

3-1975

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Cain, Jerry B. (1975) "The Thought and Action of some Early Texas Baptists Concerning the Negro," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 13: Iss. 1, Article 5.

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THE THOUGHT AND ACTION OF SOME EARLY TEXAS BAPTISTS CONCERNING THE NEGRO

by Jerry Berlyn Cain

Traditionally Texas' Baptists have not been cordial toward the black citizens of their state. The state's largest Protestant group condoned slavery, encouraged the Civil War and supported segregation with its "separate but equal" paradox. Their institutions zealously supported evangelism among Texas Negroes but were lethargic in securing for blacks their civil and social rights. White Baptists supported Negro education as long as blacks went to their own schools. Negroes were encouraged to start their own churches rather than attempt to join with the whites. Since the early 1850s Texas Baptists were leaders in keeping the blacks in their place—which was either down on the farm or across the tracks with their own kind.

But the situation is changing now. The tide began to turn in 1951 when Wayland Baptist College in Plainview opened its doors to Negro students. Austin Baptist Association accepted a black church into full membership in 1955 and soon other Baptist institutions and organizations began to follow suit. Now a general policy of integration and cooperation exists between Texas' white and black Baptists.

It is significant to note that this openness is not entirely new to the state. Many of the earliest Baptists that migrated into this area held positions and attitudes very similar to the feelings expressed now in Baptist churches. Although the ecclesiastical ancestors of today's Baptist were often slave owners, they were eager to receive Negro members into their churches and often gave them places of leadership and authority. Though social outcasts and legal chattel, Negroes were given a measure of dignity, creativity, and equality in Texas' original Baptist churches.

The first section of this study will reveal the thought and action of these religious pioneers toward their black neighbors while under the rule of Mexico. The second segment will report their attitudes and actions during the Republic of Texas. Summations and evaluations will be included in appropriate places throughout this work.

The Texas Baptist story prior to the revolution of 1836 is disconnected and fragmentary.¹ Because of Mexican laws there could be no openly organized, cooperative Baptist work before 1836. Thus the early history of Texas Baptists and their relationships with Negroes must consist of isolated incidents and short biographies.

Joseph L. Bays had the distinction of being the first Baptist preacher to proclaim the gospel in Texas. He crossed the Sabine River in 1820, preached a sermon, and baptized the first Texas convert into the Baptist faith. Bays moved into Texas with Austin's colonizers and secured land as part of the original three hundred settlers. In 1823 he was arrested by Mexican authorities for preaching in San Felipe, Austin's headquarters. He was able to club his captors and escape into Louisiana until 1836 when he again moved into Texas to stay.

Bays had come to Texas from Virginia by way of Kentucky and Missouri. Being in the border states, he was evidently in contact with both pro-slavery and abolitionist sentiments of the day. His biographer mentions very little of his personal life and leaves no record of his thought and action concerning the Negro.² To determine the position of this pioneer Baptist leader on the problem of white Baptist relations with blacks is therefore impossible.

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The second Baptist preacher to enter Texas evidently had strong feelings in regard to the Negro question. Freeman Smalley visited Texas from Ohio in approximately 1822 in search of his sister who had ventured into Texas with her husband. Smalley entered Texas from the north and preached in this region thinking he was still in Arkansas. After finding his sister in safety and good health, he returned to Ohio until 1848 when he moved to Texas and established residence in Williamson County, near Roundrock.

Smalley was a dedicated abolitionist and unashamed to declare his feelings on slavery. Evidence exists that he organized the first anti-slavery church in Texas. This abolitionist church was somewhere in Williamson County on Brushy Creek.³ Smalley's stand on the issue of slavery made him unpopular with the majority of Texans who forced him to leave the state in 1866. No further record of his abolitionist church is available.⁴

Another early leader was Thomas J. Pilgrim who landed in Matagorda Bay in 1829 and proceeded to San Felipe de Austin where he became a close friend of Empresario Stephen F. Austin. Pilgrim was a Baptist and opened the first Sunday School in Texas. Trouble with Mexican authorities soon forced him to close his school.

