May 1, 1985

THE GROWTH OF THE BAPTISTS IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES
AND IN THE SOUTH

Prayer
Scripture:  Acts 4:5-20
Hymn:  440 "Love Divine"

The Philadelphia area was the most important center of Baptist activity in the American colonies. It was in Philadelphia in 1707 that the first Baptist association in the colonies was organized. The influence of this association radiated north and south. The association felt a great concern for and took great interest in Baptists throughout the colonies. It became a dominant force in the organization and expansion of Baptists. It was an important influence in the triumph of Calvinism over Arminianism among Baptists.

BAPTIST BEGINNINGS IN QUAKER TERRITORY

The Baptists were one of the first of many different religious groups to take advantage of the freedom of religion offered by William Penn and the Quakers in the colonial territory they controlled.

When England captured the Dutch territory in America, Charles II granted to his brother, James, Duke of York, this territory. The Duke of York kept the part of the territory that came to be known as New York and granted to Sir George Carteret and to Lord John Berkeley what became known as New Jersey. Between 1674 and 1676 a group of Quakers led by William Penn gained possession of Berkeley's share which became "West Jersey." After the death of Carteret a company of Quakers led by William Penn purchased in February, 1682, "East Jersey." In 1681 Charles II conveyed to William Penn in settlement of a debt the crown owed Penn's father, the territory of Pennsylvania and Delaware. These territories were opened to colonization with a guarantee of freedom of conscience.

Within two years of William Penn's arrival in America in 1682, the first Baptist church in Pennsylvania had been organized. Thomas Dungan, a lovable and zealous elderly Baptist minister fled from Ireland to Newport, Rhode Island to get away from persecution. For a time he was a member of the Baptist church in Newport. Attracted by the call for colonists and the offer of freedom of religion he moved from Rhode Island to Cold Spring in Bucks County on the Delaware River (between Bristol and Trenton) in Pennsylvania. In 1684 he gathered a number of Baptist families and organized a Baptist church in Cold Spring. Dungan died in 1688. The church led a feeble existence without a pastor until it disbanded in 1702.

THE PENNEPEK CHURCH

In 1686 several Baptist families from Radnorshire, Wales, settled on the banks of the Pennepek River in Philadelphia County, in Pennsylvania, in a place sometimes known as Lower Dublin, and sometimes as Pennepeka, Pennypack, or Pennepek, from a word of the Delaware Indians, signifying "pond, lake, or bay; water not having a current." These settlers included John Eaton, George Eaton and his wife, Jane, Samuel Jones and Sarah Eaton, who had all been
baptized upon a confession of faith, and received into the Church of Christ in the parishes of Llandewi and Nantmel, in Radnorshire, where Henry Gregory was pastor. Also settling in Pennepeck was John Baker, a member of a congregation of baptized believers in Kilkenny, Ireland, where Christopher Blackwell was pastor. Another settler in Pennepeck was Samuel Vaus, a Baptist from England.

Arriving in Pennepeck that same year, 1686, was a young adventurer, Elias Keach, the son of a famous English Baptist preacher, Benjamin Keach (1640-1704). Benjamin Keach had been converted in his fifteenth year and had united with the Baptist Church. At eighteen he was invited to preach. At twenty-eight he became pastor of the Horsleydown Church in London, an office he held until his death. In his early ministry he was Arminian but study of the Bible led him to become a Calvinist. He published some forty-three works defending his faith and also wrote a number of hymns. He was often imprisoned for preaching. One of his books was a book for children, The Child's Instructor, published in 1644. In the book he declared that none but believers should be baptized, that Christ would personally reign on the earth for a thousand years, that Christ's true ministers do not have their learning from men, that university training is not necessary for the making of a true minister, that true ministers have a gift from God, they do not lord it over God's heritage, nor do they look for gain, and they do not compel men but rather persuade and entreat. The Anglicans declared the work heretical and Benjamin Keach was indicted, tried, and condemned to go to jail for two weeks, and then to stand in the pillory two hours in the market place of Winslow where his book was to be burnt before his face by the common hangman. Also he was to pay a fine of twenty pounds and to appear at the next court to renounce his doctrines and make public submission. From the pillory he boldly preached his doctrine and the people treated him kindly and with respect, in spite of the authorities.

