometimes there are so many to offer, that the church divides into several bodies, each of which acts for the whole, and receives by the right hand of fellowship. At times appointed for baptism, the people generally go singing to the water-side, in grand procession: I have heard many souls declare they first were convicted, or first found pardon going to, at, or coming from the water. If those who practice infant baptism can say as much, it is no wonder they are so fond of it. Forty, fifty, and sixty have often been baptized in a day, at one place, in Virginia, and sometimes as many as seventy-five. There are some ministers now living in Virginia, who have baptized more than two thousand persons. It is said that St. Austin baptized ten thousand in the dead of winter, in the river Swale, in England, in the year 595. I have seen ice cut more than a foot thick, and people baptized in the water, and yet I have never heard of any person taking cold, or any kind of sickness, in so doing. And strange it is that Mr. Wesley should recommend cold bathing for such a vast number of disorders, and yet be so backward to administer it for the best purpose, viz., to fulfil righteousness. THE NUMBER OF BAPTISTS.

THERE are in Virginia, at this time, about one hundred and fifty ordained preachers of the Baptist denomination, and a number besides who exercise a public gift; but in the late great additions that have been made to the churches, there are but few who have engaged in the work of the ministry. Whether it is because the old preachers stand in the way, or whether it is because the people do not pray the Lord of the harvest to thrust out laborers, 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, 35. I cannot say; but so it is, that but few appear to be advancing, to supply the

places of the old ones, upon their decease.

There are also about two hundred and two churches. The exact number of members I cannot ascertain. Between Potomac and James rivers, are nine thousand; and as there is about the same number of preachers and churches, between James river and North Carolina, together with some good account, I judge there are as many as nine thousand south of James river. Upon the western waters, in Kentucky, there are thirty-one churches, divided into three Associations. In one of them, there were one thousand members, May, 1789. In another, there is about the same number; but, lest I should swell my numbers too high, I will add the little Association, at the falls of Ohio, containing five churches, to make the round number of two thousand in Kentucky; and, as there are a few Baptists between the Alleghany and Kentucky, I conclude the sum of twenty thousand is a moderate estimate. These churches are classed into eleven Associations, nine of which correspond in the General Committee. For the ease of the eye, they are stated in the following table:- 1 General Committee

11 Associations

202 Churches 150 Ministers, 36.

20,000 Members The number of communicants compose but a small part of those who commonly attend Baptist worship. It will not appear extravagant, to those who are generally acquainted in the state, to say that, taking one part of the state with another, there are more people who attend the Baptist worship, than any kind of worship in the state. OF DRESS.

UPON the first rise of the Baptists in Virginia, they were very strict in their dress. Men cut off their hair, like Cromwell's round-headed chaplains, and women cast away all their superfluities; so that they were distinguished from others, merely by their decoration. Where all were of one mind, no evil ensued; but where some did not choose to dock and strip, and churches made it a matter of discipline, it made great confusion for no standard could be found in the Bible, to measure their garments by. No doubt, dressing, as well as eating and drinking, can be carried to excess; but it appears to be a matter between God and individuals; for, whenever churches take it up, the last evil is worse than the first. This principle prevailed until the war broke out, at which time the Baptist mode took the lead. Those who went into the army, cut off their hair, and those who stayed at home, were obliged to dress in home-spun. Since the return of peace, and the opening of the ports, the uniformity between the Baptists and others, in point of clothing, still exists; notwithstanding the great work of conversion there has been in the state, but very little is said about rending garments; those who behave well, wear what they please, and meet with no reproof. THE EXCESS OF CIVIL POWER EXPLODED. THE principle, that civil rulers have nothing to do with religion in their official capacities, is as much interwoven in the Baptist plan, as Phydias's name was in the shield. The legitimate powers of government extend only to punish men for working ill to their neighbors, and no way affect the rights of conscience. The nation of Israel received their civil and religious laws from Jehovah, which were binding on them, and no other; and with the extirpation of that nation, were abolished. For a Christian commonwealth to be established upon the same claim, is very presumptuous, without they have the same charter from Heaven. Because the nation of Israel had a divine grant of the land of Canaan, and orders to enslave the heathen, some suppose Christians have an equal right to take away the land of the Indians, and make slaves of the negroes. Wretched religion, that pleads for cruelty and injustice. In

this point of view, the Pope offered England to the king of Spain, provided he would conquer it; after England became Protestant, and in the same view of things, on May 4, 1493, the year after America was discovered, he proposed to give away the heathen lands to his Christian subjects. If Christian nations, were nations of Christians, these things would not be so. The very tendency of religious establishments by human law, is to make some hypocrites, and the rest fools; they are calculated to destroy those very virtues that religion is designed to build up; to encourage fraud and violence over the earth. It is error alone, that stands in need of government to support it; truth can and will do better without: so ignorance calls in anger in a debate, good sense scorns it. Religion, in its purest ages, made its way in the world, not only without the aid of the law, but against all the laws of haughty monarchs, and all the maxims of the schools. The pretended friendship of legal protection, and learned assistance, proves often in the end like the friendship of Joab to Amasa.

Government should protect every man in thinking and speaking freely, and see that one does not abuse another. The liberty I contend for, is more than toleration. The very idea of toleration, is despicable; it supposes that some have a pre-eminence above the rest, to grant indulgence; whereas, all should be equally free, Jews, Turks, Pagans and Christians. Test oaths, and established creeds, should be avoided as the worst of evils. A general assessment., (forcing all to pay some preacher,) amounts to an establishment; if government says I must pay somebody, it must next describe that somebody, his doctrine and place of abode. That moment a minister is so fixed as to receive a stipend by legal force, that moment he ceases to be a gospel ambassador, and becomes a minister of state. This emolument is a temptation too great for avaricious men to withstand. This doctrine turns the gospel into merchandise, and sinks religion upon a level with other things. As it is not the province of civil government to establish forms of religion, and force a maintenance for the preachers, so it does not belong to that power to establish fixed holy days for divine worship. That the Jewish seventh-day Sabbath was of divine appointment, is unquestionable; but that the Christian first-day Sabbath is of equal injunction, is more doubtful. If Jesus appointed the day to be observed, he did it as the head of the church, and not as the king of nations; or if the apostles enjoined it, they did it in the capacity of Christian teachers, and not as human legislators. As the appointment of such days is no part of human legislation, so the breach of the Sabbath (so called) is no part of civil jurisdiction. I am not an enemy to holy days, (the duties of religion cannot well be performed without fixed times,) but these times should be fixed by the mutual agreement of religious societies, according to the word of God, and not by civil authority. I see no clause in the federal constitution, or the constitution of Virginia, to empower either the federal or Virginia legislature to make any Sabbathical laws.

Under this head, I shall also take notice of one thing, which appears to me unconstitutional, inconsistent with religious liberty, and unnecessary in itself; I mean the paying of the chaplains of the civil and military departments out of the public treasury. The king of Great Britain has annually forty-eight chaplains in ordinary, besides a number extraordinary; his army also abounds with chaplains. This, I confess, is consistent with the British form of government, where religion is a principle, and the church a creature of the state; but why should these plans of proud, covetous priests, ever be adopted in America? If legislatures choose to have a chaplain, for Heaven's sake, let them pay him by contributions, and not out of the public chest. In some of the states, a part of each day, during the session of assembly, is taken up in attending prayers; and they may well

afford it, for they are paid for the time; but whether they would pray as long, if they were not under pay, is a question; and whether the chaplain would pray as long for them, if the public chest was like Osiron's purse, is another. For chaplains to go into the army, is about as good economy as it was for Israel to carry the ark of God to battle: instead of reclaiming the people, they generally are corrupted themselves, as the ark fell into the hands of the Philistines. 37. The words of David are applicable here: "Carry back the ark into the city." But what I aim chiefly at, is paying of them by law. The very language of the proceeding is this: "If you will pay me well for preaching and praying, I will do them, otherwise I will not." Such golden sermons and silver prayers are of no great value.

WASHING OF FEET AND DRY CHRISTENING

WASHING of feet is practised by some of the Baptists, disused by others, and rejected by the third class, which breaks no friendship among them, each one acting according to his persuasion. Baptism and the Lord's supper, are neither of them used for the good of the body; but the first is significant, and the last commemorative. The question is, whether washing of feet is to be performed for the good of the body, or as a sacred rite? If for the good of the body, it should be done when, and only when, the feet are sore and filthy; but if as a sacred rite, people should do as they now do, viz., wash their feet clean before they meet together for the purpose of washing feet. A person being taken upon surprise at a washing feet meeting, made this confession: "If I had known that you would have washed feet tonight, I would have washed mine clean before I came from home."

Some of the preachers practice what is satirically called dry christening, and others do not. The thing referred to is this: when a woman is safely delivered in child-bearing, and raised to health enough to go to meeting, she brings her child to the minister, who either takes it in his arms, or puts his hands upon it, and thanks God for his mercy, and invokes a blessing on the child; at which time the child is named. The Baptists believe that those who preach the gospel should live of it: that a preacher is as much entitled to a reward for his labor, as the reaper in the field is to his hire. It is a gross innovation from truth, to view the wages of a minister in the light of alms. That religion that opens the heart, unties the purse-strings. When souls are caught in the net of the gospel (like the fish that Peter caught) they have a piece of money in their mouths. If people will not give the preacher his due, they and their money must perish together.

Finally, the Baptists hold it their duty to obey magistrates, to be subject to the law of the land, to pay their taxes, and pray for all in authority. They are not scrupulous of taking an oath of God upon them to testify the truth before a magistrate or court; but reject profane swearing. Their religion also allows them to bear arms in defence of their life, liberty and property, and also to be friendly to those who differ with them in judgment, believing a cynick to be as bad as a sycophant. THE VIRGINIA BAPTISTS COMPARED WITH THE GERMAN. FROM this account of the Virginia Baptists, they appear to be a very different sect from the German Anabaptists. The grand error of those rioters, was founding both dominion and property in grace; which is the error of the church of Rome, and the church of England unto this day; and, indeed, the error of all established churches that incapacitate a man from holding his office and property, without he will submit to a religious test. The confusion in Germany was not of the religious kind, but the struggles of the people to get clear of the oppression of the princes. Their leader taught them, that if they would acknowledge their mission, they should be free from taxes, rents, and subjection; the prospect of which, drew

multitudes of them, until, like the followers of Theudas and Judas, they were all dispersed. If the German fanatics were really Baptists, yet it is as cruel to impute their errors, by wholesale, to the Virginia Baptists, as it would be to impute all the cruelty of the church of Rome to those societies in Virginia that practise infant baptism. I have two histories of the German insurgents before me, one of which appears to be a scorpion, written with the head of an asp, dipped in gall, the other is more mild. If these histories may be depended upon, neither Nicholas Stork nor Thomas Muncer, were Anabaptists; Melchoir Hoffman and John Bechold, were. They were called Anabaptists, because they repeated baptism; but they did not dip but sprinkle, so that the whole uproar belongs to other societies, and not to the Baptists. A late author, Rev. Mr. Pattilloe, in giving an account of the rise of other societies, says, "the Baptists made their appearance in Germany, soon after the Reformation began." Has the good Mr. Pattilloe got this by wrote, hearing of it so often? or has the judicious pen of Mr. Smith helped him out in a dead lift? or can the gentleman demonstrate his assertion and implication by real facts? Should I affirm that the Presbyterians made their appearance in London, in the reign of James 1:1-27., on the fifth of November, 1605, in the gun-powder plot, it might perhaps raise the bristles of his meek heart; and this I might affirm with as much propriety, as he could affirm what he has. The names Papist and Presbyterian, are as much alike as Baptist and Anabaptist, and their modes of baptism far more uniform. I admire Mr. Pattilloe's writing in general; I was a subscriber for his book, and think my dollar well exchanged; but, let the Rev. gentleman remember, that the Baptists can produce sacred proof for their appearance in Judea, about fifteen hundred years before those tumults in Germany, and if he can produce more antiquated proof of the Presbyterians, then let him triumph; otherwise, be peaceable, as becomes him.

SOME REMARKS. A retrospective view of this Chronicle, informs us that the number of religious sects in Virginia, is seven, viz., Episcopalians, Quakers, Presbyterians, Methodists, Tunkers, Mennonists, and Baptists. There are a few Jews, but they have no synagogue, nor is there any chapel for Papists. If men had virtue enough, it would be pleasing to see all of one mind; but in these lethargic days, if there is not a little difference among men, they sink into stupidity. It is happy for Virginia, in a political point of view, that there are several societies, nearly of a size; should one attempt to oppress another, all the rest would unite to prevent it. And the same may be said of the United States; more than twenty religious societies are in them, which render it almost impossible for one order to oppress all the others. This is a greater security for religious liberty than all that can be written on paper. If two or three of the most popular societies in the Union should unite together, the other societies would have cause to fear, from the consideration, that the many generally oppress the few; but if things in future, emerge as they have heretofore, we have more reason to believe, that the present societies will split and subdivide, than we have to believe, that parties, now at variance, will ever unite. O, Virginia! O, America! - a people favored of the Lord! - may the goodness of God excite our obedience. There are yet remaining some vestiges of religious oppression, but they are chiefly theoretical. It may be said, that in substance, the different societies enjoy equal liberty of thinking, speaking, and worshipping, and equal protection by law. Perhaps there is not a constitutional evil in the states, that has a more plausible pretext, than the proscription of gospel ministers; I say in the states, for most of them have proscribed them from seats of legislation, &c. The federal government is free in this point: to have one branch of the legislature composed of clergymen, as is the case in some European powers, is not seemly - to have them entitled to seats of legislation, on account of their ecclesiastical dignity, like the

bishops in England, is absurd. But to declare them ineligible, when their neighbors prefer them to any others, is depriving them of the liberty of free citizens, and those who prefer them, the freedom of choice.