During the 1836 Texas Revolution, Pilgrim feared that enslaved Negro servants in Texas might join ranks with the Mexicans. He wrote to Austin expressing his distrust of the Negro and warned him to be prepared for such a happening.⁵ Although a native of Connecticut, this father of Texas Baptist Sunday Schools later espoused the cause of the Confederacy and promoted it in every manner he could.⁶

Daniel Parker was probably the most influential Baptist during the early days of settlement and a man of outstanding leadership abilities. He twice served as a senator in Illinois and was later elected to the Congress of the Republic of Texas in 1839 but was refused his seat since ministers were ineligible to serve. On his first visit to Texas in 1832 he construed the Mexican colonization laws as forbidding only the organization of a non-Catholic church in Texas. Parker felt it legally correct to move a previously organized Protestant church into Texas. In 1833, therefore, he founded the Pilgrim Church of Predestinarian Regular Baptists⁷ in Illinois and it began its trek into Mexican Texas. In January, 1834, they passed through Austin's colony on their way to East Texas.

When Parker left Illinois, there were seven white members in his Pilgrim Baptist Church. On March 1, 1834, of the 121 members in the congregation, at least five were black. The roll of this early Baptist church includes the following Negroes:

Thomas. (Blackman)
 Hannah. (Blackwoman)
 Nat a Blackman
 Easter a Colored Woman
 Qually a Colored Man⁸

These five hold the honor of being the first black Baptists in Texas. This first Baptist church in Texas apparently accepted Negroes on an equal basis with whites from its very beginning.

A positive attitude toward the Negro population was continually taken by the Primitive Baptists during these early years. Parker's Pilgrim Baptist Church ordained the first black Baptist minister in Texas. The minutes of their October, 1853 meeting read:

Appointed Brethren Reuben Brown and J. Kennedy a committee to see John Davis and enquire of him if he has any objection for the Church to liberate his Slave Brother qualy to exercise in public if she [the church] thinks his gift is profitable.⁹

This "Slave Brother qualy" was probably the Qually mentioned in the 1834 list of members since the church records do not mention any other Negro with a similar name. This committee reported at the next business meeting:

took up the reference whereupon the Brethren that was Apointed to visit Mr. John A. Davis in order to obtain his consent to the Liberation of Servant Qualey to exercise his gift in the Church. Made a report favorable to the Same under certin Restriction. the repart was received and the committee discharged.¹⁰

There is no mention of the restrictions placed upon Qually's preaching nor is there any record of him ever preaching. Thus it is impossible to determine if his ministry was to blacks or whites.

Qually's ministry was not above reproach. In November, 1859, a committee of two was appointed by the Pilgrim church "to Visit Brother qualy and Enquire into his disorderly conduct."¹¹ One month later the committee reported and was discharged. There is no record of their report on Qually's disorderly conduct nor of any punitive action. Other members of this church were often examined for drinking, cursing, dancing, failing to pay debts, and other moral offences. One can assume that Qually's offence was of a like nature.

Also in the fall of 1833, John Parker, Daniel Parker's father, left Cole County, Illinois, and came to Mexican Texas. He settled with his family on the Navasota River near present Groesbeck in Limestone County. The Parkers were Hardshell Baptists and highly religious. In 1834 they build Parker's Fort as a protection against marauding Indians. Ten weeks after Texas had won independence at the battle of San Jacinto, several hundred Indians attacked Parker's Fort killing many inhabitants. They carried into captivity nine year old Cynthia Ann Parker who spent the next twenty-five years living as an Indian.

None of these early Baptists were slave holders. No reference is made to Negroes in the lists of people present at Fort Parker during the Indian attack. Of the thirty-one or thirty-four inhabitants of Elder John Parker's settlement, none were black. The reason for this is not known. They came from Illinois and may have had northern anti-slavery sentiments. Their poverty may have kept them from owning slaves. Religious feelings may have also prompted them to avoid buying black servants. While their motivations cannot be discerned, the fact remains that the Baptist pioneers at Fort Parker owned no Negroes.¹²

In 1834, two years before the Texas Revolution and four years after slavery was abolished in Texas, Reverend Isaac Reed came to Texas and settled north of Nacogdoches. He helped organize the first missionary Baptist church in East Texas in 1838. Reed was a man of considerable means owning two leagues of land (8,856 acres) and "a number of slaves."¹³