Young Elias Keach had never experienced conversion but in Pennepeck wore clerical dress and passed himself off as a minister of the gospel. The people, supposing that he was a young divine from London, asked him to preach. In the midst of his sermon young Keach was smitten in conscience. The people at first thought he had become ill. He confessed that he was an impostor and made his way to Cold Spring where Thomas Dungan lovingly received him and led him to conversion. Convinced of the genuineness of his conversion, Dungan baptized and ordained Elias Keach and sent him out to preach Jesus. Keach returned to Pennepeck where he began to preach with great power. In November, 1687, Keach baptized Joseph Ashton and his wife, Jane, William Fisher and John Watts. In January, 1688, Keach organized these he had baptized and the original Baptist settlers into the Pennepeck Baptist Church. A number of scattered Baptists from other parts of Pennsylvania and from West Jersey united with them. Keach devoted himself zealously to evangelism, travelling widely. Soon he baptized believers at Falls, Cold Spring, Burlington, Cohansoy, Salem, Penn's Neck, Chester, Philadelphia, and other places. Those baptized in these places continued as members of the Pennepeck Church, where they met to break bread as they were able. Keach held services in each locality as often as possible. He held "General Meetings" for preaching and the Lord's Supper in Salem in the spring and in Dublin or Burlington in the fall. He began four quarterly meetings for evangelism and communion in Burlington, Cohansoy, Chester, and Philadelphia in rotation. As soon as the number of converts justified it, Keach organized Baptist churches in each place.
He did this first in New Jersey, in Middletown in 1688, in Piscataqua in 1689, and in Cohamsey in 1690. When Keach was away the brethren conducted worship in Pennepeck with each one using the gifts he possessed; the leading speakers were Samuel Jones and John Watts. Keach married Mary, the daughter of Chief-Justice Moore of Pennsylvania. The Pennepeck Church prospered until 1689 when a controversy arose over the laying on of hands after baptism. Keach resigned as pastor and spent the next two years as an evangelist. The weekly meetings continued in Pennepeck with the brethren exercising their gifts. John Watts was chosen to be pastor and Samuel Jones was appointed to conduct home services of edification. Jones and Evan Morgan, who had been quite active in church work were ordained in 1706. The first meeting house was built in 1707 on ground donated by Samuel Jones. The Pennepeck church took the lead in organizing a number of new churches in various localities and also took the lead in the organization of the Philadelphia Association in 1707. Pennepeck was one of the most influential of the early Pennsylvania Baptist churches but it continued to be plagued with controversies over such matters as absolute predestination, the laying on of hands, psalm-singing, and Sabbatarianism.

Elias Keach returned to England in 1692. He organized a church in Ayles Street, Goodman’s Fields, in London where he preached to large crowds and baptized 130 into the fellowship of the church. He published several books, one of which was his *Grace of Patience*. He died in 1701 at the age of thirty-four. Keach’s return to England was a severe loss to the Baptist community in America and his death a great loss to the Baptists in England.

Samuel Jones was pastor of the Pennepeck Church from 1763 until his death in 1814. It was his first and only pastorate. He was one of the ablest and most trusted of the Baptist leaders in his time. He had come with his parents from Wales to Pennsylvania when he was two years old in 1737. He was graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1762.

THE MIDDLETOWN BAPTIST CHURCH

An early Baptist church in New Jersey was organized in Middletown in Monmouth County in 1688. Richard Stout and five other Baptists settled in Middletown as early as 1648. Other early Baptists came from Rhode Island and from Gravesend, Long Island, by 1665. Obadiah Holmes who had been persecuted for preaching in Massachusetts purchased a patent that was occupied by his son, Jonathan Holmes who lived in Middletown 1667-80. He returned to Rhode Island in 1680 but his sons, Obadiah and Jonathan continued in Middletown. Obadiah Holmes, Jr., who lived on Staten Island in 1689, settled in Salem County, West Jersey, in 1690. The Baptists of Middletown at first worshipped with the Pennepeck church. Then they began worship services in Middletown. In 1688 after consultation with Pennepeck they organized a Baptist church in Middletown. Elias Keach after resigning at Pennepeck lived and preached in Middletown for almost a year, while continuing evangelistic work. Also the English Baptist, Killingsworth, labored there. The Middletown church prospered until the end of the century until a controversy broke out between John Bray and John Okison who were serving as pastors. The church split. A council of the churches of the area on May 25, 1711, advised the two churches to impose silence on their pastors, to sign a covenant, and to bury their quarrel. Forty-two signed the covenant and cut four pages out of the Church Book and burned them. They were declared to be the only true Baptist Church. Twenty-six refused to sign. The next year John Burrows became pastor and served till
his death. He was followed by Abel Morgan.