If the office of a preacher were lucrative, there would be some propriety in his ineligibility; but as the office is not lucrative, the proscription is cruel. To make the best of it, it is but doing evil, that good may come: denying them the liberty of citizens, lest they should degrade their sacred office. Things should be so fixed in government, that there should be neither degrading checks, nor alluring baits to the ministry; but as the proscription, mentioned above, is a check, so there are some baits, in the states, to the sacred work. In some of the states, the property of preachers is free from tax. In Virginia, their persons are exempt from bearing arms. Though this is an indulgence that I feel, yet it is not consistent with my theory of politics. It may be further observed, that an exemption from bearing arms, is, but a legal indulgence, but the ineligibility is constitutional proscription, and no legal reward is sufficient for a constitutional prohibition. The first may be altered by the caprice of the legislature, the last cannot be exchanged, without an appeal to the whole mass of constituent power. THE RIGHTS AND BONDS OF CONSCIENCE. The Subject of religious liberty, has been so canvassed for fourteen years, and has so far prevailed, that in Virginia, a politician can no more be popular, without the possession of it, than a preacher who denies the doctrine of the new birth; yet many, who make this profession, behave in their families, as if they did not believe what they profess. For a man to contend for religious liberty on the court-house green, and deny his wife, children and servants, the liberty of conscience at home, is a paradox not easily reconciled. If a head of a family could answer for all his house in the day of judgment, there would be a degree of justice in his controlling them in the mode of worship, and joining society; but answer for them he cannot; each one must give an account of himself to God, and none but cruel tyrants will prevent their wives, children or servants, either directly or indirectly, from worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences, and joining the society they choose; for as religion does not destroy either civil or domestic government, so neither of them extend their rightful influence into the empire of conscience. The rights of conscience are so sacred, that no mortal can justly circumscribe them, and yet the conscience is so defiled by sin, as well as the other powers of the soul, that it may lead men into error. The word conscience, signifies common science; a court of judicature, erected by God in every human breast: and, as courts of justice often give wrong judgment, for want of good information, so it happens with conscience. The author of our religion said, "the time will come, when he that killeth you, will think that he doeth God service." And Paul verily thought that he ought to do many things against the Lord Jesus. So that conscience is not the rule of life, but the word of God. Though conscience should be free from human control, yet it should be in strict subordination to the law of God.

THOUGHTS ON SYSTEMS. THAT devil, who transforms himself into an angel of light, is often preaching from these words; "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." Whenever men are self conceited enough to believe themselves infallible in judgment, and take their own opinions for tests of orthodoxy, they conclude they are doing God service, in vindicating his truth; while they are only contending for their particular tenets. By this gross mistake, the Christian world is filled with polemical divinity. I very much question, whether there was ever more sophistry used among the old philosophers, than there has been among divines. I never saw a defence of a religious system, but what a great part of it was designed to explain away the

apparent meaning of plain texts of scripture. System writers generally adopt a few principles, which, they say, are certain truths, and all reasoning against those principles they strive to make sophistry, and all texts that seem to withstand their scheme, they endeavor to explain away; sometimes by mending the translation of the Bible. I have never yet known an instance of a man's altering the translation of a text that expressed his own sentiment, as it is translated. When men are run hard to support their plan, they will appeal from scripture to the reason of things; and when reason fails them, they will fly back again to scripture; and when both disappear, they will have recourse to the unsearchable ways of God. There is no doubt in my mind, that the God of order acts consistently with himself; but it is a grand doubt, whether divine materials ever did, or ever will, submit to human standards. And, I think it much safer for a man to own his ignorance, and stand open to conviction, than to be too positive in asserting things that he himself may doubt of in his cool retired hours.

25. Published in Virginia, 1790.

26. If we were slaves in Africa, how should we reprobate such reasoning as would rob us of our liberty. It is a question, whether men had not better lose all their property, than deprive an individual of his birth-right blessing freedom. If a political system is such, that common justice cannot be administered without innovation, the sooner such a system is destroyed, the better for the people.

27. Baptism, by some, is made everything; by some, anything; and, by others, nothing. The Episcopalians make it everything; they say that the water is blest to the mystical washing away of sin; that, by it, children are regenerated, and engrafted into the body of Christ, which is everything we need. The Methodists make it anything; either sprinkling, pouring or immersion. No matter how it is done, if it is done. Can it be supposed, that Jesus, who was faithful in all his house, in the character of a son, should be less definite in his orders than Moses was, who was only a servant? See (says the Hebrew prophet) that thou makest the tabernacle, in all things, according to the pattern shown to thee in the Mount; and is the pattern of Jesus of no more use than to be made anything of? That which is to be done but once in a man's life, should be well done. Are the words of St. Paul inapplicable here? "One baptism." The Quakers make it nothing; but when they regard the word of God more, and the word of Barclay less, they will then find baptism, not only to be a command, but the first command, after repentance and faith.

If baptism is everything, Simon, the witch, is gone to heaven, and the thief dropt from the cross to hell. If it is anything, we may say of it, as Mr. Wesley does of praying time, "any time is no time." And if it is nothing, why is the noun, with its verb and participle, recorded almost one hundred times in the New Testament? If men can be perfect, or obedient in all things, without it, what means this bleating of the Scriptures which I hear?

28. This mode was used in the ordination of Matthias to the apostleship; and, like every other account in the New Testament, is a precedent without a second. As no two instances of ordination are uniform, can it be a piece of licentiousness to treat the subject, as to its mode, with a degree of indifference? In Virginia, Episcopal, Presbyterial, and Congregational ordinations are all contended for. Imposition and non-imposition of hands are equally pleaded for; but, after all, a commission from Heaven, to preach and baptize, is the great quintessence.

29. Kettocton, is the name of a water-course, in Loudoun county, that empties into the Potomac. Most of the Baptist churches, now in Virginia, take their names of distinction from the waters where they are.

30. To this day, there are not more than three or four Baptist ministers in Virginia, who have received the diploma of M. A., which is additional proof that the work has been of God, and not of man.

31. There are other parts of the thirty-nine articles, equally exceptionable with those parts excepted. If a creed of faith, established by law, was ever so short, and ever so true; if I believed the whole of it with all my heart- should I subscribe to it before a magistrate, in order to get indulgence, preferment, or even protection - I should be guilty of a species of idolatry, by acknowledging a power, that the Head of the Church, Jesus Christ, has never appointed. In this point of view, who can look over the Constitutions of government adopted in most of the United States, without real sorrow? They require a religious test, to qualify an officer of state. All the good such tests do, is to keep from office the best of men; villains make no scruple of any test. The Virginia Constitution is free from this stain. If a man merits the confidence of his neighbours, in Virginia - let him worship one God, twenty God's, or no God - be he Jew, Turk, Pagan, or Infidel, he is eligible to any office in the state.

32. What is here said of the church of England, respects them before the late Revolution. Since the independence of the state, a great number of those who still prefer Episcopacy, have the most noble ideas of religious liberty, and are as far from wishing to oppress those who differ with them in judgment, as any men in the state. Experience proves, that while each man believes what he chooses, and practises as he pleases, although they differ widely in sentiment, yet they love each other better, than they do when they are all obliged to believe and worship in one way. The only way to live in peace and enjoy ourselves as freemen, is to think and speak freely, worship as we please, and be protected by law in our persons, property and liberty.

33. Before this, the Methodists petitioned for a continuation of the established religion of the state; but being organized a distinct church, they vigorously opposed the assessment; and at the same time petitioned the legislature for a general liberation of the slaves Although the petition was rejected, as being impracticable, yet it shows their resolution to bring to pass a noble work.

34. A union seemed so necessary and desirable, that those who were somewhat scrupulous of a confession of faith, other than the Bible, were willing to sacrifice their peculiarities, and those who were strenuous for the confession of faith, agreed to a partial reception of it. "United we stand, divided we fall," overcome, at that time, all objections; but had they united without any confession of faith, as they did in Georgia, perhaps it would have been better. In kingdoms and states, where a system of religion is established by law, with the indulgence of toleration to non-conformists of restricted sentiments, it becomes necessary for such non-conformists to publish a confession of their faith, to convince the rulers that they do not exceed the bounds of toleration; but in a government like that of Virginia, where all men believe and worship as they please - where the only punishment inflicted on the enthusiastical, is pity - what need of a confession of faith? Why this Virgin Mary between the souls of men and the scriptures? Had a system of religion been essential to salvation, or even to the happiness of the saints, would not Jesus, who was faithful in all his house, have left us one? if he has, it is accessible to all. If he has not, why should a man be

called a heretick because he cannot believe what he cannot believe, though he believes the Bible with all his heart? Confessions of faith often check any further pursuit after truth, confine the mind into a particular way of reasoning, and give rise to frequent separations. To plead for their utility, because they have been common, is as good sense, as to plead for a state establishment of religion, for the same reason; and both are as bad reasoning, as to plead for sin, because it is everywhere. It is sometimes said that hereticks are always averse to confessions of faith. I wish I could say as much of tyrants. But after all, if a confession of faith, upon the whole, may be advantageous, the greatest care should be taken not to sacradize, or make a petty Bible of it.

35. Gospel preachers are generally like the ass seen by Agelastus, loaded with figs, and feeding upon thistles.

36. In England, are two arch-bishops, and twenty-six bishops. In Ireland, are four arch-bishops, and nineteen bishops. In Scotland, one general assembly, thirteen provincial synods, and sixty-eight presbyteries.

37. A sheriff being sent to bring a Tartar to court, was a long time detained; when solicited to make his return, he replied, "the Tartar will not come." Come without him then, said the judge. "Yes sir, " said the sheriff; "but the Tartar will not let me."

007 The First Rise of Sin

THE FIRST RISE OF SIN 38.

NEITHER FROM A HOLY NOR SINFUL CAUSE; UNAVOIDABLE WITH GOD, BUT AVOIDABLE WITH CREATURES. EXHIBITED IN AN EXPOSITION OF THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS; IN WHICH A NUMBER OF CONJECTURES, CALCULATIONS, AND MATHEMATICAL OBSERVATIONS ARE MADE With novel error men engage; At novel truth they always rage. - MERLUCIOUS.

PREFACE.

LONGITUDE and perpetual motion have employed the prying thoughts of the ingenious for a long time; great premiums are offered to the man who shall first find them out. The apparent advantages of such discoveries would be great; but whether the world will ever enjoy those advantages or not, is a matter of present uncertainty. The first rise of sin has also been a subject of much speculation. Orthodox divines, poets, and mystics have employed their pens to investigate the point; but not being satisfied with the elucidation of any piece that I have seen, I have presumed to offer the following tract to the public, which will speak for itself.

Those who have read Dr. Gill on Genesis, will see that I have borrowed some remarks of him; but, in some instances, I have dared to differ from that great man.

If the conjectures are considered extravagant, or futile, the reader may remember that he is at his full liberty to invent anything better. The whole of it is offered to the world in modesty and diffidence, by the author. J. L. AN EXPOSITION OF THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS, ETC. THE history of the world, before the flood, includes only one hundred and seventy verses: from the first of Genesis 7:11. It is very short, and, therefore, very sublime and significant. The term of time, that this short history treats of, is no less than sixteen hundred and fifty-five years, one month, and seventeen days. From this history, we learn that there was one murderer, one man-slayer, one martyr, one prophet, and one preacher, before the deluge; and that the imaginations of men's hearts were, in general, evil, and only evil, continually. No more than twenty-seven personal names are given us in this account, viz.: Adam, the first man, and Eve, his wife - Cain, and eleven of his posterity- Abel - Seth, and eleven of his descendants; and yet, we are told by some, that there were eleven, and some say, eighty thousand millions of people destroyed in the flood. No doubt but what there was a large number, but this account seems extravagant, beyond all reason; for this would be more than six souls to every acre of land on the face of the globe; which, perhaps, is eighty times as many as have ever been on the earth, living at one time, since the flood. 39. The name, God, is used seventy-three times before the deluge, and the name, LORD, or Jehovah, thirty-five. No direct promise is given of the Messiah, in the whole history, but the conquering seed of the woman is made known in the denunciation of Jehovah God to the serpent.

But, what lies before me at this time, is to confine my observations to the first three chapters of Genesis, containing eighty verses.

CHAPTERS 1. AND 2. IN the first chapter, the phrase, and God said, is found ten times. A short account of creation is given, which is more fully explained, in a supplementary way, in the second; for which reason, both chapters are explained together; introduced by the words, THE FIRST DAY. In the beginning. Not of eternity, which had no beginning, but of time. If the history of Moses respects the whole creation, this clause destroys the notion of the pre-existence of angels, or the human soul of Christ; but if his history only treats of the solar system, and there are other worlds, and systems of worlds in existence, let their histories be produced, and they shall be regarded. Creation had, some time, a beginning; and no sufficient reason has yet been offered, that it ever had a beginning anterior to the Mosaic account. He who wrought in the beginning, was God. The Elohim, here used, is a noun of plural number, and seems to express a trinity of persons in the divine Essence: by this triune Creator were all things created, visible and invisible. The word Elohim, is said, by some, to signify all Power, to show that creation and formation were the effects of omnipotence; that the world, both as to matter and form, was the creature of God, and did not emerge by the fortuitous motion and conjunction of pre-existing matter. Others say, the word represents a being, in whom all fulness centres. This is true of the Creator; but as the same name is given to angels, and the rulers of this world, who are not centres of all perfections, the first signification seems best. The things that God made in the beginning, were, the heavens and the earth. All created heavens are here intended, at least in substance, though not as yet spread out like a garment, or tent. It is most likely that the Heaven for angels was first finished, and then peopled by angels; for it is certain that the heavens, earth, and seas, and all things in them, were made in the six days; and as angels were present on the third day, when the foundations of the earth were fixed, and sang for joy; where is a more likely time to assign for their creation than the first day? The word heaven, here used, signifies above, as the word earth does below, so that whatever is above or below, in substance, was made on the first day. But when the earth was first made, it was without form and void. Not without some form, which always attends gross matter, but void of the form which it now has - which it had when Moses wrote - which it had before the flood - and particularly which it had on the third day, when it was new-moulded and decorated by God. Had man been then formed, he could not have discerned what form it was in, for, darkness was upon the face of the deep. The particles of the earth being as much heavier than water as twenty exceeds twelve, of course, sunk the lowest, while the particles of water rose uppermost, resembling a deep sea; and as no light had then been made, (at least to appear,) darkness covered the whole mass; but it did not long remain in that predicament, for, the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. By the spirit of God, some understand the wind, which is volatile, like spirit, which they suppose moved on the face of the waters; if so, then the air was made on the first day. If this does not intend the wind, no account is given of its creation in the Genessian history; and as fire cannot exist in a visible manner without air, it looks as if the air must have been made before the light appeared. But it is more generally believed, that the infinite spirit of God is meant. The clauses before this, treat of the creation of all above and below, and the dark situation all was in; and this clause speaks of the working of God's power, to produce things and creatures out of what was already created: and, indeed, it appears most likely, that what the Hebrews call To-hu and Bo-hu, and the Greeks call chaos, was made in the beginning of the first day, and that out of this crude mass all things were formed. And when the spirit of God thus