In the party that immigrated to Texas in 1833 with John and Daniel Parker were Captain Goldsby Childers and Reverend Isaac Crouch. Childers and his wife, who was a devout Baptist, settled on Little River in Present Bell County where Reverend A. N. Morrell preached his first Texas sermon in December, 1835. Isaac Crouch, along with Abner Smith, organized the second anti-missionary Baptist church in Texas, the Providence Church, which is located on the Colorado River about fifteen miles below the present town of Bastrop. He remained a member of that church from its founding on March 29, 1834, until January, 1835. This church has ceased to exist and its records have been lost.¹⁴

In the spring of 1836 after the fall of the Alamo and Goliad, Childers, Crouch, and others from the vicinity of Nashville fled to Fort Parker for safety. The Childers family of nine plus six other men, including Crouch, returned to the Childers' home on Little River to plow and plant the spring corn crop for themselves as well as their neighbors who were still absent. Early in June, 1836, two riders came to the Childers' home to report the battle at Fort Parker and warned these people to flee to Nashville for safety. On the way to Nashville they were attacked and Crouch was killed.¹⁵

In this party of Texans, composed mostly of Baptists, there were no Negroes. If they had owned slaves, they would have taken them back to their farms to help plant the corn crop before the planting season had passed.

Another early Baptist family, the John Harveys, moved to Texas in 1836 from Georgia, bringing among their possessions a colored servant girl. During an Indian raid on their home near Calvert that same year, all of the family was killed except the Negro slave girl and six year old Ann Harvey. The black girl was captured and later sold to another group of Indians at Waco. She was never heard from again.¹⁶

A. C. Horton and his wife came from Georgia to Texas in 1835 and lived useful lives as active Baptists. He served at Goliad with Fannin but escaped the massacre and became a wealthy plantation owner at Wharton and Matagorda. Horton was elected lieutenant-governor of Texas and served as acting governor while Governor James Pinckney Henderson was fighting in the Mexican War. As a layman, he served as a trustee for Baylor University and was a deacon in the Baptist church at Matagorda.

Horton owned a large number of slaves which he evidently moved to Texas from Georgia. He often held religious services on his plantation for them. He and his wife greatly affected the life of their pastor, Noah Hill, by their constant Bible reading and prayer with the blacks. In the words of Hill, Mr. Horton "always cared for Negroes in a religious way."¹⁷

Thus, in the early years of Anglo colonization in Mexican Texas, three different opinions concerning the social status of the Negro population can be seen in the actions of Baptists who pioneered in this area. Some early Baptists ignored Mexican laws prohibiting slavery and moved into Texas with their servants. Others came without slaves and seemed uninterested in owning any, while a third group, such as Freeman Smalley, was militantly opposed to slavery.

Of the ten Baptist leaders in the state under Mexican rule, three were definitely slave owners and another, Thomas Pilgrim, probably owned slaves. These slave owners—Harvey, Horton and Reed—all came from southern or border states and were missionary Baptists. Pilgrim was also missionary minded but migrated from Connecticut by way of New York into Mexican Texas.

Five of these patriarchs were not slaves holders, and one was an avid abolitionist. Of these, Daniel Parker, John Parker, Goldsby Childers and Isaac Crouch, were anti-missionary Baptists who came from the northern part of the U.S.¹⁸ Abolitionist Smalley came from Ohio but was missionary in belief.

During these years of state supported religion in Texas, two clandestine Baptist congregations appeared. One died an early death, leaving no official records of its activities. The other accepted Negroes on an equal basis with whites and even allowed them important places of leadership. Both these congregations were anti-missionary.

Thus geographical and theological orientations affected Baptist attitudes toward blacks in Texas. If anti-missionary Baptists had remained the majority in the state, blacks would have enjoyed a more humane situation than they later encountered. Most of these Baptists came from the northern United States and were probably affected by anti-slavery beliefs.