THE PISCATAQUA CHURCH

The Baptist Church in Piscataqua, New Jersey, was gathered by Thomas Killingsworth in 1689. Killingsworth was a Baptist from England who became one of the most zealous and successful Baptist ministers in the Middle Colonies. He had a part in founding a number of churches. The nucleus of the Piscataqua church had come from Piscataqua (now Dover), New Hampshire (at that time a part of the province of Maine), where they had been followers of Hanserd Knollys. Knollys was a Congregationalist with Baptist leanings who had a controversy with another Congregationalist, Larkham, over the baptizing of infants. Knollys preached in Piscataqua 1638-41. He returned to England in 1641. Some of his followers remained in New Hampshire where they turned Baptist led by Edward Starbuck. Massachusetts authorities sent word to New Hampshire that they had heard Anabaptism had arisen in their midst and urged that it be suppressed. Thomas Wiggin and George Smith were appointed to try Starbuck. Some of Knollys' followers moved to Long Island. When the English took over they moved to the area of New Brunswick, New Jersey. They formed a settlement that they called "New Piscataqua". The township contained about 80 families and a population of about 400. The Baptists took such a leading role in the government that the town became known as the "Anabaptist Town." A few of the Baptists had contacts with Pennepeck. Three unordained ministers, John Drake, Hugh Dunn, and Edmund Dunham, labored in the area as itinerants. Drake was one of those who came from New Hampshire. Dunn and Dunham were part of a company of Irish Baptists from Tipperary who had landed at Perth Amboy and settled at Cohansay, 1685-90. Thomas Killingsworth took the lead in organizing a Baptist Church in Piscataqua in 1689. At its beginning only six became members. John Drake, who claimed to be a relative of Sir Francis Drake, was ordained pastor, and served for fifty years. After twenty years the membership had increased to twenty and by 1746 it had reached one hundred.

About 1701, Dunham, who was a member of Piscataqua, admonished a neighbor for working on Sunday. He was challenged to prove the holiness of the first day. A study led him to Sabbatarian views. About seventeen people joined him in organizing a Seventh-day Baptist Church in 1705. Dunham became the pastor. He was followed by his son in 1734. Another Seventh-day church was formed as an off-shoot from this church at Shiloh, about forty miles south of Philadelphia in 1737.

THE COHANSEY CHURCH

A small company of Baptists from Tipperary, Ireland, settled in Cohansay, New Jersey, about 1687. In 1688 Elias Keach baptized three persons in Cohansay. In 1689 Obadiah Holmes, Jr., and John Cornelius, both Baptists from Rhode Island, settled there. A Baptist church was organized in 1691 with Thomas Killingsworth, the Baptist preacher, from Norfolk, England, chosen to be the first pastor. He also served as the Judge of the County Court of Salem. He was assisted by Holmes, who was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Salem. About 1687 a company of Baptists from John Myles's Baptist Church at Swansea, Massachusetts, settled in Cohansay but they formed a separate church because of differences over the laying on of hands, the singing of psalms and predestination. Timothy Brooks was their pastor. At the death
of Killingsworth in 1708 the two churches united with Brooks as pastor. Brooks died two years later. Later Nathaniel Jenkins who had been pastor of the Cape May church settled in Cohansey and became pastor.