moved, God said, let there be light, which was the first time that God spake. It appears most probable, that God, the Son, was the speaker; from which it is said, in the beginning was the Word - all things were made by him - in him was light: and the first word was obeyed, for there was light; likely in the form of a pillar of fire, which answered the use of a sun, until the fourth day, when the sun was formed. And God saw the light that he had made, and it was good in itself, and would be useful to men. The almighty Architect examined his work, to see if it was well done, and pronounced it good. And God divided the light from the darkness, by causing the light to move round the rough mass of matter, or, more likely, the rough mass, to turn round the light. In either case, the shadow of the dark ball made darkness, and the light shining upon it made it lucid, and the division depended upon the diurnal motion, which has lasted to this day. And God called the light day, and the darkness, he called night; which times are to continue, alternately, as long as the earth remaineth. And the evening and the morning were the first day. Darkness preceded the light, likely, about twelve hours, which was succeeded by twelve hours light, which evening and morning made the first day. Various philosophers say, that darkness was before light, and many nations, such as the Romans, Athenians, Druids, etc., began their days in the evening, as also, did the Jews their holy days. **THE SECOND DAY.** And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters. This firmament is called heaven; the visible heavens are intended, which were spread out like a curtain, on the second day. The use of this expanse was to divide the waters from the waters; from which, some have supposed that there are fountains of water above, anti that these fountains of the great deep were broken up, in the time of the flood, when the waters descended in awful cataracts; or, it may signify nothing more than that the firmament was to divide the waters which were in the seas, lakes, rivers, etc., from the waters which were in the clouds. Obsequious to the Almighty fiat, it was so; and the evening and the morning were the second day. That the second day's work was well done, there is no doubt; but there is no account that God inspected it and pronounced it good. **THE THIRD DAY.** And God said, let the waters under the heavens be gathered together in one place. Before this, they covered over the whole face of the earth, but now God broke up, for the sea, the spacious channel, and ordered the waters to retire to their destined habitation, and said, "hitherto shalt thou come, and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." This was done that the Lord might appear. At this time the pillars of the earth were fixed, which made "the morning stars sing together, and all the sons of God shout for joy." And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of the waters, called he seas. The earth includes the two continents, and all the islands, but it is highly probable that the face of it differed widely, at that time, from its present position. There were seas before Moses wrote, and perhaps there were before the flood, and most likely before the fall, for God called the waters, seas. The seas at present have a communication with each other, but as they wash different shores, and for that cause, bear different names, the plural is kept up among us. The earth and seas, together, form the terraqueous globe, supposed to be a spherioid, though generally treated of as a sphere. The ancients conceived the earth and seas to be as flat as a trencher, and those who believed in antipodes were called heretics. The earth seems to be governed by the law of gravitation, subordinate to God; and though small, in comparison to some of the globes, is yet great and wonderful in itself, to show forth the mighty works of God. The diameter of the earth is computed at seven thousand six hundred and thirty-six miles; the circumference twenty-four thousand miles; .the surficial contents to be above twenty-eight millions of miles; which, if reduced to acres, would be above eighteen thousand millions: but, if a third part of the face of the globe is allowed to be

sea, the acres of land would be more than twelve thousand millions: which would make about twenty-one such empires as that of the United States, 41. one hundred and seventy-five such states as Virginia, or four thousand five hundred and fifty such as Connecticut. And, if ten acres of land is sufficient for an individual, the earth will support more than a thousand millions of souls.

It is difficult to tell what is in the globular centre of the terraqueous ball, whether earth, water, rocks or mineral; and as difficult to put the point of a needle on any part of its ambit, which is not the superficial centre; nature having fixed it under such laws, that every part of it is central. The annual motion of the earth determines the length of a year, which is about three hundred and sixty-five days, and six hours: and the diurnal motion fixes the length of a day, which is twenty-four hours. The surface of the earth is unweariedly moving, in her diurnal course, about the equator, the distance of one thousand miles an hour, and carries all her inhabitants with her: and as the distance between the earth and sun is ninety millions of miles, the earth is moving, with her inhabitants, in the direction of her annual circuit, about sixty-four thousand miles an hour. Does this surprise you, and make you cry out, impossible? If so, only consider, that if the earth stands still, according to the vulgar notion, and the sun moves round it, the sun must fly at the speed of above five hundred and sixty-five millions of miles each day; or, three hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven miles each minute, in his diurnal course; which is about fifty-six thousand times as swift as a ball flies from the mouth of a cannon. The earth is girt round with a girdle of circumambient air, which closely adheres to her in all her motions. Should a cannon be placed on the earth perpendicularly, and discharge a ball into the air, if the ball should be gone two minutes before it returned, the cannon would have removed, in that space of time, thirty-three miles, consequently the ball would return that distance from the cannon's mouth; but, as the air adheres to the earth, the ball would return to the very point from whence it went. The solid contents of the terraqueous globe, is above three hundred thousand millions of miles, which, if reduced to inches, would be more than eight hundred thousand trillions. An inch of common sand weighs about an ounce, Troy, but an inch of water weighs only twelve penny-weights. Rocks and minerals weigh much more than sand. If sand may be considered as a medium, the globe weighs as many ounces (Troy) as there are inches in its contents. Fifty-one ounces, Troy, are equal to fifty-six, avoirdupois; and fourteen pounds avoirdupois, are equal to seventeen Troy. The earth, by this rule, weighs more than ninety-seven quatillions of ounces, Avoirdupois, or, above three hundred trillions of tons. And God said, let the earth bring forth grass, herbs, and fruitful trees, yielding fruit after their kind, whose seed are in themselves, upon the earth. The spirit of God, that brooded upon the terraqueous globe on the first day, had, on the third day, not only separated the waters from the earth, but also impregnated the earth to produce vegetables for beasts and fruit-trees for man: and this provision was made before the creatures were formed to eat them. So, likewise, it is in the new creation, all spiritual blessings are provided in the New Covenant for men before they are new made to receive them. The grass, herbs, and trees, had seed within themselves to produce their kind, which has continued in order down to this day. After God had made the earth, he made it vegetate and bring forth fruit; even so when men are created in Christ Jesus and put on the new man, they work for God and bring forth the fruits of the Spirit. On this third day, the Lord made to grow out of the ground every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the Tree of Life, also, in the midst of the garden, and the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, though not spoken of until afterwards: from which we learn that creation furnished objects to please the senses, as well as to support the rational creature with food. Likewise, in

religion, not only safety, but pleasure is found; the ways thereof are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. And God saw all that he had done, on the third day, and it was good; no evil had yet appeared: angels retained their integrity, and filial subjection to their Maker. THE FOURTH DAY. And God said, let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven. This firmament includes all that space between the earth and third heavens; but that part of it called the starry heavens, seems to be particularly intended. No new light was made on this day; but that pillar of light, made on the first day, was, on this day, formed into the various luminaries, afterwards spoken of, to divide the day from the night, to be for signs and seasons, for days and years. Day and night are governed by the sun; while the sun shines on the face of the earth, it is day, and when it goes down, it is night. The length of the day is equal to the presence of the sun, and the length of the night equal to his absence. The moon, in her fulness, arises upon the setting of the sun, and enlightens the earth during his absence; and, therefore, is said, to rule the Night. When the moon fails us in her nocturnal visits, the twinkling stars pay their officious aid, and, by reason of their number, cast much light upon the inhabitants of the earth.

These lights were to be for signs; not for deluded necromancers to prognosticate by; no, those dull masses, ignorant of their own existence, can never foretel things future, respecting men; but for signs of good and bad weather, for the times of plowing, sowing and reaping. And seasons of summer and winter, spring and fall. For days, by the diurnal motion, in twenty-four hours; and years, by the annual circuit, in three hundred and sixty-five days and a few hours. The greater light to rule the day; i.e., the sun, called by the ancients, Ur, which word signifies both light and heat; and, it is evident, that the sun is the fountain of heat as well as light. This stupendous orb may well be called great, being about nine hundred thousand times the bigness of the earth; placed at the distance of ninety millions of miles from the ball that we inhabit; yet capable of darting a ray of light to us in the space of seven and a half minutes. This amazing luminary is the centre of the solar system, and once in twenty-eight years, all the worlds that play around it, come again to the same point and condition. This sovereign of nature, rules the day with such resplendent lustre, that no other orb is seen to shine in his presence: but instead of being an object of religious adoration, is but a speck of Jehovah's works, placed in the heavens, to show forth the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Almighty. The smaller light (the moon) to rule the night. The moon is called a light, but she borrows all her bright ornaments of the sun. That the moon is an opaque body of some kind of matter, is evident, otherwise she would not eclipse the sun when she intervenes.

One entire day of the moon is almost equal to thirty of our natural days; consequently, the moon's night is nearly equal to fifteen of our days and nights.

If the moon is inhabited, it is matter of conjecture, whether her inhabitants sleep so long at a time, and work as long without sleeping: and how much the men of the moon must eat for supper, upon this supposition, is matter of speculation. The moon in bulk, is as follows: diameter, two thousand one hundred and seventy-five miles; circumference, six thousand eight hundred and sixty-four miles; ambit, above three and a half million, which, if reduced to acres, would be more than two thousand millions. But, if one third part of the moon's surface, is allowed to be seas, it leaves upwards of one and a half thousand millions of acres in land: and, if ten acres of land are sufficient to support an individual, the moon will support above one hundred and fifty-eight millions of souls. The size, complexion, dress, manners, language, laws, and religion of those people, we are ignorant of, (although the moon is called our neighbor.) Swedenburgh's account gains but little

credit among us; the air-balloons have not yet answered the purpose of forming an acquaintance; what future experiments may do, is uncertain,

He made the stars also. Some, who believe in the existence of worlds and systems of worlds, prior to the solar system, suppose that this clause respects the creation of those stars, which are worlds or centres of worlds, and, that though by their inconceivable distance, 42. they appear to us but small points, like the diamond on a lady's ring, yet they are of themselves, globes of amazing magnitude. They conclude, that the same hand that made the sun and moon, on the fourth day, had made these stars long before. But it seems rather to respect those stars, that were made at the same time that the sun and moon were.

Others restrain it to the planetary stars, viz., Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and Herschel. Some of these stars have their moons, rings, and satellites playing around them, of which I cannot at this time be particular.

It is best, however, by these stars, to understand not only those already mentioned, but likewise Arcturus and his sons, Pleiades, and the chambers of the south, as well as all the constellations and stars in the heavens. And God saw his work and it was good; free from evil, which had no being as yet, and the evening and the morning were the fourth day. THE FIFTH DAY. On the fifth day, God gave orders to the waters to bring forth living creatures. On the first day, gross nature was made; on the third day, vegetable life sprung out of chaos, and discovered itself in the grass, herbs and trees; and on the fifth day, animal life was produced. Fish of every kind were created, from the largest kraken to the smallest minnows; and fowls to fly in the open air, from the eagle to the fly. These, it seems, were produced out of the water, and yet, if we cast our eyes on Genesis 2:19, it is pretty plain that they were made out of the earth. To reconcile both places together, and both to the nature of things, it is supposable that they were both made out of the earth at the water's side; or, more likely, out of the mud, under the water. It is also probable, that the fish were made in the fore part of the day, and fowls in the after part. There is a considerable likeness between these two species of creatures: both steer their courses by their tails; fins and scales to one, are as wings and feathers to the other, and both are oviparous. After God had made them, he blessed them with the power of procreation, and bid them be fruitful, and fill their destined elements. This day's work, also, was well done: God saw that it was good; and the evening and the morning were the fifth day. And God said, let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind: i.e., let the living creatures be made out of the earth, and live upon it; for, notwithstanding, the earth was impregnated by the spirit of God, and warmed by the sun, yet these causes could not create beasts without omnipotent power; and so it follows, God made beasts, cattle, and creeping things after their kind: by which is meant, wild beasts, tame cattle, serpents and reptiles; and God saw it was good.

Thus the earth was made for man to dwell upon, the heavens to cover over him as a canopy, the sun to enlighten him by day, the moon and stars by night, herbs and fruit-trees for his food, and every living thing for his service, before he was formed. Moreover, a garden of pleasure was planted in the east part of the land of Eden, with all kinds of useful and pleasant trees; and, to consummate his earthly enjoyments, a river of water went out of Eden, and ran through the garden, to water it, which spread out in four branches, as it left the garden, and formed the four rivers, Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates. The first of these rivers is nowhere spoken of in

scripture besides. The second is spoken of, 1 Kings 1:33; 2 Chronicles 32:30, or, more likely, another river of the same name. The third ran through Persia, near Shushan, the palace, and the fourth ran through Babylon.

Almost all parts of the world have contended for this garden, and seem to be at as great loss about it as chronologers are about the time in which Job lived. Whether it was in Ceylon, Armenia, the land of Judah, Mesopotamia, or in any other place contended for, it certainly was a delightful spot, and seemed to invite an occupant; but as beautiful as things appeared, it had not rained upon the earth. But there went up a mist from the earth, being exhaled by the sun, from the seas, rivers, etc., in very small particles, and forming a cloud, sprinkled down water upon the whole face of the ground. And God said, let us make man after our image and likeness, and let them have dominion over fish, fowl, cattle and creeping things. These words were not spoken to beasts, that could not understand; nor to angels, who were neither of the privy council, nor co-workers with God in creation; but the phrase bespeaks a co-operation of Father, Son and Holy Ghost in creating man: and man immediately was made in the image of God: not in the image of his deity: that God who cannot lie, could not make a being like himself, in that respect. Christ only bears the express image of his Father's person, as a natural son bears the image of his natural father; but the first man that was made, bore the image of God as the wax bears the image of the signet. He was also in the image of God, in this point of view: the Father, Word, and Holy Ghost are one; so soul, spirit and body, make one man; there is a trinity in man, as well as in God; moreover, he was made in the same human shape and disposition that Christ was to appear in, a true figure of him who was to come; in these senses, he was made in the image of God, and was lovely in the eyes of his Maker.

Male and female created he them. Both sexes were in one body. The man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord.

It is the opinion of some of the mystic writers, that Adam had power to propagate his own species before Eve was separated from him, having both the masculine and feminine natures in him; but it can hardly be credited, that sin has radically altered the shape of man; and how Adam could multiply with such a shape, without he had the power of creating, is unaccountable; and that he had power to create, no man pretends. It is best therefore to suppose that God made both natures in one body, with an intention of separating them before they procreated. Matter was first made, on the first day, afterwards it was remoulded; then Adam was made out of it; and lastly the woman out of man; so that women are the most refined from dross matter - removed the furthest from clay of any of the lower creatures.

After God had made man, he put him into the garden to dress and keep it, and immediately constituted him a subject of moral government, by enjoining a law (not a covenant) on him, with a penalty annexed thereto. This indulgent father and divine legislator, or gave him free liberty to eat of all the trees in the garden, and regale himself with all the pleasures of paradise; but as there was one noxious tree, 43. he would have him avoid it; and said,

"My son, you may eat of all the trees in the garden, save one, the fruit of which will poison you to death; and lest my caution should be ineffectual, I command you not to touch it; and to make my law forcible, I add the penalty of death to the breaker of it, which shall be inflicted the very day that the law is broken." This law therefore may be considered as a cautionary command, and it

appears most likely to me that there was a poisonous quality, a physical evil in the tree, that would have mortalized Adam, if God had not prohibited it. This prohibition was also a test of Adam's obedience, to train him up in moral subjection.