The Baptists who eventually dominated the state came from the southern half of the U.S. and were theologically missionary and evangelistic. These people deliberately disobeyed the Mexican Law of April 6, 1830 which prohibited owning slaves. They openly promoted Southern racial ideas while they taught and evangelized their blacks. It is impossible to determine from this study whether geographical origin or theological interpretation were most important in determining Baptists' relationships with Texas Negroes.

If a majority of Baptists from the North, especially anti-missionary Baptists, had settled in Texas rather than those from the South the possibility of slavery's legal establishment in Texas plus the misery of the Civil War and the period of segregation would have been lessened. But this was not the case. When independence was won in 1836, a flood of missionary Baptists from the South swept the Lone Star Republic and made the anti-missionaries a rapidly declining minority. The Republic of Texas, like the rest of the South, gradually increased in its pro-slavery and anti-abolitionist outlook and action. Early nineteenth century missionary minded Baptists from the South were partly responsible for this development.

Records indicate that when independence came to Texas in 1836, Negroes were allowed membership in Baptist churches on an apparently equal basis with whites. The early Baptist pioneer preachers, including James Huckins, Z. N. Morrell, W. M. Tryon, and others accepted both black and white members into the churches they organized. Since congregations were small, blacks and whites met together and worshipped at the same time.

Zacharius N. Morrell founded the first missionary Baptist church in Texas in 1837 at Washington-on-the-Brazos. This all-white congregation experienced so much harassment by Indians and local citizens that the church dissolved in 1839. Morrell had started his church during a period of depression and general hard times in Texas. Jobs were scarce, the Mexicans still threatened, and the republic's treasury was too bare to pay its soldiers. The vagrant soldiers in Washington set up a prayer meeting in a local saloon to ridicule the Baptists' prayer service. These soldiers would attend services at the church and then retire to the local tavern to relive and mock the recent church gathering. Even the Lord's Supper became the object of the mockers' delight.

Morrell reported that a Negro was one of the leaders in disrupting this first missionary Baptist church. The problem came to a head early in 1838 when three Protestant ministers arrived in Washington to hold revival services in the local billiard parlor. On the second night of the services the derision reached its peak. A soldier behind the building, near an open window, held a chicken in his arms. As the congregation began to sing, he would cause the chicken to squall and the large Negro soldier would put his head in the window and shout at the top of his voice, "Amen and Amen!"

Reverend Morrell soon lost patience with the detractors and rose from his seat to position himself next to the window, his hickory cane in hand. Once again the hen squawked and the Negro put his head into the window to yell. But this time Morrell used his cane to strike the soldier in the face with all his might. The Negro carried a scar over his left eye for the rest of his life and the mockers in Washington were silenced for a time.¹⁹

Upon learning that Texas was independent from Mexico, Reverend Isaac Reed commenced construction of the Liberty School building just north of Nacogdoches and taught there for a short period. On Sundays Christians of all faiths united in the Liberty School for worship and soon became known as Union Church. Reed and R. E. Green officially organized this group into the first missionary Baptist church in East Texas. The minutes read:

At Liberty School House, Nacogdoches County, Texas on the first Sabbath in May, 1838, after preaching by Elder Reed and Robert E. Green, the following named persons came forward with letters from Baptist churches in the United States and professed their willingness to constitute themselves into a Baptist church. John Eaton, Mrs. Betsy Eaton, Charles M. Whitaker, Sarah Tipps, Mary Crain, Ruth Anderson, Emily Knight, Anthony (a slave), and Chancy (a slave).²⁰

That afternoon when the church doors were opened for new members, a slave named Jackson and seven whites were admitted into membership. Anthony, Chancy, and Jackson were thus the first official black missionary Baptists in Texas.

Anderson Buffington was a charter member of this Union Church of Nacogdoches. He was characterized as being odd, eccentric, weatherbeaten, uneloquent, cutting, fearless, and argumentative. Buffington fought alongside Sam Houston at San Jacinto, later edited a paper entitled *The Trantula* during 1840, and bore the nicknames "Buff," "Trantula," and "Old San Jacinto."²¹ He began working "without money and without price" as a lay missionary to the Negroes in 1848 and served until his death in the 1880s. Buffington worked faithfully at this calling but showed a warped sense of history when in 1856 he reported to the Baptist State Convention that "the original design of the importation of Africans to the Christian shores of America was purely to Christianize them."²² He declared that abolitionists were the tools of Satan and opposed them at all turns.