THE WELSH TRACT CHURCH

One of the most influential of the Baptist Churches of the Middle Colonies was the Welsh Tract Church established in 1703 at Iron Hill, about two miles from Newark in New Castle County in northern Delaware. In 1701 sixteen Baptists in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen in South Wales met in Pembroke and organized a Baptist Church with Thomas Griffith as pastor. In June, 1701 they sailed for America from Milford Haven, landing in Philadelphia on September 8, 1701. They settled in Pennepek but maintained a separate church since they had their own pastor and also because from the first they differed with the Pennepek Baptist Church on the laying on of hands. The Welsh insisted that the laying on of hands was demanded by Scripture while the Pennepek Church attached no importance to the rite. The Welsh remained in Pennepek for a year and a half, increasing in number to thirty-seven. In 1703 they secured 30,000 acres of land in Delaware from Evans, Davis and Willis who had bought it from William Penn. The land became known as "Welsh Tract." Leaving twenty-two of their members behind in Pennepek the pastor and the rest of the congregation moved to Iron Hill about two miles from Newark in New Castle County in Delaware where they built a frame meeting house. They worshipped in this house until they built a stone building in 1746. The minutes of the church were kept in Welsh until 1732. Elisha Thomas followed Thomas Griffith as pastor and in turn was followed by Enoch Morgan. The church prospered. It was a leader in the forming of the Philadelphia Association in 1707 and continued as one of the most influential churches in the Association. The Welsh Tract Church established six churches in Pennsylvania and Delaware. In 1736 it sent 48 members to establish the Welsh Neck Church on the Peelee River in South Carolina. The Welsh Neck Church in turn established 38 churches in South Carolina. The Welsh Tract Church used its influence to promote the adoption of the laying on of hands, psalm singing, and the drawing up of church covenants. By 1712 it was able to get most of the Baptist churches of New Jersey to adopt these practices. The Welsh Tract Church produced a number of able Baptist preachers of whom the most famous was Abel Morgan.

Abel Morgan was the son of Enoch Morgan, the third pastor of Welsh Tract. He was named after an uncle, Abel Morgan, who was born in Wales in 1673 and came to America and became pastor of the Pennepek Church in 1711, serving until his death in 1722. Enoch Morgan, born in Wales in 1676, served as the third pastor of Welsh Tract until his death in 1740. The younger Abel Morgan was born at Welsh Tract on April 18, 1713. He was educated at the Pencader Academy under Thomas Evans, doing well in languages. He was ordained in the Welsh Tract Church in 1734 and became pastor of the Middletown Baptist Church in 1739, serving until his death in 1785. He served as clerk of the Philadelphia Association in 1762 and in 1774 became Moderator with James Manning as Clerk. Morgan while Moderator instituted the practice of sending out to the member churches the Association's Circular Letter. While Morgan was pastor at the Middletown Church three hundred members were added. He held services in two meeting houses several miles apart in Middletown and made the whole of Monmouth County his parish. He preached frequently in Freehold, Upper Freehold, and Long Branch. He went on extensive preaching
preaching tours in Pennsylvania and Delaware. He was the first to receive an honorary degree from Brown University. He had engaged in a notable written debate with Samuel Findley, who became president of Princeton, on infant baptism. Finley who had become disturbed at the growth of the Baptists challenged him to the debate that was published by Benjamin Franklin in 1747. Finley's first instalment was entitled, "Charitable Plea for the Speechless." Morgan replied with "Anti-Paedo Rantism; or, Mr. Samuel Finley's Charitable Plea for the Speechless examined and refuted, the Baptism of Believers maintained, and the mode of it by Immersion Vindicated." Morgan had another debate with Samuel Harker, a Presbyterian minister of Kingswood.

THE PHILADELPHIA BAPTIST CHURCH

The first known Baptist to settle in Philadelphia was John Holmes who arrived in 1686 and who later became a judge. In 1696 John Farmer and his wife, from Knolly's Church in London arrived in Philadelphia. In 1697 they were joined by John Todd and Rebecca Woosencroft from the Baptist Church in Leamington, England. These met irregularly in a store-house known as "Barbados Lot" at the corner of Second and Chestnut Streets. The meeting was a kind of out-station of the Pennepek Church, with Keach and Killingsworth preaching from time to time. A number of English Baptists came to Philadelphia in 1696 and 1697. John Holmes as judge refused to act with Quaker magistrates against the Keithian Quakers which seems to have favorably inclined the Keithians to the Baptists. In 1697 Thomas Killingsworth baptized two Keithian Quakers and several others. The same year John Watts baptized four others. The second Sunday in December, 1698, the little group constituted themselves a church as an extension of Pennepek. In 1699 the Baptists received an invitation from Thomas Clayton, rector of Christ Church to unite with the Church of England. The Baptists replied that they could not join with the Anglicans unless they would show by Scripture that the Church of Christ consisted of a mixed multitude of the godly and the ungodly, had lords and archbishops, vestments, used musical instruments, practised infant baptism, sprinkling and the sign of the cross.