After God made Adam and placed him in the garden, he did not choose idleness for him, but brought unto him all the beasts and fowls to name; and Adam gave names to them all, by which they were afterwards called.

Some think that this is a great proof of Adam's primeval wisdom, in giving names to the creatures, the signification of which exactly agreed with the nature of the creatures to whom they were applied: but it is not likely that the names that Adam called them by, had been received into his dialect before, (for this affair happened within a few hours after his formation,) and if not, I cannot see how the signification of a name could exist before the name itself. But among all the creatures that were brought before him to name, there was not found a helpmeet for him, not one that he could converse with; none to help him keep and dress the garden; nor any to help him procreate. This wonderous creature, man, of whom so much is said, was made out of the dust of the earth, in or near Eden; and after God had formed him in human shape, he breathed into him the breath of life, and he became a living soul. Vegetative and animal lives were made out of the earth, as distillers extract the spirit from grain, etc.; and therefore when they die, their spirits return to the earth from whence they came; but the soul of man was breathed out of the mouth of God, and therefore when men die, their souls go to God from whence they came. At the time when God quickened Adam's dust with animal life, he infused the immortal soul into him. Though Eve was in Adam, as has been said, yet it is not likely that the soul of Eve was in Adam's soul, much less in his rib. And the Lord God said, it is not good that man should be alone, I will make an helpmeet for him. It may here be observed that the name Lord or Jod-he, vahhe, used in this clause, and indeed eleven times in the eleventh chapter, is expressive of the eternity of God. Gross nature, animals, and the mortal lives of men had a beginning, and will have an end; but there is one being who never had a beginning, and will never have an end; and this being is Jehovah, here translated Lord. This eternal God saw that it was not good for man so to dwell alone. This clause has led some to believe that the defection had begun; but it designs nothing more than that God saw that man could not propagate by himself alone, nor be as happy as he might be with an associate. Moral evil is indefatigable here, because after this God pronounced all things very good. The way in which the Lord God made Adam a helpmeet, was as follows: He caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, which was the first time that he ever slept: it was near the close of the sixth day, and perhaps, Adam was weary with his day's work in naming all the creatures, (as the second Adam often was in travelling,) and his senses were all locked up for rest. This was a deep sleep; common sleep would not have kept the senses dormant enough to bear the operation that Adam went through; but this was so deep that Adam felt no pain while his side was opened, a rib taken from thence, and the flesh closed up again. This rib the Lord formed into a woman and brought her to Adam.

Anatomists say, that men have twelve ribs on each side; if so, we should judge that Adam had thirteen, at least on one side, and that the superfluous, unmated rib, was taken out for the purpose of a woman. The part of Adam that was taken to form a woman, was neither from his head nor feet; to teach us that women should not attempt to rule their husbands, nor be trodden under foot by them: but the rib was from his side, under his arm, near his heart; to show that the woman is to

be by her husband, under the arm of his protection, near the heart of his love.

It looks as if God carried off the rib to a little distance from Adam, while he formed it into a woman; perhaps to the same place where Adam was formed; and when God had formed this lovely creature, he brought her to Adam; who upon first sight knew her, at least from whence she came, and said, "this is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh." Her bones and flesh were taken from him, and this he knew. Perhaps while he was asleep, he was taught it in a dream; or God might reveal it to him by impulse; or we may suppose, that though Adam was in a deep sleep when the ribs were taken from him, yet he awaked before it was formed into a woman, and stood not far off to see God form it into a human shape; but let him come by his knowledge one way or another, he knew from whence she came, and called her name woman, because she came from man.

Even so, when souls are new made by divine grace, they are brought to the second Adam, the Lord Jesus Christ; being drawn by the father, not against, but with their wills; and when they come, Jesus knows them and calls them by a new name. Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.

If these words were spoken by Adam, at the time when he received Eve, they were either prophetic of, or preceptives for his posterity; for they were not applicable to Adam's case, who had no father but God, and no mother but the earth, neither of which was he to leave for his wife.

If they are considered as the words of Moses, they were not spoken at the time when Eve was brought to Adam, but between two and three thousand years afterwards, when the Hebrew historian wrote; and this he gives as a reason why men should cleave to their wives and take care of them. But rather the words were spoken by God himself, who, at the time of instituting marriage, gave directions about it. In Matthew 19:4-5, where Jesus quotes this passage, he informs us that he who made the male and female at the beginning, said for this cause, etc. And God blessed them with the tokens of his favor and love, and with the power of procreation, and said unto them, be faithful and multiply and replenish the earth with your offspring, and subdue it, by tilling the ground, sowing and reaping, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the face of the earth. As man was to be in subjection to God, so all the creatures below were to be in subjection to man, who was appointed vicegerent of the world. To the beasts, God gave every green herb, but to man he gave seed and fruit-trees. There is no account that God gave the beasts, birds and fish to man, for the purpose of eating, or that ever the antedeluvians did eat any of them before the flood; but it is certain that this divine charter gave man the dominion of them all, and very likely he and his children ate thereof, before the days of Noah. In the day when they were made, they were both naked and were not ashamed. It is supposable that the air was temperate, and therefore they needed no clothing; and it is very doubtful whether the elements would ever have raged, and fomented storms, if sin had never entered the world. However, if it was the design of God to have them wear clothes in future, it is probable that he intended that they should manufacture for themselves. As sin and guilt were strangers, so shame was unknown. Since the fall, God calls upon men to be ashamed of their ways; and grace teaches men to be ashamed of those things that do not profit; but that which is a virtue in a guilty man, would be mean and insignificant in an innocent being. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day. Upon the close of each day before (the second excepted) the Lord pronounced all good; but upon the close of all his creation work, he declares all to be very good.

Nothing sinful or disorderly had yet appeared; angels, man and beasts, all stood in their proper order and obedience.

Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, all the hosts of them. THE SEVENTH DAY. And on the seventh day God ended his work, or had ended his work, for all things were made in six days; and he rested the seventh day from all his work which he had made, not that he was fatigued with labor, as men are, but he ceased from his work, as it is expressed Hebrews 4:10. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it. Although there is no account that ever man regarded the seventh day of the week more than any other, until the giving of manna in the wilderness, yet this is given as a reason, in the fourth commandment, why the nation of Israel should rest on the seventh day of the week.

If the decalogue (the ten commandments) is all of a moral nature, the injunction is binding on all nations; and if all nations were under the bond of regarding the seventh day in a holy manner, it is strange that St. Paul never had occasion to reprove the Gentiles, for the breach of it, as the Jewish prophet had to reprove their own nation; and besides, if the observance of the seventh day was a moral obligation upon all nations, God either designed that the poles of the earth should never be peopled, or the moral law required a natural impossibility; for, at the poles, there is but one day and night in a year. Yea, further; how is it possible for persons, under opposite horizons, being antipodes to each other, to keep the same day? The most, therefore, that can be said, (at least proved,) is that God rested on the seventh day; and that after above two thousand four hundred years, he ordained that the nation of Israel should keep the same day of the week, throughout their generations. If, in the New Testament, Christians are commanded to keep the first day, by Christ or his apostles, that divine appointment is sufficient; human legislatures have nothing to do in ordaining fixed holy days, establishing creeds of faith, requiring religious tests, certificates, or anything of the kind.

Having made some remarks on the six days' work, and the seventh day's rest, the history of which includes the first and second chapters, I shall proceed to some observations on the third, which treats of the entrance of sin into the human world; but, as Satan seems to be a leading character in this chapter, it appears necessary to say something about angels, and by what means they were turned from celestial spirits to infernal devils. But before I enter upon the dark arena, I shall premise a few things. First, on the nature of God, and secondly, on the nature of his decrees. And who is sufficient for these things? Can man, by searching, find out God, or the Almighty, unto perfection? Clouds and darkness are round about him, yet righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne. Verily, he is a God that hideth himself, and giveth not a full account of any of his matters. Remember, O my soul, how vengeance fell on the Bethshemites, for prying too curiously into the ark. "Man was not made to question, but adore." Yet, with all submission to divine power and wisdom, let me attempt to speak of my God, and the glory of his works.

First. The Almighty exists of necessity, and yet willingly: he is of that nature that he cannot but exist, and yet that necessity does not destroy his infinite freedom; for he is under no necessity, but that of innate law. Should I affirm that all God's works are works of necessity, it would convey this idea: that God cannot do anything, more or less than what he now does; which, perhaps, would be an idea unbecoming Omnipotence; and yet it may be safely affirmed, that many of his works are necessarily done. If God is under no necessity to speak, yet, when he speaks of choice, he is

under necessity to speak truth, for he cannot lie. He is under a necessity of showing forth the glory of his perfections in his works, (when he works of choice,) for he cannot work beneath himself. And if creation was a deed of choice, and not of necessity, yet judicial works are works of necessity; God's nature being such, that he is under the necessity of innate law, to judge and punish for the glory of his perfections. If it should be thought presumptuous to say, that God cannot punish sooner, otherwise, or more severely than he does; if we consider that love and goodness counterpoise power and justice, and that, sometimes, mercy rejoices against judgment, it will not appear more presumptuous, perhaps, than true. The great question is, whether God could have prevented sin or not? If the works of creation were works of necessity, i.e., if the nature of God was such, that he could not but have made the world when he did, and as he did, I conclude that it was not possible for God to have prevented sin; but if creation was a work of will, and not of necessity, then God could have prevented sin, by having not made the world, and creatures in it, to sin. But more of this hereafter.

Second. Did God decree that angels and men should sin, or not? A decree is the law of a court to accomplish same purpose. No such law was given to angels, to Adam, or to his children. The decree, through the Bible, is that creatures should not sin. But I do not wish to criticise on phrases. The general idea of a decree, among Calvinistic writers, is the eternal design of God; the question is, therefore, whether it was the eternal design of God that sin should have birth, or not? If it was the design, decree, or secret will of God, that creatures should sin, how can it be sin? for sin is a transgression of his will. If God decreed sin, he decreed that which is opposed to his nature, contrary to his law, and what he could not effect himself, nor make his creatures effect. Some make a great difference between his secret and revealed will. Is not this charging God with duplicity? That there is a difference between the law that God works by, and the law given to his creatures, is granted. The rule of God's working, is either the law of his nature, or sovereign will; for there was no anterior existent to impose a law on him; but the law of his creatures, is his moral and absolute precepts; and simple obedience, without gainsaying, is indispensable from all rational intelligences. But the question is, whether it was the secret will of God, that sin should (in a direct or indirect manner) enter in among his creatures, and at the same time forbid it? If so, it is no wonder that all the philosophic divines are puzzled to reconcile the goodness of God with the misery of his creatures. But why do men talk so? Have they learned their theory from Scripture, or divine teaching? If from either, then it is revealed to them, and, therefore, is no longer his secret will. It has been observed, that the rule of God's working, was either innate law or sovereign will. That sin is agreeable to the law of his nature, I presume, no man vindicates; and if it was his sovereign will that sin should emerge, it was then unavoidable; either God or creatures must effect it: God could not, and, therefore, it follows, that creatures unavoidably must. If sin then is sin - the parent of sorrow - the cause of death and eternal misery, who can justify the goodness of God upon, this principle? If sin is according to the secret, sovereign will of God, it is to answer some noble purpose; for all God's appointed works will praise him; but what angel or man can point out any general good effected by sin? If sin is the cause of general good, all creatures should love it; and if creatures should love it, why are they called upon to repent of, and hate it? The first character that God ever discovered himself in, to Adam, (and likely to angels,) was that of a moral governor, and he treated him as a subject of moral government: first as a legislator, in giving a law; and afterwards as a judge, in punishing crimes. And as it was not possible for God to sin, or make creatures sin, so, likewise, (considering him in the character of a moral governor,) it was not

possible for him to prevent it. Should a legislator do anything more than make laws, forbidding crimes; should he make places of confinement, and shut up all his subjects, to prevent their crimes, what a kingdom of miserable subjects he would have; but if he makes them happy, with the freedom of thinking, speaking, walking and working, and only gives them a law of good behaviour, it is not possible for him to prevent their transgression: the only means that he could make use of to prevent it, would make them entirely miserable. So it was with God; he loved his creatures, and sought to make them happy; and, as rational creatures cannot be happy without the freedom of their will, this freedom was established in them by God; and, in this point of view, it was not possible for God to have prevented their sin; as the only means that would have secured them from sin, would have made them completely miserable.

Here, then, we see God, all goodness, seeking the happiness of his creatures, and the very essentials of rational happiness, by their inadvertence, proved their overthrow.

If the question then is asked, whether sin was unavoidable, or avoidable? the answer is, unavoidable with God, but avoidable with creatures. For creatures, in their moral agency, had sufficient power to stand and obey, as well as freedom to rebel. If, then, creation is acknowledged to be a good work, and that God had a right to command the creatures that he made, the character of God is clear in the apostacy of creatures; for his foreknowledge of their fall, had no influence on their wills, nor in any way occasioned their sin, any more than the foreknowledge of David made Judas sell his master. The new divinity, (so called,) which declares God to be the efficient author of sin, and that sin, eventually, is the cause of great good, represents Jehovah as a cruel being, and cuts the nerves of repentance; for what idea must we form of a being, whose nature was such, that he could not discover the full glory of it, without the transgression of his creatures, which eventually brings on the damnation of many of them? And, if the truth of God is to abound more by the lies of his creatures, and the wrath of man is to work the righteousness of God, how can men be convinced and judged as transgressors? Every honest heart, unbiased by system, upon hearing "that God designed men to sin, and that sin will effect great good," will confess, that the natural conclusion is, let men sin. That the Divine Legislator has given many laws to fallen creatures, which were not from the beginning, in which he, (in some sort,) accommodates himself to their condition, requires no proof but just to cast our thoughts on all laws of civil government, laws of war, and laws of putting away wives. These laws were not, and could not be from the beginning. In the execution of these laws, he makes use of one wicked man, or nation to punish another; and as the instruments act voluntarily from a wicked heart, (although their wrath, in action, praises God,) he punishes those instruments for what they do. Now, if from this consideration, it can be proved that God is more glorified, and men, (upon a large scale,) more happy than they would have been, if sin had never entered the world, then we may say, that sin is the cause of great good: otherwise, the circumstance of Joseph's being sold by his brethren, and Jesus being hated and crucified by the Jews will not prove it. But to descend to the enquiry respecting angels. It has been observed, that no good reason has yet been given to prove that angels were made before the first day; but if they were made ten thousand years before, the difficulties are still the same in accounting for their first sin.

