BEHOLD THE FIELDS: TEXAS BAPTISTS
AND THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Richard L. Elam, B.A., M.A.

Denton, Texas

May, 1993
BEHOLD THE FIELDS: TEXAS BAPTISTS
AND THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Richard L. Elam, B.A., M.A.

Denton, Texas

May, 1993

The relationship between Texas Baptists and slavery is studied with an emphasis on the official statements made about the institution in denominational sources combined with a statistical analysis of the extent of slaveholding among Baptists. A data list of over 5,000 names was pared to 1100 names of Baptists in Texas prior to 1865 and then cross-referenced on slaveownership through the use of federal censuses and county tax rolls.

Although Texas Baptists participated economically in the slave system, they always maintained that blacks were children of God worthy of religious instruction and salvation. The result of these disparate views was a paradox between treating slaves as chattels while welcoming them into mixed congregations and allowing them some measure of activity within those bodies.

Attitudes expressed by white Baptists during the antebellum period were continued into the post-war years as well. Meanwhile, African-American Baptists gradually withdrew from white dominated congregations, forming their own local, regional, and state organizations. In the end,
whites had no choice but to accept the new-found status of the Freedmen, cooperating with black institutions on occasion.

Major sources for this study include church, associational, and state Baptist minutes; county and denominational histories; and government documents. The four appendices list associations, churches, and counties with extant records. Finally, private accounts of former slaves provide valuable insight into the interaction between white and black Baptists.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. BEGINNINGS AND BACKGROUND</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE CHURCHES</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. MASTERS AND SLAVES</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SEPARATION</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ASSOCIATIONAL MINUTES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. CHURCH RECORDS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. COUNTIES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. BLACK ASSOCIATIONS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORKS CONSULTED</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Tables
1. Black Members of Select Baptist Churches in Texas
   Before 1865 ........................................... 82
2. Slaveholding Families Among Texas Baptists .......... 109
3. Baptist Slaveholders of the Planter Class ............ 113
4. Slaveownership Among Baptists for Select Years ...... 115
5. Number of Slaves Held by Texas Baptists for
   Select Years ......................................... 116
6. Wealth of Slaveholding Baptists As a Percentage
   of the Total For all Baptists ....................... 118
7. Distribution of Wealth Statewide and Among
   Baptists Ministers, 1860 ............................ 123
8. Slaveholding Leadership Within Baptist Churches ..... 129
9. Black Members of Baptist Churches in Texas After
   1865 for Two Associations .......................... 159

Maps
1. Counties in Data Subset .............................. 108
2. Counties Utilized for Minister Subset ................ 125
INTRODUCTION

Slavery as an institution created a moral problem for white evangelical Southerners. As creatures of God, humans of African descent needed the Gospel. On the other hand, the socio-economic system required that blacks be treated as less than fully human. For many white Christians, this contradiction was acted out on a daily basis as they expected their slaves to attend religious services, continuously attempted to convert them, and then welcomed them into membership within their churches. At the same time, the legal and social position of their wards was that of chattels. The same individuals who worshipped with slaves listed them as personal property along with livestock and bought and sold them on occasion.

Slaveholding Baptists allowed their bondsmen to be a part of their churches while maintaining the separation required in a stratified society. They defended the institution of slavery as divinely arranged and obviously benefited materially from the acceptance of such a system. More significantly, the importance of slave ownership to economic and social prominence was no different within Baptist churches than without.
Such was the predicament of white Texas Baptists. Baptists, both slaveholding and non-slaveholding, had been a part of the earliest Anglo-American migrations into Texas, and as many of their churches were legally established shortly after independence, they quickly came to represent a sizable portion of the state’s religious landscape.¹ Slavery, as a part of their worldview, had to be accommodated to the realities of Baptist life in the mid-nineteenth century.

According to historian Charles Sellers the "travail of slavery" was the inability of white Southerners to reconcile their disparate feelings about the institution. Being unable to regard the slaves as consistently "persons" or "property," Southerners remained ambivalent. This was particularly evident in religious circles as the "slave’s admission to the privilege of salvation inevitably identified him as a person."²

For Eugene D. Genovese, the slaveholders’ dilemma, was their inability to reconcile a belief in "progress," which

¹"Statistics on Churches," Statistics of the United States, (Including Mortality, Property, Etc.,) in 1860; compiled from the original returns and being the final exhibit of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 471-74. According to these data, Baptists were the second largest denomination in Texas (after the Methodists) in number of churches.

incorporated democratic and republican ideals, with slavery. Southern Christians were trapped by this reasoning as well:

They . . . linked Protestant Christianity to economic liberalism and political republicanism, . . . . But in the slaveholders' perspective, slavery or, more precisely, the several forms of personal servitude, provided the necessary foundation for a society that could sustain a Christian social order and guarantee individual freedom for those who deserved and were competent to wield it.

Like Sellers, Genovese offers substantial direct evidence from the slaveholders' themselves to suggest that a moral dilemma did indeed exist for Southerners.³

In the case of Texas Baptists there is no direct evidence to support Sellers's thesis that whites agonized over slaveholding. Church records do not show any confrontation between slavery and Baptists ideals. Neither did Texas Baptists struggle outwardly with their concepts of moral progress versus slaveownership. Still, the tone of Baptist rhetoric in defense of slavery, coupled with the time and space devoted to promoting missionary activity among the slaves, hinted at a possible moral tension inherent in white attitudes.