The Baptists continued to meet in the store-house until 1707 when they were forced to move to Anthony Morris' new house near the draw-bridge. The Keithians invited the Baptists to use a meeting house they had built in 1692. One of the Keithians who was opposed to uniting with the Baptists deeded the property to the Episcopalians. The Baptists to avoid litigation bought the rights to the church from the Episcopalians.

In 1711-12 an Irish Baptist minister, Thomas Selby, greatly embarrassed the church by his immoral behavior, but the Philadelphia Association helped in forming a disciplinary committee to handle the situation. In 1723 trouble arose between the Philadelphia church and Pennepek over legacies to the Philadelphia church for Baptist work. On May 15, 1746, the Philadelphia church finally declared itself an independent church. At the time it had fifty-six members.

THE PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION

The Baptist churches of Pennsylvania and New Jersey continued the meetings begun by Keach primarily for evangelism and communion, but also for fellowship and the discussion of mutual problems. In 1707 five of the
churches—Pennepek, Middletown, Piscataqua, Cohasey and the Welsh Tract Church—appointed representatives to organize the Philadelphia Association to consider and advise the churches on troublesome problems. The Association had no judiciary power over the churches. Some of the churches held aloof for a time fearing they would lose their independence. The Philadelphia church was not included because it was considered a part of the Pennepek church.

The Philadelphia Association grew rapidly. It won the confidence of the churches of the Middle Colonies. It was active in encouraging evangelism and the formation of new churches. The churches brought all kinds of problems for help. The Association would appoint a committee to mediate in disagreements if both sides would agree to abide by the committee's recommendation after careful examination of the facts. The first important discipline case was that of the Philadelphia Church and the immoral minister, Thomas Selby in 1711-12. In 1722 it took up the problem of educating young ministers. A wealthy Englishman named Hollis had made available some funds and books. In 1723 the Association gave advice to churches without ministers that they should meet for devotional exercises, exercising care that the members used their gifts with due regard for decency and order. In 1724 the Association had to take up the problem of the Seventh Day Sabbath. In 1726 there was a problem of accepting church letters when strangers asked to be accepted by the congregations. The laying on of hands continued a problem for years but by 1729 most of the churches had accepted the rite. Sabbatarianism was again a problem in 1730. In 1731 and 32 there was great anxiety over the dearth of pastors. In 1736 the Association advised that a church should not accept into its membership a person living in the neighborhood of another church. In 1740 the member churches reported that 111 had been received into the churches that year by baptism.

In 1742 the Association adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, based on the London Confession of 1689 of the English Baptists. The Welsh Tract Church used its influence to secure the addition of two articles, one on psalm singing and one on the laying on of hands. The Confession was not binding but was recommended as an accurate and faithful expression of the faith.

The Philadelphia Association played an important part in making the Philadelphia area the strongest and most important center of Baptist activity in the American Colonies. By 1750 it had attracted into its membership Baptist Churches from Connecticut to Virginia. Under the influence of the Association the Baptists of the Middle Colonies became predominantly Calvinistic or Particular Baptists. When the Great Awakening swept through the other churches the Baptists of the Philadelphia Association already had their own program of evangelism and expansion.