On behalf of the Union Church, Reed, Green and Buffington wrote to the American Baptist Home Missionary Society in 1838 outlining needs in Texas and requesting a missionary. Nearly two years later on January 24, 1840, missionary James Huckins arrived in Galveston and organized a church. On February 9, two weeks later, three black people were received into the membership of this newly organized church.²³

Gail Borden, Jr. was a charter member of the Baptist church at Galveston, having been baptized in the Gulf of Mexico by James Huckins on February 4, 1840. Eight years later he was to serve on the Baptist State Convention's original Committee on Colored Population. Borden published one of Texas' first newspapers during the Texas Revolution, *The Telegraph and Texas Register*. He later gained wealth by perfecting a technique for condensing milk which established the Borden Milk empire.

Though a slaveholder, Borden supported emancipation and the North during the Civil War, stood for the rights of black people, and did much to promote their well-being.²⁴ In 1822 he used his influence to liberate a free Negro that had been rustled in Indiana.²⁵ When Stephen Pearl Andrews, the Baptist abolitionist, was fleeing a Houston mob in 1843, Borden befriended him, protected him, and tried to secure for him a public hearing.²⁶ When the Civil War broke out, Borden, then living in New York, sided with the Unionists and supported Lincoln throughout the conflict. He later donated two lots containing a church, parsonage, and other buildings to the African Baptist Church in Galveston in May of 1868.²⁷

The second Baptist missionary to Texas, W.M. Tryon, arrived in 1841 and followed the general pattern of equal and integrated membership practiced by Huckins and other Baptist leaders. Soon after his arrival, he reorganized the defunct church at Washington-on-the-Brazos with ten white and two black members. Anderson Buffington became a charter member of this reorganized church. Tryon conducted the first baptismal services ever held in the Brazos River and the first convert baptized was a slave girl.²⁸

Other new missionary churches were appearing all over the state and all seemed to follow the practice of equal and open membership. Carroll notes:

Minutes of many of the older Baptist churches, such as Independence and Chappell Hill in Washington County, Caldwell and Providence in Burleson County, Anderson in Grimes County, Concord in Red River County, and Huntsville in Walker County, state that Negroes were preached to regularly and that many of them were baptized into white churches.²⁹

Daniel Parker's anti-missionary Pilgrim Baptist Church continued to accept black members and dismiss them with letters of good standing when it became necessary for them to move.³⁰ In June, 1840, this church met and proceeded to business:

A Black man by the name of Thom. Presented a letter to the Church of recommendation from his master Mr. Wm. J. Hamblitt, and informed the Church. That he was received in to a Baptist Church at Barefeet meeting House. and was Baptised by Elder Luster, in the State of Tennessee, which some of the members of the Church knew, That he took a letter from that Church, and joined a Church in the western district Called Spring Hill Church, from which he took a letter, but from some cause, left his letter, and some of his close behind, with an expectation of getting them, but as yet has failed, The Church being satisfied, Received him into Fellowship, as by Relation, yet claimes the right to his letter should it come to hand.³¹

Non-missionary churches propogated themselves by appointing a delegation of members from an existing congregation to meet in a separate location and serve as a core for a new congregation. In 1841. Thomas, one of the original five black Texas Baptists, was given the honor, along with six whites, of starting a new arm of the Pilgrim church in Shelby County, Texas.³²

At this time there were no separate black Baptist churches in Texas. Church congregations were small with few numbering over thrity members. When they met for worship, blacks evidently sat with blacks and whites sat with whites so that they could socialize more easily. There was no required segregation. Since preachers were hard to obtain, slaves and masters worshipped at the same time, in the same building, listening to the same minister. Upon showing evidence of a conversion experience, blacks and whites were accepted into church membership.