Beasts are all brutal, angels are all spirit; but men are part brute, and part angel. It is a point of dispute in these days, whether materiality belongs to all creatures or not; if so, then angels were made spiritual matter, but whether they were made spiritual matter, or spirit, distinct from matter, it

is presumable that they were made beings that could neither pro-create nor die: and yet it is certain that they were subject to moral mutability.

There is no way, in idea, possible to account for the entrance of sin among rational creatures, but by considering their wills entirely at liberty; as the contrary would destroy the very notion of vice and virtue, good and evil, right and wrong. It must, therefore, be supposed that angels, as subjects of moral government, were considered under a law, with the freedom of their wills, to obey or rebel. But how it was possible for sinless creatures, without a tempter, to choose to rebel, is a matter of great weight yet, as difficult as it appears to us, it has certainly been the case with angels. The best way that I can conceive of it, is as follows, and which is partly conjectural.

One reason why Jehovah was six days in forming the worlds and their inhabitants, was, that angels might see what he could do; who stood by, as spectators, and sang together, and shouted for joy; and it looks most likely that not one of them had sinned before the third day, for they ALL sang for joy; which would not have been the case, if any of them had commenced rebellion. And further, it is probable that none of them had rebelled on the sixth day; for God, at the close of that day pronounced all very good. It is a further conjecture, that sin had not raised any commotion in the universe until after the seventh day; for, on that day, God rested; seeing nothing out of order in all his works. But, soon after this, (perhaps on the eighth day,) the rebellion broke out. The last of creation-work, was man; at the sight of whom, angels were filled with wonder, to see a body so noble, erect, and possessed with such endowments of mind; but while angels were wondering, said God to angels, "my Son shall assume the nature, and appear in the form, of that man, whom ye now behold; and I command all of you to worship him as an incarnate God. " This was the first time that Christ was brought into the world, by name; and when Jehovah brought his first begotten into the world, he said, "let all the angels of God worship him. " This appears to be the test of their obedience; and the trial was, whether they would worship a being in a nature inferior to their own, merely because God commanded them to. At this juncture, angels had full power to obey, and yet their wills were free to rebel; for God treated them as subjects of moral government, and exercised no coercion over them.

Angelic wisdom now began to reason. "What," said angels, "shall we worship a nature inferior to our own; why not worship a beast as well? It will be idolatry to worship a creature, and man is but a creature; our wisdom tells us, therefore, that it is best not to obey." Here rebellion arose. The wisdom of angels could not comprehend how divinity and humanity could be personally united; and, therefore, to prevent idolatry, they transgressed a divine command. Let our views be ever so good - let our reasoning be ever so fair - yet, if we refuse to obey a plain command, because we do not understand every thing contained in it, we are guilty of that crime which turned celestial angels into infernal devils. To say that the first sin came from a sinful cause, is absurd; and to suppose that it came from a holy cause, is contrary to the order of nature. It is best, therefore, to conceive of it as arising from the limited wisdom and inadvertent conduct of sinless creatures. Sin, then, is the creature of beings, who are, themselves, the creatures of God. It is highly probable, from the order of God's works, that some angels were more noble and capacious than others, and that one of the high rank, perhaps the highest that God made, took the lead in the rebellion, and used his angelic oratory to persuade the rest to follow him, who, to this day, has a kind of subordinate government over others. When they are called devils, he is called their prince; and when he is called the devil, they are called his angels. But let it be observed, that angels acted

personally for themselves; one was not a representative for another; and, as they do not procreate, corruption of nature is not communicated by generation.

If it should be objected,

"that if the first cause of sin was the limited wisdom of creatures, it impeaches the goodness, or wisdom and power of God: for, if God was infinite in goodness, and sought the happiness of his creatures, he would certainly have made their wisdom so extensive that they could not have erred in judgment, provided his wisdom and power could have effected it." The answer is, infinity belongs alone to God. Had angels been endowed with ten thousand times as much wisdom as they were, their wisdom would still have been limited to a point, infinitely inferior to the immense circle of Jehovah, and their trial would still have been the same. And will any man coolly say, that the great first cause - the cause of all causes and things, (sin excepted,) - is wanting in goodness, power, and wisdom, because he did not - could not, make things equal to himself. The truth is, angels were endowed with wisdom, sufficient to make them as happy as the angels now in heaven are; and with power to do as much as God required them to do. And that creatures, as holy and wise as the angels, could be inadvertent, needs no proof, but to think of their fall.

It was an essential of angelical existence, that they should have the power of going through matter, and entering any material creature: and therefore, though they lost their moral excellences by the fall, yet they were not deprived of that power and wisdom, essential to their existence; had they been deprived of these - their hell - their very existence would have been extinguished. That Satan still retained these things after his fall, appears evident, by what follows.

CHAPTER 3.

Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. The prince of devils, having been so successful among the angels, made his attempt upon man. The serpent here intends either that reptile, called a snake, or the devil in a real body of a snake, or else the devil in the form of a snake. Various Jewish authors say that animals had the power of conversing, before the fall, but this wants proof; without which, this seducer must have been more than a snake, for he spake: and further, the Scripture seems to hold forth that the seduction of our first parents was by the devil.

If this serpent was the devil in a snake, the question is whether the snake acted voluntarily and understandingly, or involuntarily in ignorance? If he understood what he was about, and formed a confederacy with the devil to go into the malevolent enterprise, he then deserved the judgment and punishment he met with; but if we acknowledge this, it proves too much, for by this rule the snake was a sinner before Adam or Eve was. If the snake acted involuntarily, i.e., if the devil assumed and used his body, merely as a machine, and the snake was ignorant of the intrigue, of course he must be innocent of the crime: why then should he be punished? To escape this difficulty, some have thought that the devil, only in the form of a serpent, was the seducer: the name that some serpents are called by, signifies seraph, and perhaps the devil might appear, at this time, in the form of a fiery flying serpent or seraph, which form good angels had appeared in before to Eve, and thereby transforming himself into an angel of light, might deceive Eve the more readily: and yet some of the denunciations to the tempter, seem to suit the snake better than the devil, and look as if God meant to punish the devil as the agent, and the snake as the instrument.

Supposing the snake guilty of no crime, yet he who made the earth, and all that is in it, for the use of man, might subject the snake to what he did, for the service of man, by putting enmity between them, that whenever men see a snake they may be put in mind of the fall, and be humble for it. That God has ordered the death of beasts for the service of man, is evident from the sacrifices. If animal death was occasioned by the sin of man, surely the snake may suffer a little for his good; and if it is true that beasts would have been slain for the support of man, had man never sinned; that God made them purposely to lay down their lives for men; who can impeach the goodness of God for putting the serpent to a little disgrace for the profit of man, although he had been guilty of no crime? It is best therefore to suppose this serpent was the devil, in a real snake. This serpent was subtle. Serpents are famed for their wisdom and subtlety, and, although the fox may be more crafty than serpents in general, yet this serpent, being actuated by the devil, was more subtle than any beast of the field that God had made. And he said unto the woman, who perhaps was a little distance from her husband, or if they were both together, he first attempted Eve, being the weaker part. The devil spake in the serpent, as the angel of the Lord did in Balaam's ass: the words he said, were, "yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree in the garden." He begins with a yea to affirm it, yet speaks afterwards by an interrogation, in which his subtlety appears. Some suppose that the evil first arose when Eve wandered away from her husband in the garden, without his knowledge of it; but it is not certain that she was alone when the serpent accosted her, nor is it likely that the mutual love between them would admit of their being far apart, without the labor in the garden called for it: and if duty called for it, there could be no crime in it. Others think that the disease began when Eve gave the serpent audience, but it does not appear that she suspected him to have been a deceiver. If, as has been conjectured, the devil appeared in the same form that good angels assumed before, where was the imprudence of the woman in receiving him? And, even supposing Eve to have known him to be a deceiver, yet she answered him well, in these words, we may not eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden, freely.

God is so far from restraining us, that he has given us free liberty to eat of all the trees but one, which is in the midst of the garden, which tree bears a poisonous fruit, of which God has bid us beware; and lest his caution should be disregarded, he has made it the test of our obedience, and threatened us with something awful, which he calls death, if we eat thereof. Some imagine that Eve was guilty of adding to, and taking from the words of God, in her reply to the serpent. The words that she added, were, neither shall ye touch it: and instead of saying, ye shall surely die, she said, lest ye die. But it may be observed, that Eve had orders second handed; when they were delivered by God to Adam, it is most probable that Eve was not formed, but Adam gave her information thereof, and if he had not been particular in detail, it was his error and not the error of Eve. But the words themselves convey no idea, (that I can see,) distinct from the words spoken to Adam by God himself: and, if men or women are guilty of a crime for not quoting words exactly, Peter, and Paul, and the Son of God, too, were guilty. Then said the serpent to the woman, ye shall not surely die. These words were in direct contradiction to the words of God; in them he gives God the lie. From this, he is said to be a liar from the beginning. These words, no doubt, shocked Eve to the heart, and I think the shock was fatal. The deception here began. Eve called in question the immutability of God, and supposed that this shining form had brought her some intelligence that God had revoked his threatening. But if the contagion had not yet taken place, it did before the serpent had done speaking; for when he had done, Eve was disarmed of all her confidence, and answered the serpent no more. The serpent proceeded. For God doth know that in the day ye eat

thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as God's, knowing good and evil. Here the devil speaks highly in commendation of the knowledge of God, but not so of his goodness. He had before insinuated that God withheld from them what might make them happier; and now he represents God as doing it designedly: that as he knew the quality of that tree to make them wise, he prohibited it to keep them in ignorance. It looks as if the devil, before this, had told Adam and Eve (the latter at least) that they were naked, and that it was very indecent; but, when they examined themselves, they saw no cause of shame in their nakedness, which the devil imputed to their ignorance, and told them that if they would eat of that tree, their eyes would be opened to see their shame as plainly as the Gods (the angels) did, and would know that what he had told them was true; or that they would be as Elohim, the divine Creator, and know abundance. As Eve before suspected the immutability of God, she now had her ears opened to hearken to anything, and credited what the serpent said so far as to examine for herself. The deception had prevailed so far, that her mind was blinded. For when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and pleasant to the eyes, her taste and sight took the lead of her mind, and preponderated against the divine prohibition: which proves that her senses were vitiated before she ate of the tree. And what mainly influenced her to eat, was that the fruit of the tree was desirable to make one wise. And surely, said Eve, God, who is so good, never wishes us to live in ignorance: what we know of God already makes us admire him; how great then will be our wonder and adoration, when our eyes are opened, and we are as God's, knowing good and evil. "Gold may be bought too dear." It is wisdom in creatures to live ignorant of those things that cannot be known but by rebellion; but false reasoning had so much weight on Eve, that she withstood the tempter no longer, but took the fruit of the tree and did eat; in which action she broke the divine command, and became culpable. And as soon as she had eaten, she used her voice to persuade her husband to do likewise; who, it seems, was near at hand, if not on the spot. St. Paul informs us, that the man was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. In which words the supplement first seems to be left out; for, without that supplement, the man was not in transgression at all. His meaning, therefore, is that the woman was first deceived and first in the transgression; for if Adam was not deceived by the words of the serpent to Eve, (who might stand by as a spectator and hear all that passed,) yet he was deceived by Eve. Some think that it was conjugal love that made Adam eat; who, rather than lose his wife, would disobey his God; if so, the excess of his conjugal love was his first depravity; so that the beauty and charms of Eve deceived him. But it is most likely that Eve, by extolling the sweetness of the fruit, and its excellent effects, deceived him. As Eve was persuasive with her voice, so she was officious with her hands; for she gave' to her husband and he did eat. If Eve was not a part of Adam, as federal head, then her transgression was only personal, for herself, and God could have killed her, and' made Adam another helpmeet; and, if this was the case, then our fall depended upon Adam's transgression alone, and what Eve did in no way effects us; but I think that the whole man (Adam and Eve) was federal; and that when the defection began in Eve, the female part, the total apostacy was not to be prevented. And after they had transgressed, The eyes of them both were opened; to see what good they had lost, and partly what evil they had incurred; to see themselves stripped of their original righteousness. Innocence was now gone, and guilt began to swell their breasts. And they knew that they were naked; by such a knowledge as to be ashamed of it. At first, they were not clothed with hair, feathers nor scales; their clothing was their moral virtue, and when that was gone, they saw themselves more naked than the animals, more vile than the beasts that perish. And they sewed

fig leaves together and made themselves aprons. Not with needles, which were not then in existence, but either fastened them together with thorns, or, what is more likely, wreathed them together, and bound them around their waists, and let the longest leaves hang down before them, like aprons, to hide their nakedness. The fig-leaves they chose because of their large size. Equally foolish are men, who strive to make a clothing for their naked souls, with their own works. What follows, is the appearance of the Lord God in the garden - his arraignment of Adam, Eve, and the serpent before his bar - their trial and respective dooms. But before I enter upon these heads, I shall inquire into the nature of the penalty, annexed to the law that was given to Adam. The law was: "Thou shalt not eat of the tree." The penalty threatened, in case of transgression, was: "Thou shalt surely die." The time in, which the penalty was to be inflicted, was: "The day that he should eat thereof."

It is most commonly believed that the death of the body - the death of the soul - and the eternal death of both body and soul in hell are included in the threatening, and that all these would have been inflicted on Adam, on the day of his fall, if a mediator had not appeared; but these things require investigation. By the death of the body, is understood the exit of the soul, the extinction of the animal life, and a putrefaction and rottenness of the earthy parts. This death, I believe, was contained in the threatening, under this restriction, that all of it was not to be inflicted on the same day. The words of the threatening are rendered, by some, dying thou shalt die; and seem to convey this idea: that in the day that Adam should eat of the tree, he should be mortalized - made subject to vanity, pain and sickness, which should never quit him till he should be reduced to death; and in this light God seems to explain it, when he says, In sorrow shalt thou eat all the days of thy life, until thou return to dust. This was fulfilled on Adam, and is fulfilled on his progeny. Whether the seeds of death were occasioned by the poisonous fruit, (which is probable enough,) or planted by God in a judicial manner, they have certainly raised a war in the elements that compose man, that will not cease their rage till he expires- there is no discharge in this war. The objection to this doctrine, is this: If the Death of the body was any part or all of the penalty annexed to the law, and Jesus, the security of his people, suffered death for them, with what propriety can justice punish them with death, when their security has paid it? To this it may be replied, that Jesus died, not to free men from it, but to follow death to his last retreat, in order to destroy death and raise men therefrom. Further, though Jesus laid down his life, yet he did not turn to dust, which seems to be the penalty annexed: this the real debtor pays, and not the surety; and besides, it is not certain that Jesus ever undertook to bear or palliate the penalty of that law; but it is most likely that the whole of the annexed penalty was inflicted on Adam and his posterity, and was no way mitigated by the Mediator. But more of this hereafter.