THE HOPEWELL BAPTIST CHURCH

On April 23, 1715, twelve Baptists met in the home of Joseph Stout in the village of Hopewell in Mercer County in New Jersey to organize a church. Five of the twelve were Stouts. They adopted eight fundamental principles: (1) The Three-Oneness of God. (2) His Self-Existence and Sovereignty. (3) The Total Depravity of the Natural Man. (4) The Eternal, Personal, Unconditional Election of all the members of the Body of Christ. (5) The
Specialty and Definiteness of the Atonement. (6) The Necessity of a Spiritual Birth in order to Worship God in Spirit and in Truth. (7) The Sovereign and Efficacious Operation of Divine Grace upon all the Vessels of Mercy. (8) The Baptism of Believers by Immersion. Among the early pastors were Joseph Eaton, Thomas Davis and Isaac Eaton. Isaac Eaton opened the Hopewell Classical School from which came lawyers, physicians, statesmen, and a number of Baptist ministers. One of the most outstanding was John Gano. For thirty-two years the Hopewell church met in the homes of the Stouts. In 1747 they finally erected a meeting-house. In 1749 they purchased a parsonage. In 1803 the Hopewell Church dismissed twenty-four of its members to form a new Baptist Church in Harbortown. In 1805 Hopewell came out against the church collecting money for either missionary work or educational work. The church's money should be used to relieve the necessities of poor saints.

JOHN GANO THE BAPTIST PREACHER

John Gano was ordained to the Baptist ministry at Hopewell in 1755. He began very successful evangelism in Virginia and the Carolinas. He rendered great service to the Kehukee Association in North Carolina. The Philadelphia Association sent him as its representative to New England where he took an active part in the Rhode Island Association and in the organizing of the College of New Jersey. When a Baptist Church was organized in New York City in 1762 he became its pastor. For twenty-six years he faithfully served as pastor and the church enjoyed great growth. During the Revolutionary War he served as a chaplain, rising to the rank of general. He returned to his church after the war and enjoyed a fruitful ministry until his health began to fail. In 1788 he moved to Kentucky, seeking a warmer climate, rendering great service to a growing Baptist cause until his death in 1804. Gano was one of the greatest of the Baptist preachers of his time.

MORGAN EDWARDS AND THE REVOLUTION

Morgan Edwards, pastor of the Philadelphia Baptist Church, is remembered as the only Baptist preacher in America who opposed the Revolution. He was born in Wales in 1722. He was educated in Bristol Baptist College. Before coming to America he served as a minister in Ireland for nine years and for one year in England. He became pastor of the church in Philadelphia in 1761. He gave up his ministry in 1771 and through the war years devoted himself to collecting Baptist history. He died in 1795.

THE BAPTISTS IN THE SOUTH

Baptists were some of the earliest settlers in all the Southern Colonies but when the Great Awakening came the Baptists were still very weak and scattered. The Great Awakening in the South was largely a great missionary effort that came after the Great Awakening had largely spent itself in the rest of the country. Most of the early Baptists in the South were General Baptists. The Philadelphia Association took great interest in the Southern Colonies. The Association's greatest contribution was winning the General Baptists from their Arminian position to Calvinism and to fellowship with the Association. The Philadelphia Association sent able preachers into the South to evangelize, to organize churches, and to promote the forming of associations. The Baptists in the South in fellowship with the Philadelphia
Association became known as Regular Baptists. The name "Regular" Baptist distinguished them from the revivalistic Separatist Baptists who came to the South from New England and who carried on the most fruitful evangelism conducted by the Baptists in the South. For many years there was great mutual suspicion on the part of both Regulars and Separatists.

THE BAPTISTS IN VIRGINIA

The earliest Baptists in Virginia were General Baptists from England. Some settled in the Isle of Wight County about 1700. In 1714 a General Baptist minister, Robert Nordin, arrived from England and organized a church at Burleigh. At least three congregations were organized in Berkeley and Loudoun counties between 1743 and 1756.

A group of Maryland General Baptists led by Edward Hays and Thomas Yates settled on the Opekon River in Frederick County in 1743. By 1752 the church was in sad condition when the Philadelphia Association sent Benjamin Miller, John Thomas and John Gano to try to win the Virginia General Baptists to a Calvinistic faith and to shape them into model churches. Gano spoke of "sifting out the chaff and retaining the supposed good grain." The ministers from the Association found the General Baptists lacking in conviction, loose in their living, and with little emphasis on conversion. Out of all those who posed as members they found only three that were worthy and they constituted them into a church. Soon six more were baptized and added. Some sought instruction and became zealous members. In 1754 Samuel Heaton, a missionary from the Association, became pastor. He was followed by John Garrard who had been appointed by the Association to work in Virginia and North Carolina.