Texas Baptists were represented by Stephen Pearl Andrews among the abolitionists. Andrews, the son of a Hardshell Baptist preacher in Massachusetts, never officially joined a Baptist church because he had never had a salvation experience involving "unbounded exuberance of emotionality, melting into divine joy" which Baptists demanded. Nevertheless, he always attended Baptist services and in 1840 even persuaded Union Baptist Association to adopt a resolution urging the formation of temperance societies. This young lawyer arrived in Texas in 1839 and quickly became very influential in governmental circles due to his ability to handle cases of conflicting land titles that often grew out of Spanish land grants. Because of his linguistic abilities, the Texas Congress commissioned him to translate the laws and constitution of Texas into Spanish.³³

Andrews' plan for the abolishment of slavery in Texas was much less radical than other plans. He noted that most Texans were more interested in finding the quickest way to wealth than in spreading slavery. Gaining this wealth was always hampered during the days of the republic due to a small labor force. Foreign immigrants avoided Texas because of the influence of slavery and the unsettled condition of the government which was still at war with Mexico. Andrews proposed that foreign aid would save the country. The bottleneck to immigration would be ended if Great Britain would provide a loan to stabilize the Texas government on condition that Texas abolish slavery. The British, who previously had intervned in a war between Brazil and Uruguay on condition that Uruguay abolish slavery, seemed very interested in Andrews' proposal for abolition in Texas. The support Andrews expected from Texas speculators and businessmen never materialized, however, for it seemed they were more interested in preserving slavery than he had anticipated. This Baptist abolitionist's short, four year stay in Texas ended in March, 1843. Even Gail Borden was unable to protect him and an irate Galveston mob forced him to leave the state or be killed.³⁴

During this period of integration and munificence, Negroes were given limited freedom to preach. Though it was illegal for a free Negro to preach the gospel or exhort at any religious service or other meeting in Texas.³⁵ Baptists seemed to encourage qualified slaves to preach. On the first Sunday in March, 1846, a young Negro boy named

presented himself for membership in the Lorena Baptist Church after having previously been questioned by the pastor, Z. N. Morrell. Jerry's testimony brought the congregation to tears. He was baptized into that church and soon learned to read the Bible. The Lorena church granted Jerry permission to preach and encouraged him to do so. Twenty-five years later he was still preaching.³⁷

Under the government of the Republic of Texas, Baptists and Negroes enjoyed their greatest period of integration and cooperation. Negroes were accepted into membership in Baptist churches on an apparently equal basis with whites though their names sometimes were reserved for the bottom of the church roll. Black and white Baptists worshipped together in the same building even though a natural but unforced segregation seems evident in their seating arrangements. Some slaves were even given places of leadership in preaching and organizing new churches.

This fraternizing was probably necessary for both groups to survive. Since Indian and Mexican raids were imminent under the unstable Texas government, blacks and whites depended on each other for mutual protection. Generally plantations and farms were small and those Baptists who owned blacks could afford to own only a few. This personal relationship between owner and slave went a long way in creating good will. Since church congregations were small and struggling, they gladly welcomed all converts, black and white, into membership and fellowship.

But as prosperity and stability began to creep into Texas, so did distrust and segregation. As plantations grew, relationships between Baptist owners and slaves became less personal and more mechanical. When Baptist congregations outgrew their facilities, it was easier to meet for two Sunday worship services than to construct a new building. The most logical division was between blacks and whites.

The seeds for segregation were sown in the early integrated churches. It was a mistake to always note black members in church records as being "colored" or "a slave" or different from the white members. Segregation was also encouraged by the natural seating arrangements that developed when whites sat together and blacks sat with their kind. Any attempt to bridge this gap would have helped maintain good relationships.

NOTES

¹The best and most complete book on Texas Baptists in this era is James Milton Carroll. *A History of Texas Baptists*, edited by J. B. Cranfill (Dallas, 1923). The value of this work lies in its extensive reproductions of original materials. A shorter but equally readable history is Joseph Martin Dawson, *A Century with Texas Baptists* (Nashville, 1947). Others are: Robert A. Baker, *The Blossoming Desert: A Concise History of Texas Baptists* (Waco, 1970); L. R. Elliot (ed.), *Centennial Story of Texas Baptists* (Dallas, 1936); B. F. Fuller, *History of Texas Baptists* (Louisville, 1900); B. F. Riley, *History of the Baptists of Texas* (Dallas, 1907).