If by the death of the soul is meant alienation of affection and enmity against God, it is not rational to conclude that this death was any part of the penalty; for this reason: alienation and a carnal mind had taken possession of Adam and Eve before they broke the test of their obedience; and if spiritual apostacy preceded the transgression, it could not be the penalty inflicted for the crime. Nor would it sound very well to read the words of the Lord thus: "In the day that thou eatest the fruit of the tree, I will make thee an alienate, carnal, hardhearted enemy to thy Creator." Those who believe that spiritual apostacy was any part of the penalty, and that Jesus, the surety of his people, endured the penalty for them, would do well to ask themselves this question: Was Jesus ever made an alienate, carnal, hardhearted enemy to God? If not, how could he have borne the

penalty, if spiritual death was included in the penalty? But if by the death of the soul is understood simply its separation from God, the conclusion is not so absurd, that it was part of the penalty. The souls of Adam and Eve first wandered away from God, after Satan and sin, before they ate the interdicted fruit; and, therefore, God, in a judicial way, withdrew himself, and gave them up to the fury of Satan and sin as a just punishment. This Jesus endured for his people; he was forsaken of God, and given up to Satan, sin and sinners. That something more than natural death came by the fall, is certain; and it is as certain that much sin was committed by Adam and Eve, exclusive of eating of the tree; it seems most eligible, therefore, to suppose that morality was the penalty, and that other evils arise, either as the attendants of sin, or the natural consequences thereof, many of which are communicated by ordinary generation.

It is pretty plain that many deaths spoken of in the Scripture, such as famine, pestilence, captivity; and the deaths that St. Paul and others were often in, as well as the death of Abel, Absalom, Haman, etc., were not contained in the threatening of God to Adam; because Adam and ten thousand times ten thousand besides never felt them: and yet it is certain that all the complicated miseries of this life, death and damnation, come in at the door of sin, either as the attendants or natural consequences of sin, or what are inflicted on men in a judicial manner, for the breach of the laws of nature and revelation.

How is it possible that corporeal and eternal death were both contained in the threatening? The first says, the body shall die and turn to dust, the last says, that the body shall endure eternal pain. It cannot be well supposed, that God told Adam, that if he should eat of the forbidden tree, his body should die, and that he would send his son into the world to die and destroy death, and raise up his body again to endure eternal pain: If so, then the whole plan of salvation was made known to Adam, in the precept given, and the penalty annexed; which would be strange divinity to imagine. The above observation therefore seems best; to consider damnation as the effect of sin, in a final issue, and as not being contained in the threatening.

Having made these observations, I pass on to the chain of history, which speaks of the Judge of all the Earth coming into the garden, and arraigning the criminals at his bar: which is introduced, thus: And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day. From which we learn that sin did not destroy the sense of hearing. By the voice of God some understand thunder, and suppose that sin having entered the world, set the elements at war in peals of thunder: but rather God spake with his usual tone, which Adam and Eve knew; and as he spake, he appeared to be walking among the trees of the garden, and drawing towards them. This was in the cool of the day. Satan's temptations and man's rebellion were both performed before on the same day; and in the cool of the evening, when the sun was nigh down, and the cool breezes began to blow, God came walking towards them. And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden. As they had lost the image of God they could not be happy in his presence, and (if Adam spake the truth,) they were afraid of him, as well they might be, since they had broken the law which an omnipotent God had given them. Guilty fear appears to be the first evil that raged after the fall; and this still remains in all Adam's posterity, until they are reconciled by the blood of the Lamb, and are made partakers of that love which casts out fear. This fear made them flee from the presence of the Lord, which all men are prone to while unregenerate: they go astray as soon as they are born, giving God the back and not the face. Blindness of mind is seen in this procedure, that they should imagine that God was local, like

themselves, and that they could hide from him: But of this error they were soon convinced, for the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, where art thou? I placed you in the garden, and appointed you your labor, but where are you now? God knew where Adam was, but chose to make Adam confess what he had done. And Adam said, I heard thy voice in the garden and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself. The sins that appear in Adam's answer, were dissimulation and self-excuse. His dissimulation is seen in endeavoring to conceal from God the real cause of his fear, which was his eating the forbidden fruit; whereas Adam represents it to be his nakedness; in which he would excuse himself, and charge God with the cause of it, in not making him with a covering. And God said, who told thee that thou wast naked? Not I. When thou wast first made naked, I never accused thee with it; your nakedness did not prevent your access to me, nor cause me to reproach you; nor were you ashamed of it before: who then has told you of it in a sneering manner? If any one, he must be an enemy to me and my government, and a seducer to you; and therefore I ask you the question, Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat? And the man said, the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat. Here Adam makes use of nineteen words instead of saying yes. Fifteen of them are used as an apology, and four as a confession. Long apologies and short confessions have prevailed among men ever since. What Adam said, was true; and yet it is spoken with such an air as to cast blame on the woman, and finally upon God himself. He sought to screen himself by the seduction of the woman, and finally intimates that if God had not imposed that woman upon him, he should not have eaten. The Judge then proceeded to examine the woman, and hear of her, whether she owned the charge of her husband, and what defence she had to make; and said unto her, what is this that thou hast done? If you acknowledge the accusation of your husband, what is this great wickedness that thou art guilty of? The woman did not deny the charge of Adam, but, like him, excused herself, by accusing her tempter, and said, the serpent beguiled me and I did eat. As fond as she was, before this, of the serpent, (as is supposed by many) being naked like herself; yet being beguiled by him, and exposed to punishment, she would fain excuse herself and expose the tempter. The serpent, who had received his doom before, was not interrogated at this time by the Judge; but was proceeded against with some denunciations in addition to his former punishment. In transgression, the Devil was first- next, the woman - and last, the man. The inquest began first with the man- and then the woman; no inquiry being made of the serpent. But judgment was denounced on them according to the order of their crimes, - first, on the serpent; next, on the woman; and last, on the man. The judge addressed the serpent as follows:-

Because thou hast done this, i.e. beguiled the woman, thou art cursed above all cattle. Those that were tame, and to live among men, and above every beast of the field, such as were or should be wild; living in the forests and mountains, not to assist or be assisted by man.

Upon thy belly shalt thou go, without wings or legs, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. As this respects the instrument (the snake) it strongly indicates, that before this, the serpent was the favorite of Eve, among all the cattle and beasts; but now it should be abhorred above them all: and also, that before this action, the serpent used to fly, go on legs, or creep erect; but now he should be degraded to creep his whole length on the ground, and lick the dust as long as he lived. And as it respects the agent (the Devil) it sets forth the abhorrence that he should meet with; being ever spoken of with contempt; that he should never soar to heaven or walk with majesty on earth,

but be despised by all, and feed on the sordid lusts of men: and as he will live for ever, he never will rise from this abject state. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman. Before this there was great friendship and intimacy between the serpent and woman; but now the friendship was broken, never to be restored again. Serpents are ever fearful of men, and men are at constant variance with serpents: women, in particular, cannot endure the sight of them. And with regard to the Devil, though men are fond of his ways, yet they are always averse to his name and character, and are prone to call every disagreeable thing that frets and plagues them, by his name: and the Devil is the common enemy of men, and cannot love them, even when they weary themselves to death in his vassalage. And between thy seed and her seed. The whole serpentine race, and all the posterity of Eve are at enmity, as has been observed; but by the seed of the Devil, we are not to understand his angels, who joined him in the rebellion, but wicked men, who are called the children of the wicked one; and are said to be of their father, the Devil: particularly Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his brother; and all of his character. By the seed of the woman, is meant, not only the generation of the godly in every age of the world, between whom and the ungodly, there is always an irreconciliation, but principally the Messiah, who was a descendant of Eve, and the child of the Virgin Mary; who took not on him the nature of angels, but the nature of man; that through death he might destroy the Devil. At this seed the heathen rage, the kings of the earth set themselves at war, and all the ungodly are at variance.

It shall bruise thy head. When men encounter a snake, they are never contented till they have crushed his head; even after ever so many blows upon his back: so it was with Jesus; after all the blows of doctrine and miracles that he gave Satan, while he was living on earth, yet he never ceased till he bruised his head on the cross; where he destroyed all the projects, disconcerted all the schemes, and broke the power of the Devil, and took the wise in his own craftiness; and will never cease till he has levelled his kingdom to the ground, and brought down his horn to the dust. And thou shalt bruise his heel. As this refers to the snake, by reason of his creeping on his belly, he can only strike the heel, at most; the lower part of man; and as it concerns the Devil, he could only bruise the heel of Christ; i.e. his human nature, which is inferior to his God-head. This heel Satan bruised with his temptations, and raised his instruments to bruise him to death on the cross. The Judge next proceeded against the woman, and said unto her:-

I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and conception; or in thy conception; for it is not to be understood that Eve was to conceive more children for her transgression; but that her sorrows, in conception, should be greatly multiplied. It is not likely that women would have had many if any sorrows in bearing children, if sin had not entered the world; but now they bring forth their children with multiplied sorrows. But, notwithstanding their sorrows are so great in bearing and bringing forth children, yet, (said God)

Thy desire shall be to thy husband. That women in general have a desire to enjoy husbands and conceive by them, is evident, from the discontent of those who have no husbands; and those who have husbands and no children. But as the same word is used in the affair of Cain and Abel, Genesis 4:7, it seems rather to respect her subjection to her husband. Rulers address their subjects by command; but subjects address their rulers by desire, in a supplicative manner; and as Eve was first in the transgression, and a tempter to Adam, she, and all her sex are reduced to the subjection of desiring their husbands instead of commanding them. Indeed, by the order of Nature, the man being first made, the woman was to be in some subordination; but by reason of the order

of sin, the woman being first in the transgression, this subjection is greatly increased; for so it follows,-

He shall rule over thee - In a lordly, cruel manner; which is the case of women in general, and a great curse it is; and when they meet with it they should remember that it is for their sin.

Next the man is called to the bar, and proceeded against as follows:-

Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife. This shows that Eve used her voice to persuade Adam to eat. To hear the voice of a wife, as a counsellor, is becoming a husband; but to be enticed by a wife to transgress a divine command, is the first imprudence that Adam was charged with. It is no crime for a man to be tempted, if he withstands the temptation; but the guilt of the tempter will not expiate the crime, of the man who is overcome by the temptation. And this was Adam's case. See what follows: And thou hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, thou shalt not eat of it: meaning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, of which so much is said. It is not likely that this tree bore the same name before Adam ate thereof, but took its name from the crime of Adam: Adam and Eve knew good before the fall, but by eating of that tree they were brought to the knowledge of evil.' It is true, that the tree is called by that name before the fall, but it is most likely it was so called by anticipation - Moses giving it the same name that it was called by after the fall. This tree stood in the midst of the garden, near the tree of life; but the fruits of the two trees differed widely: the first bore fruit to mortalize, the last to immortalize.

It is evident that Adam and Eve apostatized before they ate of the tree, but the prohibition of that tree being the test of their obedience, for the breach of that, God gives out the doom: Cursed is the ground for thy sake.

Some suppose that, if sin had never entered the world, the earth would have produced her increase spontaneously; but, in Genesis 2:5, it looks as if man at first was made to till the ground; and yet it is clear that sin has brought a great curse upon the earth. I conclude that a little labor for recreation would have been sufficient, had not sin marred the face of the earth: but now, says God, In sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life.

Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years; and so many years he ate the fruits of the earth in sorrow, sweat, labor and pain; which grievous debt is entailed on his offsprings. The profit of the earth is for all - the king himself is served by the field - all live upon the fruits of the earth, and all eat thereof in sorrow. Let men live where they choose, follow what calling they please, yet sorrow attends them all the days of their lives.

Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee. The earth brings forth herbage for beasts spontaneously, but men have to till the ground, labor in the field, toil and sweat to kill the thorns and thistles, and noxious weeds in general, to raise vegetables and bread for themselves; and this fatigue lasts until they return to dust. For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. Adam's body was made out of the earth, his animal spirit distilled from it; and when God recalled the soul that he breathed into him, the animal spirit was extinguished, and his body turned to dust. The same fate follows all his off-springs. In this manner God explains the threatening that he gave to Adam before, and he is not a man that he should lie, but was as good as his word; and it appears to me, that whatever was contained in these words, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die, " was fully inflicted on Adam, and was not mitigated by the Mediator; for God appeared

as a judge to execute his law, and never so much as mentioned a Mediator to Adam and Eve in the whole process. I am also as well convinced that many evils befel Adam, and do befall us, that were never contained in the threatening, as I have observed before. The seed of the woman was spoken of to Satan, not as a saviour, but as a destroyer; to convince him, and all his species, that though they refused to worship an incarnate God, and had prevailed over Adam and Eve, yet he should proceed from the woman, and wear a human form, and prove an over match for them all.

Adam and Eve, who stood by when God spake these words to the serpent, might yet hope at least of temporal life, and perhaps of eternal life, through the seed; but this no way diverted the threatening. And Adam called his wife's name Eve; which name signifies to live or she liveth. As she was not annihilated, as he might expect, with himself, he gave her this name to perpetuate the action. Adam, before this, had given names to all the beasts, and the name of woman to his wife; but now, hearing that she was to bear a seed, and seeing her still alive, gave her a new name - Eve.

Because she as the mother of all living: i.e., of human kind. These words were added by Moses, which he offered as a reason why Adam gave his wife that name, or spoken by Adam, knowing that she was the only woman in the world, and that from her the whole human race would proceed. All nations upon the face of the earth, though bearing different colors and shapes, and in a multitude of conditions, must own Eve for their mother. And the Lord God made coats of skins and clothed Adam and his wife. These skins were taken from beasts; but on what account the beasts were slain, is uncertain. It is the opinion of some, that before Adam fell the beasts came to him by instinct, and willingly offered their lives to serve him; and that, if sin had never entered the world, man would have lived upon animal food; and this opinion is supported, by observing that the earth would soon have been overstocked with beasts and fowls if none of them had died; and further, they remark that some beasts and fowls were made to slay others, and live upon them; that the very shape of some of them indicates that they were made to devour; that claws, long teeth and hooked bills, would have been useless and troublesome to creatures designed to live alone upon vegetables; and, finally, they cannot believe that the sin of man should bring death upon beasts.

If these things can be maintained, it is not difficult to say where God found these skins to clothe Adam and his wife with. Adam and Eve having killed these beasts to eat their flesh, flayed off their skins, in some such way as savages do, without knives, and laid them by as useless; but now God taught them that their skins were as good for clothing as their flesh was for food. But these things are questionable.