John Thomas became the pastor of a Baptist church in Ketokton in Loudon County. In 1754 both the Opekon and the Ketokton churches were received into the Philadelphia Association. In August, 1756 the Smith's Creek Church was formed by John Alderson, a missionary from the Association. It united with the Association in 1762.

In 1754 Separatist Baptists led by Shubael Stearne came to Virginia. They received such a cold reception from the Regular Baptists that they moved on to North Carolina. But soon other Separatists began pouring into Virginia. Both Regulars and Separatists grew in spite of fierce persecution and resentment from the Anglicans who were the established church. Anglicans appealed to the government to stop the spread of the Baptists. The Anglican government required all non-conforming preachers to register and to register their meeting places. The Baptists did not recognize the right of any government to regulate religion. Anglicans were especially angered by the refusal of ordained Baptists to register. The unordained could not have registered because the Anglicans denied the right of the unordained to preach.

Both Regulars and Separatists continued to grow in Virginia with the Separatists enjoying phenomenal growth. The Regulars formed the Ketokton Association in 1766 with hearty approval from the Philadelphia Association. Some of its most noted preachers were John Thomas, John Garrard, and their disciples, William Fristoe and James Ireland. Among the Separatists some of the leaders were Samuel Harris, John Waller, and Elijah Craig. In 1771 the Separatists organized their first Association in Virginia, the Separate
Baptist Association. By 1783 they divided into two Associations, one north and one south of the James River.

The Regular Baptists feared the extremes of enthusiasm and emotional demonstrations of the Separatists in their preaching. The Separatists feared the creedal and organizational rigor of the Regulars. In 1769 representatives of the Regulars urged the Separatists that they should make peace, "If we are all Christians, all Baptists, all New Lights, why are we divided?" After the war they finally united in 1787, agreeing to bury the names Regular and Separate in oblivion. They declared, "Henceforth we shall be known by the name of the United Baptist Churches of Christ, in Virginia." By 1790 there were more people in Virginia attending Baptist worship than were attending any other kind of Worship.

BAPTISTS IN NORTH CAROLINA

There is no record of Baptists in North Carolina before 1714 but there probably were Baptists among the earliest settlers. Paul Palmer, a Baptist minister, arrived in 1720 and by 1727 he had organized a Baptist church in Chowan. By 1729 there was a congregation at Shiloh in Camden County. The most famous of the early Baptist churches was Sandy Creek, in Guilford County, in North Carolina. It was established by Shubal Stearns (1706-1771) and a small band of Separatists Baptists from New England in 1755. Stearns and his band tried to settle on Opequin Creek in Berkeley County in Virginia (now in West Virginia) in 1754. Stearns had been converted under Whitefield on his second visit to New England. In 1751 he became persuaded of the unscripturalness of infant baptism and withdrew from the Congregationalists. He was baptized at Tolland, Connecticut and was ordained in the Baptist ministry. He received such a cold reception from the Regular Baptists of Virginia that he moved to Sandy Creek in North Carolina. He had been joined in Virginia by his brother-in-law, Daniel Marshall, a former Presbyterian missionary to the Mohawk Indians. Marshall was baptized into the Baptist Church in 1754. Stearns and Marshall organized a Baptist Church in Sandy Creek. Soon they had organized Abot's Creek and Deep River. Stearns served as pastor in Sandy Creek and Marshall became pastor in Abot's Creek in 1756. They began to evangelize the region and appoint lay preachers. In 1758 they organized the Sandy Creek Association. By 1760 it included ten churches. The Philadelphia Association sent John Gano to visit the Sandy Creek Association. The Separatists were suspicious of Gano but he won them with his powerful preaching. Gano described the Separatists as rather "immethodical" but declared they "had the root of the matter at heart." After an initial period of mutual suspicion Regulars and Separatists in North Carolina buried their differences and united long before they united in Virginia.