²Walter Louis Tubbs, "Elder Joseph L. Bays, A Pioneer Texas Baptist Preacher" (unpublished Th.M. Thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1916).

³Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 23-27.

⁴The Brushy Creek Baptist Church was constituted at Roundrock by R. H. Taliagerro and R. G. Hickman on February 5, 1854, with ten members and E. Daniel as first pastor. In 1857 A. W. Elledge was pastor. Brushy Creek was at the organizational meeting of the Little River Association in 1855 but was not mentioned as a member after 1857. She never joined the Austin or Leon River Associations which also functioned in Williamson County. If Smalley founded an abolition church at Brushy Creek, it was after 1857 and did not cooperate in any associational activities. No extant primary sources mention Freeman Smalley. See Little River Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Annual Meeting* (1857), 11-12.

⁵Wendall G. Addington, "Slave Insurrections in Texas," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXV (October, 1950), 412.

⁶Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 43.

⁷Regular Baptists will be called by several names throughout this paper, including Primitive Baptists, Hardshell Baptists, and anti-missionary Baptists. In essence they taught that if a man was predestined to be saved, he would be saved regardless of human activity and interference. In contrast the missionary Baptist took seriously Jesus' command to convert the lost and spent much time and energy in evangelistic activities.

⁸"Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church, Part I," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XI (October, 1907), 92-96.

⁹"Records of An Early Texas Baptist Church, Part II," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XII (July, 1908), 23.

¹⁰"Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church, Part II," 24. The practice of "liberating" a person to preach did not involve giving him legal freedom from his master. It was simply an ordination or licensing procedure which gave the candidate approval to preach by the local congregation.

¹¹"Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church, Part II," 39.

¹²Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 45-50. Mildred P. Mayhall, *Indian Wars of Texas* (Waco, 1965), 102-106.

¹³Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 119-122.

¹⁴J. S. Newman, *History of the Primitive Baptists in Texas, Oklahoma and Indian Territory* (Troga, 1906), 37-38.

¹⁵Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 94-100, 124-5.

¹⁶Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 101-105.

¹⁷Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 498-503, 68.

¹⁸The main theological statement of the Primitive Baptists is Daniel Parker, *Views on the Two Seeds* (Vandalia, Ill., 1826). No mention of the matter of slavery is made in this book.

¹⁹Z. N. Morrell, *Flowers and Fruits in the Wilderness* (4th edition: Dallas, 1886), 82-84.

²⁰Quoted in Mary Jane Powers, "Old North Church," *Junior Historian* (September, 1950), 19.

²¹"Intercepted Correspondence," *Texas Baptist* (Anderson, Tex.), November 7, 1855, 2.

²²Baptist State Convention, *Proceedings of the Annual Session* (1856), 15.

²³Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 144.

²⁴Charles Shively, "An Option for Freedom in Texas, 1840-1844," *Journal of Negro History*, (April, 1965), 87.

²⁵Joe B. Frantz, *Gail Borden: Dairyman to a Nation* (Norman, 1951), 50.

²⁶Frantz, *Gail Borden: Dairyman to a Nation*, 170.

²⁷Frantz, *Gail Borden: Dairyman to a Nation*, 271.

²⁸Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 253.

²⁹Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 253.

³⁰"Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church, Part I," 117, 125.

³¹"Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church, Part I," 116. Original spellings and punctuation retained.

³²"Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church, Part I," 125.

³³Shively, "An Option for Freedom in Texas, 1840-1844," 78-96.

³⁴Shively, "An Option for Freedom in Texas, 1840-1844," 78-96.

³⁵Andrew Forest Muir, "The Free Negro in Harris County, Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLVI (January, 1943), 215.

³⁶This quite probably was Jerry J. Rianhart, later of Navasota, who was one of the great leaders in the formation of Negro Baptist churches in Texas. Jerry was converted during slavery days and helped fight Indians off worshippers. Lewis G. Jordan, *Negro Baptist History, U.S.A., 1750-1930* (Nashville, 1930), across from 24.

³⁷Morrell, *Fruits and Flowers in the Wilderness*, 233-4.