It is not certain that animal flesh was ever eaten by man till after the flood. The fruits of the garden, the herbs, and every tree yielding seed, are all that were given to Adam and Eve to eat, in their first charter; and after the fall, they were to eat their bread by the sweat of their brows. And how beasts could lay down their lives without pain, is inconceivable; and to suppose that they would have come instinctively and laid down their lives, without pain, for man, is strange. But one thing further is certain, that the sin of man occasions the death of brutes; if not causally, in the first instance, yet it does eventually - the cruelty and wantonness of man reduce the beasts to death. And it seems to strike as directly against the goodness of God, to suppose that the species of brutes should toil, groan and die, to satisfy the pride, lust and cruelty of man, as it does to suppose that animals at first were made to be mortal, and die to satisfy the hunger of man. But if beasts

were not eaten before the fall, nor even before the flood, it is supposable that these beasts were slain for sacrifices, which ceremony was certainly in force in the days of Cain and Abel, and likely was ordained soon after the fall, but not before the beasts had begun to multiply; for if the first beasts had been slain, their species would have been extinguished. From this early institution of sacrificing lambs, Christ is called a Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world. How long it was after the fall before God clothed Adam and his wife with skins, is unknown; but the first clothing that he made for them was out of skins, from which, it is most likely, the hair was not taken off: so the Tartars, Laplanders, and various nations clothe themselves unto this day. As the fig leaves that Adam and Eve sewed together to make themselves aprons of, were emblems of the vain ways, foolish hopes, and self-righteousness of the ungodly; so these coats of skins were figurative of the righteousness of Christ, that robe of righteousness and garment of salvation, with which the Almighty adorns the souls of penitents. And the Lord God said, behold the man is become like one of us, to know good and evil. This phrase respects both Adam and Eve, though but one of them is mentioned. If these words were seriously spoken, the sense is, that now Adam and his wife had become like one of the divine persons in knowledge. Before the fall, God knew good and evil, and good from evil; evil, not by possession, but by understanding its nature and consequences; but Adam and Eve did not; they knew good, by possession, but had no just idea of evil; but now being fallen into evil, and convinced of its nature and effects, in that respect they became as God. How applicable are the words of Solomon in this affair! He that increases knowledge, increases sorrow." Or else the meaning is, that now, since the Lord had graciously made known to them the Messiah, the seed of the woman, and brought them to a sense of their sin, and also clothed them with skins, (representing the righteousness of Christ,) that they were like the angels, being in favor with God, and ready and willing to obey him; or rather that they were like God himself, being created in Christ Jesus; having put on the new man, created in righteousness and holiness, after the image of him who created him. But it seems best to understand the words, as spoken ironically; reproving while they seem to applaud. It was the vain hope and wish of Adam and Eve, that, by eating the forbidden fruit, they should be as Gods; and here God retorts upon them: "Now the man is become like one of us, is he? look and see his wretchedness! see what his pride has reduced him to! His knowledge is increased, it is true, but wherein is he the better? Innocence was far better: nor has his misfortune humbled his heart entirely; aspiring thoughts yet dwell within him." And now, lest he put forth his hand, and take of the tree of life and eat and live forever. God first treated Adam as a free agent; he left him to his own choice, to eat or not to eat of the tree of knowledge, using no other means to keep him from eating, but a moral prohibition, as a test of his obedience; but not so with the tree of life. That tree was guarded with cherubims and a fiery sword. God, in the character of a legislator, never forces or prevents the human will; but in the character of a judge, dealing with culprits, he subjects them to afflictions contrary to their wills. As it is probable that the fruit of the tree of knowledge was poisonous, and that it naturally reduced Adam to pain, sickness and death; so also it is likely that the fruit of the tree of life was of the nature to immortalize. And now, Adam having eaten of the first, by which he incurred death, (both physically and judicially,) was prevented from staying in the garden, lest he should take of the tree of life, and thereby immortalize himself and so live forever. Some have thought, that if sin had never entered into the world, yet men would have been subject to decay; to remedy which the tree of life was planted, and bore fruit of that quality to remove or rather prevent all weakness of the limbs, wrinkles in the face, and every thing of the kind.

Another reason assigned as the cause, why this tree was called the tree of life, is, that it was ever verdant, constantly circulating sap and bearing fruit all the year; and this seems probable enough from Revelation 22:2, where reference is had to this tree. And the Devil might have suggested to Adam, that there could be no malignity in the prohibited tree, which grew so near the tree of life, and if there was, they might easily take of the fruit of the tree of life, which would be a sufficient antidote; but to prevent all such vain hopes in Adam and Eve, and to convince them that they were not at liberty to follow the machinations of Satan, The Lord God drove them out of the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence Adam was taken.

Before this, I conclude Adam had not begun to till the ground, but had lived upon the spontaneous fruits of the garden, what time he had lived, which was not long, as it seems. The garden was planted in the east part of Eden, and it looks as if Adam was driven entirely out of the land of Eden; for the cherubic guard was placed at the east of the garden, to keep Adam and Eve from returning to the garden and eating of the tree of life. The Lord drove them out of the garden (which they left with reluctance, as is probable) to till the ground from whence Adam was taken, and raise their bread in sweat, labor and pain. The ground that he was to till, was that out of which he was taken: from which it appears, that Adam was made out of the ground east of Eden, and taken from thence by the Lord, and placed in the garden of Eden; but as he was rebellious in the garden, he was driven back to the place where he was made, to spend his days in sweat, sorrow and pain, until he returned to dust. From Adam's being taken from the spot where he was made and placed in Eden's garden, (if he had been obedient,) it is probable that he would have been raised, in gradual stages, to the same enjoyment that the glorified saints will eternally enjoy; but the life he possessed in the garden, did not capacitate him to rise any higher than he then was; nor had he any reason to believe that his best obedience would merit a higher station: yet, I conclude, it is not extravagant to suppose, that God would have exalted him to the same pinnacle of glory, that all the ransomed of the Lord will hereafter inherit; for, as sin will never prevent the purposes of God's grace, so likewise, it is never the cause of human exaltation, before God. Sin is the cause of pain and sickness, want and woe, horror and shame, hardness and impenitence, anger and rage, strife and contention, war and bloodshed, death and damnation. If sin had never entered the world, there would have been no cause of Christ's death; but sin was not the cause of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, nor does it cause the communication of eternal life into the human heart. No man will ever return to the state that Adam was in while in the garden: those who are regenerated will rise much higher, and those who die in rebellion will sink much lower.

Or, perhaps, the meaning of the clause, To till the ground out of which he was taken, does not respect the particular spot where Adam was made and taken from; but the ground in general, out of which element Adam was formed. And the Lord God placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life. Frequent accounts, in Scripture, are given, both of living and lifeless cherubims. About the ark and mercy-seat, and on the walls of the holy place, in the temple, were lifeless images, called cherubims. The living cherubims are called seraphims, living creatures, four beasts, and cherubims. These creatures, in Scripture, generally intend gospel ministers; but not always. Where it is said that Jehovah rode upon a cherub and did fly, it is better to understand it of an angel, than of a human minister. Perhaps the name may be given, with propriety, to any messenger of the Lord, from the greatest angel to the smallest insect. In the text now under consideration, they

seem to intend angels, and not ministers of the gospel. Angels were then in existence, but gospel ministers were not. These angelical ministers were made a flame of fire: streams of fire proceeded from them, resembling swords, like the beams of the sun, in every direction, to strike the rebel through who should dare to approach the tree of life.

Some think this wonderful appearance was designed by God, to convince Adam, and keep in his mind, that no life was ever after the fall to be had by the deeds of the law. That the flaming sword of justice stands pointed against every soul that seeks salvation by works of righteousness that he can do.

Others are of opinion, that as the tree of life was an emblem of Jesus Christ, (who is often compared to the tree of life,) so these cherubims were heiroglyphical of gospel ministers, who handle the word of God, which is quick and powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword; which turns every way to detect the hypocrite, alarm the profane, and point out to penitents the way of salvation, by faith in the Redeemer. But it appears to me, that these cherubims were not merely visionary appearances, but real subsistences, and therefore the first sense given seems most probable.

How long these angels continued there, as guards to the tree, is uncertain. If the tree of life died as soon as common trees do, (in about one hundred years,) or if they guarded the tree until the flood, when men were removed from that part of the world, they were happy in their post, doing the will of God. The flood has so altered the face of the earth (together with earthquakes and other causes) that no man can tell where the garden or any part of Eden lay; and what became of the trees in the garden, particularly the tree of death and tree of life; whether they were used for firewood or timber - whether they died with age or are now living - or whether the first was transplanted in hell, and the last in paradise, to me, is unknown.

APPENDIX. - MISCELLANEOUS. THE nature of God is just, and therefore his ways are all equal; and as love and goodness proceed from him, consequently malevolence and sin cannot; otherwise, his ways would be unequal.

Some suppose that it was necessary that sin should emerge among the creatures of God, that the divine glory might be more effulgently displayed than otherwise it could have been. But is the supposition well founded? what idea should we form of a man who should charge his son not to run into the fire, and with one hand brace him from it, and at the same time, with the other hand, secreted by a screen, pull the forbidden child into the flame, that he might show his compassion to his little favorite in pulling him out of the burning coals? Would such compassion be amiable? But suppose the same man should serve ten sons in the same manner, and pull but five of them out, and leave the rest therein forever, that those five who were graciously delivered, and the five who were unfortunately forsaken might see his justice, could God or man love such, a character?

If goodness, love and justice, cannot be displayed, known and enjoyed, without a previous knowledge and possession of evil, then Adam, in innocency, could not; angels in heaven, and the God of angels, cannot either know, enjoy, or display goodness, love and justice. That sin adds anything to the glory of the Divine Essence, is inadmissible. If any beings, therefore, are profited by it, sinners themselves are; and if infinite wisdom could contrive no way to add to creatures, but a way that damns a great part of them, what shall we say of such wisdom? Could not justice shine

to men as transpicuous without their guilt as it now can? Is it not as great justice to clear the innocent as it is to condemn the guilty? These things are so.

What has goodness to say, if the justice of God could not so fully be made known without the damnation of millions of millions? Is it possible for the best of creatures, yea, for God himself, to love such sovereign justice?

How can the mouths of the damned be stopped by that justice which could not be displayed without their exquisite torment? And how can the saints triumph in that character which wantonly glories in the misery of their fellow creatures? Had sin never entered the world, the justice of God could have appeared as glorious as it now does, or ever will; and if creatures are to be raised to a higher state of glory than they could have been without sin, all the praise of this superabundant glory belongs to sin, and all creatures should love the death of the wicked, which the Creator takes no pleasure in. The Lord God is omnipotent: nothing (consistent with his nature) is too hard for him to effect; but he acts upon a scale so exalted, from a principle so good, that he cannot do those mean, dirty things that men can. If it should be thought a presumptuous impeachment of divine power to say that God could not have prevented sin in the first instance," it certainly operates as much against his goodness, to say that he could have prevented it. The omniscient Jehovah made creatures without their own consent, and foresaw all the evils that ever they would fall into. Now, if he could have prevented their sin by one of his fingers, and would not put that finger forth, who can justify his goodness?

Eternal power is limited by nothing but the nature of the divine Esse, which is so good and benevolent, that Omnipotence could not make creatures miserable by destroying the liberty of their wills, which was the only way supposable to prevent their crimes.

"But was it possible for the Almighty ever to discover the attribute of mercy to his creatures, without their apostacy? Does not mercy always presuppose need or misery? If so, then sin, on the creature's part, has proved the way for the discovery of that perfection which otherwise would ever have been dormant." This remark has real weight, and merits a fair investigation. It is a principal hinge for turning the disputes of the present day; and, therefore, is not to be slightly canvassed. The word attribute, is as great a stranger in the Bible, as the word moral; and what two words are more frequently used by divines, or more variously understood.

If by an attribute is understood an essential property of Deity; that, without which the Almighty would be imperfect; and further, if it is supposed that all the attributes of Jehovah can have an ample circulation in the divine Esse, without the existence of creatures, so that the infinite God is independantly glorious: I conclude that mercy is not an attribute. For if mercy always presupposes need or misery, how could it circulate in a being where no need or misery was to be found?

Learned men say that the attributes of God are ever spoken of in the single number, thus: love, power, holiness, &c., and will not admit of their plurals, loves, powers, holinesses, &c. If this observation has any weight in it, then mercy cannot be an attribute, for mercy is plural (mercies) in a variety of places in the Bible. In the above view of things, if mercy is an attribute, God was dependant on creatures to do that which was contrary to his nature and law - that, which he could not do himself or tempt them to - to bring themselves into a situation in which alone he could make a full discovery of himself unto them. How dependant was God, in this point of view!

God is a spirit of light, life and love, and some think that his attributes are naught but the manifestations of himself to his creatures, in his word and works. The invisibility of the eternal power and godhead was made known in creation, and is clearly seen by the things that are made. Wisdom, power and goodness, were exhibited in creation, but grace and mercy were not. Here then the question arises: viz., was not sin necessary? etc. Can any man suppose that fury, wrath or vengeance, are essential properties of the God of love and goodness? Are they not the displays of justice on criminals? Just so mercy is the stream of love. God is love, and eternally loved his people; nor could all their sins either heighten or destroy it. And love, the fountain, could and would have raised them to the same enjoyment, that mercy, the stream, now will, if they never had sinned.

If, therefore, creation was a work of necessity, for a display of the perfections of God, yet sin was not; for no perfection of God is now made known to creatures, but what could have been, made known as fully without sin: justice could have shone as effulgent, and love appeared as strong as they now do. The universe is as much worse for sin, as all the groans of the creation and all the damnation of men and devils amount to, and in no instance, upon a general scale, the better for it.

Those who go to heaven are raised entirely upon the scale of love and goodness, but saved from hell upon the scale of justice.

Another question arises, which is this: "Do not the saints in heaven admire redeeming love more than angels do, or more than they possibly could have done, if they had not sinned and been redeemed?"

Redeeming love, by that name, would never have been known on earth or in heaven, if creatures had not sinned; but from this it does not appear that creatures on earth or in heaven are happier than they could otherwise have been. That saints in heaven will be more exalted than angels, is what I believe; but this exaltation arises from the likeness of nature, and not from the redemption from sin; for Jesus Christ has done the human nature more honor than he has the angelic, in that he put on the first and not the last. To solve the question, let me ask any godly man, who understands the nature of grace in his heart, whether (in times when his soul is most full of the love of God) he admires redemption from hell or the enjoyment of God's love the most? If I judge right when souls enjoy most of God, they are the most swallowed up in admiring the perfections of God, without poring so much upon what he has done for them. That the act of redemption calls loudly upon all on earth and all in heaven to adore the Redeemer is unquestionable; at the same time, if we trace things to their origin, the principle that this act proceeds from, is to be principally adored; and this principle could have been as well known and as fully enjoyed without sin, as it now can.