Before the Regulars and the Separatists united the General Baptists had formed their own Association, the Kehukey Association, formed in 1765. It was made up largely of General Baptists who had migrated from Virginia to North Carolina. Richard Jones and Caspar Mintz from the Isle of Wight County and Surrey County moved with their congregations. Paul Palmer led a group of General Baptists to North Carolina. William Sojourner of the Burleigh Church also gathered a General Baptist Church in North Carolina. The Kehukey Association enjoyed close fellowship with the Charleston Association of South Carolina.
Under Stearns' leadership Sandy Creek grew from sixteen members to 606. Both Stearns and Marshall itinerated widely. Preachers went out from Sandy Creek carrying religion for the first time to back woods country. Among the more successful evangelists were Dutton Lane, James Reed, Samuel Harris and John Waller. Waller baptized over 2,000 and formed eighteen churches. Harris was a man of better education than most. He held the office of burgess of the county and was a colonel in the militia. He became a very powerful preacher. As his reputation grew people travelled miles to hear him.

Daniel Marshall spent his last years evangelizing in South Carolina and Georgia.

Sandy Creek declined after the Battle of Alamance on May 16, 1771. The small farmers of North Carolina, many of whom were Baptists, organized into the Regulator Movement to protect themselves against the lawless element, and to protest economic and political grievances against the government. The Regulators were crushed by Governor Tryon's militia. Many of the North Carolina Baptists moved West, especially into Kentucky.

BAPTISTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The oldest Baptist Church in South Carolina was formed by English Baptists around 1683. As Charleston grew in commercial importance more Baptists were attracted. In 1699 William Elliot gave the church property for a building. When these Baptists moved into their building in 1700 they adopted the Baptist Confession of 1689, denying Arminianism. By 1708 the church had ninety members. It was strong and active enough to draw condemnation from the Anglican S.P.G. Missionary Society that put pressure on the governor to make the Baptists pay taxes to support the Anglican minister.

William Screven, a Baptist minister in Kittery, Maine, arrived in South Carolina in 1696 and settled in Somerton. Another group of English Baptists settled on Port Royal Island in 1683 but out of fear of Spaniards and Indians later joined Screven's settlement and church in Somerton.

In 1736 forty-eight members from the Welsh Tract Church in Delaware established a Baptist Church on the Peelee River in South Carolina, known as the Welsh Neck Church. In the 18th and early 19th centuries this church established some thirty-eight Baptist Churches in South Carolina.

By 1751 there were five Baptist Churches in South Carolina and they formed the Second Baptist Association in the colonies, the Charleston Association in 1751. Between 1751 and 1780 thirty Baptist Churches were formed in South Carolina.

BAPTISTS IN GEORGIA

In 1771 Daniel Marshall settled in Kiokee, Georgia and gathered the first Baptist Church in the colony. Shortly before his death in 1784 he presided over the first meeting of the Georgia Baptist Association that included six churches.
THE EARLY SOUTHERN BAPTISTS

The secret of the phenomenal growth of the Baptists in the South was the farmer-preacher. Almost always he had very little formal education but there was close and serious searching of the Scriptures. These Baptists revived the "nine Christian rites:" baptism, the Lord's Supper, the love feast, the laying on of hands, foot-washing, anointing the sick, the right hand of fellowship, the kiss of charity, and the devotion of children. They considered these the "primitive traits" of the apostolic church. The doctrinal concerns of Regular Baptists tended to check the aberrations of the uneducated and to prevent occupation with trivial details and fantastic interpretations. There was considerable fear of too much education and paid preachers. When many experienced the "call" they continued to farm so that there was no question of support. They preached in homes, barns, and in groves.

The Baptists were known for their "holy whoops" and "holy whines" and unrestrained emotionalism. They were scorned and despised by the more affluent and better educated, but they developed good rapport with the uneducated frontier people. They took a certain pride in their theology uncorrupted by theological education. All they needed was a willingness to serve and enthusiasm and the Holy Spirit would do the rest.

The Baptists endured frequent and great persecution—stoning and duckings. On one occasion a band of well-dressed Anglican men invaded an open service by the river. They sang an obscene song and ducked the preacher in the river, holding him down in the mud until he almost drowned. Then they drove him out of the country in wet and muddy clothes. Often they were imprisoned as disturbers of the peace. Between 1768-1770 more than thirty preachers were honored with what they spoke of as "honored with the dungeon." Lawless mobs often broke up services and roughed up the preacher.

Where ever the Baptists went they preached holy Christian living and complete freedom of religion. When the Revolutionary War came Baptists liberally served as officers and foot soldiers. When the war was over they resumed the search for new places to establish churches.