ALL the works of God are the effects of divine power and goodness, love, and justice in concert; and he always acts from motive in himself; and is noways biased by the conduct of his creatures: yet the actions of men vary the operation of his hand in numberless instances. A benevolent father loves his child, and always acts from a principle of love towards him; but as the behaviour of the child is sometimes filial and sometimes froward; the same stimulus of love that moves the father at some times to give a plaudit and bestow an encomium, at other times induces him to give a reproof and inflict a punishment. The application is easy. To say that Jesus Christ did not die for sinners, but for the glory of God, is just as good divinity, as it is to say, that rain, and fruitful

seasons, bread, and all the blessings of nature, are not given to men for their good, but for the glory of God. That Jesus shed his blood for the remission of sins, was wounded for transgressions, and bruised for iniquity, died for sins, and laid down his life for his sheep, is abundantly proven in scripture. The nature of God, and the nature of sin are such, that sin must be punished somewhere, in some being; for it cannot be punished in itself: the criminal or the surety must smart for it. If the surety pays the whole debt, bears the full punishment, then the criminal is freed, upon the scale of law and justice; and the creditor cannot demand the sum, nor the law its penalty from both the debtor or criminal, and the surety. Now if the satisfaction of Christ consists in suffering for sin, (which is the light in which the New Testament holds it forth,) he either made universal satisfaction to God, for the sins of all Adam's race, or he did not. If the atonement is universal, how can any be damned, upon the scale of justice? If the answer is, "because men will not repent, believe, and return and submit to the deliverer." The next question is, are the acts of impenitence, unbelief, inattention and obstinacy, sins or no sins? If no sins, then men can be saved in them. If they are sins, then they were atoned for, or they were not; if they were atoned for, how can men be damned for them? If they were not atoned for, then the atonement was not universal. If, therefore, the atonement is proved to be universal, it follows, of course, that salvation is universal; but if the last is confuted, the first inevitably falls.

It is a question, whether Jesus the son of Mary went to heaven upon the scale of nature, obedience, God-head or grace. His nature was free from sin, but not spiritual enough for heaven, till after his resurrection. His obedience was as perfect as the law required; he magnified the law and made it honorable. The searching eye of omniscience could see no imperfection in him; but his obedience entitled him to no higher station than Adam was in before the fall. To suppose that he overcame and rose to heaven merely by his own God-head, would destroy the idea of his perfect human virtue, and represent the man of sorrow as having no trials at all: for what proof of a giant's skill would it be to conquer a pigmy, or what danger would a hero be in, beset only by a child. It seems best therefore to suppose that Jesus went to heaven by grace. That the babe that was conceived in the virgin's womb, was in the same predicament and texture of innocent Adam, we have great reason to believe; but without the grace of God, it is more likely that he would have fallen than that Adam should, as temptations had increased a thousand fold. That John the Baptist was regenerate in his mother's womb, is pretty clear; and likely it is the case with many others. So likewise the child Jesus, came into the world an innocent Adam and a regenerate soul, and in that character was proof against all the temptations that befell him, and perfectly obedient to the law; and after dying and suffering for sins, not his own, he was raised with a spiritual body capable of entering heaven, which was not the case of Adam's body before the fall. If these things are facts, then Jesus called God his father, as Christians do, being his son by regeneration, (I mean in some places,) and I shall leave the reader to judge, whether the words, "ye who have followed me in the regeneration of this life," are not applicable to the above sentiment.

It is the opinion of some, that depravity consists alone in the will, being the reverse to all that is good. That when the blindness of the mind, and the darkness of the understanding are spoken of, we are to form the idea, that the will is so perverse, that men will not attend to the means of information, and therefore the mind is left in ignorance. This observation is supported by great men and great argument; nor am I disposed, at this time, to call it in question; but one thing I shall contend for, viz. that moral agency and the violation of the will, have nothing to do in the work of

regeneration. The reception of divine grace, or the new-birth, is not according to the will of man: it is not of him that willeth but of God. To tell a congregation of people, that they may all come to Christ as a mediator, and receive eternal life, if they will, is incoherent divinity; Adam in innocency had not that power. Paul, whose will was present, could not do as he would; and all the saints in every part of the world, when their wills are most swallowed up in the divine will, find the need of spiritual strength to perform things that they would. That men are moral agents, since the fall, is evident; otherwise they could not sin at all; but let those, who believe that salvation turns upon man's acceptance, remember that the tree of life in the garden, was not to be eaten of at the will of man after the fall: and those who suppose that the promised seed, (or rather the seed of the woman, spoken of as a conqueror to the serpent,) restored fallen man to free agency, consider that the guardian prohibition of this tree, was after the seed of the woman was spoken of. When will man duly consider, that the most perfect obedience of a moral subject entitles him to no higher station, than the state where he is fixed?

If Christ had died for all, and there is a fulness of grace for all; how comes it to pass that some are saved and not all? "because some will not come." Are there not many who had this will not for a number of years, and afterwards repented and went? "beyond all doubt." Was not their obstinacy of will atoned for as well as the rest of their sins? "To be sure." Are the sins of obstinacy in other sinners atoned for or not? If they are, how can they be damned for sins already atoned for, upon the scale of justice? If they are not atoned for, how can such find pardon? "But the sins of men are atoned for conditionally."

What are those conditions?

"The conditions are, that every one that will repent of his sins and believe in Jesus Christ shall be saved; but every one that will not repent and believe, shall die under the curse of the law, and have an aggravated damnation for refusing to submit to an offered Saviour." Can men comply with those conditions? If one man can, so can all, except one is made better than another. If God has made one man better than another, how can he require as much of one as of another, in justice? If all men are in one predicament, then one can do what another can; and if all men have power to repent and believe, how comes it to pass that some do and others do not? "Because one uses the means and others do not. " But why does one use the means and not another? "Because one will and another will not. " But how comes one to have a will and not another? Does this better will proceed from nature or from grace? If from either, God is the author of it. 44.

If Jesus Christ was delivered up to death by an original statute, sin was certainly included in the moral system; for on no other account did Jesus die, but for the sins of his people. That he was delivered by the determinate counsel of God, is evident; but that this delivery includes death, is very questionable.

There is no way supposable, that God could have raised human creatures to heaven, but by delivering his Son to become incarnate; for the union of the two natures in the Mediator, is the ground-work of the exaltation of human creatures to the divine glory. The best mode of thinking is this: That God originally determined to deliver his son to be incarnate; and secondarily, from a knowledge of creatures' sin, delivered him to death; the last being a consequence of the first, depending on the moral agency of creatures, and not arising from an original statute.

There is no kind of violence or cruelty under the sun, but what may be reconciled to tyrannical sovereignty; but has the God of love and goodness a sovereign right to do wrong? "It must be right because God has done it," is not as sound or as harmonical as to say, "It is wrong, and therefore God is not the author of it." The whole universe is composed of a multitude of units; if the human world is therefore the better for sin, the advantage must be found among some or all these units; but where is there a judicious individual in the universe, that can say, he is better for sin? That wicked men are physically impelled to sin, excited thereto by moral suasion; or called upon to rebel by the dispensations of God's mercies and judgments, is inadmissible. But that their corrupt natures are in that predicament that they are under a natural necessity to sin until they are changed by grace, is incontestible. Consequently if there is a single action of spiritual good to be performed by them, prior to their receiving the grace of God, it will forever remain undone. The truth is, that in the simple work of regeneration, men neither assist nor resist. In the foregoing exposition and appendix, there are a number of hints given, that the predicament of innocent Adam, was different from that of a regenerate saint on earth, and of a glorified saint in heaven; and as this distinction is called in question by many, I shall say something more on the subject.

It is true, God may justly require more of his creatures now, than he required of Adam in the garden. The obedience and faith of a creature, should always be tantamount to the commands and revelation of the creator. If the creator, therefore, commands his creatures any thing more than he commanded Adam, they are under bonds to obey; and that creatures, since the fall, are commanded to make themselves new hearts and cleanse themselves from all unrighteousness, be unfeignedly sorry for their sins and love God with a pure heart fervently, admits of no doubt. And further, if God has revealed more to his fallen creatures than he revealed to Adam in the garden, they should believe more than he did, with an unshaken faith. When Jesus was on earth, he gave as full proof of his divinity and Messiahship, as the Almighty did of his God-head in creation; and therefore people who saw, and those who have heard of him, are as strongly bound to believe in him as the Almighty Saviour as they are to believe in the God-head of the creator. But still the question is, whether grace does not raise men to a higher state than they fell from - do more for them than the law requires?

It cannot be supposed, that the law requires man to rise to a more exalted state than Adam was in, when in Eden: now if it can be demonstrated that grace raises men higher than Eden's garden, then the hypothesis is maintained.

Adam was on earth: saints will be raised to heaven. Adam was to propagate: saints will be like angels in respect of propagation. Adam was to dress the garden and eat thereof: saints will be fed by God without their hand labor. The presumption is strong that Adam was made to till the ground: saints will live where there will be no ground to till. The point then is proved. As for the predicament of Adam's soul, before the fall, it is as difficult to describe, as it is to describe where the garden of Eden was, for much the same reason. Sin drove him from that garden, and extinguished that life in his soul, that neither he, nor any of his progeny will ever regain. When wandering souls are brought home to God, it is not to Eden's garden, or to that life that Adam possessed in innocency; but to a place more exalted, to a life more sublime. That Adam, while innocent, took complacency in the divine character, cordially submitted to the moral government of Jehovah, and cheerfully obeyed his God, is granted: anything short of this, would have been hypocrisy at best. This exercise is still enjoined on all men; for God has not lost his right to command, because men are

depraved and fallen. But after all, the life of Adam's soul was mutable; it was not eternal life, it was extinguished by sin, and ended in death; neither Adam nor any of his children will ever enjoy the same life again: but those who are changed by grace, are made partakers of an immutable, eternal life that can never be extinguished.

Another idea also contended for, is this, viz., that the grace of God, in regeneration, is bestowed in a sovereign manner: that God in giving that grace, works not according to the laws of nature, and treats with men, not as moral agents, but as recipient beings. The system of the Armenians merits regard, so far as it respects moral government; in this point, they have the advantage of those who suppose that sin, and all its consequences, emerge in consequence of some grand decree in Deity; but when they intrude the moral system into the channel of grace, and suppose that salvation depends upon the will and acceptance of the creature, prior to his being born again, they make wretched work. In vindication of the first mentioned part of their system, it may be said, that if angels and men cannot act, but as they are acted upon; if spirits have no kind of self motion, but are always used as pullies, weights and wheels in a machine; and that they act voluntarily also, it not only represents Jehovah as the original agent of their wicked actions, but the author of their corrupt wills; by making use of motives behind the screen, to influence them to act. Should a monarch put a knife into a child's hand, and directing the child's hand with his own arm, thrust the blade into another and kill him, who would punish the child and exculpate the monarch? and if the monarch made use of motives visible or clandestine, to influence the child to act willingly, would the violation of the child clear the character of the monarch? But in opposition to the last mentioned part of their system, viz., that salvation depends upon moral agency; let it be noticed, that if the grace of the gospel only re-Adams men, there is a thousand times as great reason to believe that all men will be damned, as there was to believe that Adam would fall. The sure standing or final falling of a soul, rests either upon the unchangeableness of God, or the unchangeableness of the creature; if on the unchangeableness of God, their standing is sure; for God changes not; but if their standing rests on the unchangeableness of the creature, their falling is not only possible, but probable; not only probable, but certain. In this point of sight, every argument that is brought to prove the possibility of falling away finally, operates with a thousand times as much weight, to prove that falling away is certain. The truth is, that holy, mutable creatures had power to do evil, and evil creatures have natural power to do good; to do as much as the law requires, (so far as it respects their future conduct,) for sin has not destroyed their natural powers; but they have no more power than will, to perform spiritual services in a gracious manner. This spring of soul, Adam had not; this spring, sin never broke; this spring is effected in the work of grace; sin is not the cause of it, nor shall sin prevent its being formed in the heart, nor shall sin ever entirely break it. To close the appendix, I shall observe, that sin arose at first, either from the agency of God, or the agency of creatures. If it arose from the agency of God, there is either no evil in it, or an eternal root of evil was in God, for nothing can arise in the agency of God, but what had root in himself; and if God is such a being, and by his power, mixed with love and hate, good and evil, he made creatures, and demands their admiration; then it must be given him: but one thing is certain, if this be the case, viz., the more holy creatures are, the less they love such a character, and when they are made like him, they will not be free from roots of bitterness. Let the wire-drawer, or the hair-splitter, who believes that sin was designed by God, and that it answers valuable purposes, show the difference between cause and occasion, if he can; and how he can maintain his point, without holding to two eternal opposite causes, I know not.

38. This piece was never before published, but was written in, or prior to, the year 1790. The appendix was probably written at a subsequent period, but when, we have no means of ascertaining.

39. If, from the formation of Adam and Eve, to the flood, people doubled once in forty-five years, there had been on earth more than one hundred and thirty-seven thousand millions. And, if they have doubled as fast from Noah, to the present time, there have been in the world nearly forty thousand quadrillions; which would be more than one hundred thousand souls, for each square inch in the terraqueous globe.

. The general computation is twenty-one thousand six hundred, but some make it as great as twenty-six thousand; to form a medium therefore, and to give a round number without fractions, I compute it at twenty-four thousand miles. All my calculations, respecting the earth, are made upon that scale, except the foot-note in the introduction.

41. The American empire contains six hundred and forty millions of acres, of which, fifty-one millions are water.

42. The nearest fixed star is at such a distance from us, that a cannon-ball must fly at the rate of one hundred fathoms a second, and take nearly seven hundred thousand years to reach it: the distance being computed at almost two and a half millions of miles. A line of wheat-grains, from the sun to said star, allowing four grains to the inch, would form a mountain of wheat, more than sufficient to sow forty such globes as this, allowing a bushel to an acre.

43. Some suppose that the best way to clear the character of God from being the cause of every kind of evil, is, to imagine that Adam stood a representative of all the lower creation, human, animal, vegetative and the gross parts of it, and that when he sinned and forsook his moral order, it threw the whole creation into disorder. That as soon as sin raised a war of elements within him, the contagion ran through all the elements without him, and brought a curse upon the fire, air, water and earth. That briars and thistles and all poisonous weeds sprang up, as a consequent thereof; and that the infection rose up in the sap of the tree of good and evil, (which had not this quality before the fall, as they judge,) and that the animals received a cruel, venomous disposition from the source of Adam's sin, as well as the human world, a wicked stubborn nature.

44. This mode of reasoning is just in the plan of salvation, but inadmissible in the moral system.

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