A number of studies have looked at certain aspects of Baptists and slavery in Texas. Contemporary accounts often gave an overview of the institution from a paternalistic

---

perspective; later studies concentrated on the shared religious experiences of whites and blacks; more recent works have looked at the black experience as unique to itself. What has not been done is to piece these disparate elements together into a coherent whole. In addition, very little has been done on the extent of slave ownership among religious groups in the state.4

This study will draw from the various sources, both contemporary and secondary, narrative and statistical, in order to offer an overview of how one denomination, Baptists, interacted with the "peculiar institution" of slavery in one state, Texas. The basic goals of this study will be to indicate the official Baptist position on slavery (as much as this is possible given the congregational nature of Baptist polity) through the use of associational organs and state Baptist reports; describe the relationship of white and black members within mixed congregations; outline the

role blacks played within the parameters of a white-dominated Christian institution; and provide a detailed statistical analysis of the extent of slaveholding among Baptists and how that compared to slaveownership in the state as a whole. In addition, this study will explore the extent of moral tension created by slavery among white Texas Baptists.

In a study of this nature, an explanation of methodology and sources is a necessity, particularly with regard to the statistical sections. The basic format includes an overview of the secondary literature on Texas and religion, with particular emphasis on what has been written or suggested about Baptists and slavery. Chapters II through IV give a detailed look at the relationship between Baptists and slavery in Texas; first from an institutional perspective, followed by a more personal view emphasizing the extent of slaveownership among Baptists. Throughout these chapters, the role of African-American Baptists is included whenever possible. Thus, this analysis moves from the aggregate to the individual in assessing the connection between Baptists and slavery. Chapter V draws on many of the same sources in continuing the story into the post-Civil War years by giving an overview of how antebellum relations between white and black Baptists carried into Reconstruction.

The primary sources for the institutional section are associational minutes, published annually for the churches
within a given geographical region. Many of these minutes are available at the A. Webb Roberts Library of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas. The names, date of origin, and available years for these records are all provided in the Appendix A. Additional statements about slavery are available for this same period in state convention reports. In general, these sources provide "official" opinions on the status of the African-American population with regard to the churches and/or the need for evangelism. Not only is this a measure for determining white sentiment, it also indicates changes in attitude over time, if any existed. The last major source type is state Baptist newspapers. Although not organs of any official body, they were utilized by associations, churches, and individuals as a forum for Baptist views and information.

Special problems exist in using state and associational minutes as representing an "official" Baptist position. The congregational nature of church polity limits these sources in the sense that each separate church body was free to organize itself and take stands on issues as it desired. In spite of this, Baptists did cooperate by combining into loose "associations." Even though each congregation remained technically independent, the association as a whole could admit or reject new churches, or, in extreme cases, expel them on the basis of doctrinal error. Associational bodies did not have the power to intervene in the internal
affairs of any church, but they could send delegations to "work with" those having difficulties.

The problem is compounded by the fact that delegates to associational meetings, called "messengers," did not even bear the responsibility of representing their church's position on a given issue but were free to vote according to the dictates of their own consciences. This, however, was true of Baptists everywhere and constitutes the closest approximation to formal expression as can be found outside of the local congregation. In spite of these limitations, committee reports at associational conclaves are important sources of information on attitudes found among Baptists on the issue of slavery. As most congregations were affiliated with an association at some point, the statements and discussions about slavery within these bodies constituted a "quasi-official" word. The usefulness of associational reports is not inhibited by the fact that member churches changed occasionally and older associations were split by the formation of new ones. The activities of these bodies and the opinions expressed by them remained fairly constant no matter what congregations participated. The vast majority of these associations reported annually on the religious condition of slaves. Reports usually came from committees appointed at the annual meetings for that purpose and were then adopted, rejected, or amended by the full delegation. The minutes of these sessions were published for distribu-
tion to member congregations and are therefore useful in determining Baptist opinion on slavery. The larger, statewide organizations present the same problems as local associations. Yet, they too had statements about slavery that are useful in assessing overall Baptist attitudes.

Information on the local congregations was gleaned from extant church minutes and membership rolls. Many of these are available, as originals, in the archives at Southwestern Seminary. Others are available on microfilm only, both in Fort Worth and at the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee. A list of these churches can be found in Appendix B.

Information on African-American Baptists was the most difficult to obtain. Some information can be taken from church minutes, but only rarely is it more than cursory. Nevertheless, a certain amount of activity can be inferred from the records in addition to the limited specifics provided. One of the more useful sources is interviews with former slaves collected together in The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, edited by George P. Rawick. In several instances, former bondsmen recalled their experiences as "Baptists" or under the influence of Baptist masters. The use of these interviews, made in the 1930s, is limited by the circumstances of their origin. The advanced age of the participants combined with the fact of being interviewed by whites during a period of oppressive segregation and
racism must be taken into consideration. Even so, some measure of reliability can be drawn from the interviews, and the picture they show portrays a more human face to a subject treated somewhat institutionally elsewhere. This combination of sources still leaves black Baptist activity in Texas quite obscure.  

The statistical analysis in Chapter IV requires an in-depth explanation. The original intent of this section was to compile a list of Baptists in Texas prior to 1865 from whatever membership rolls were available and cross-reference those names against tax rolls and census data to ascertain the extent of slaveholding. As additional church records surfaced, however, some limits had to be imposed. Membership lists were available primarily in official church records. In some of these, names had to be culled from accounts of church activities, but the process was tedious. Fortunately, most of the available minutes incorporated membership rolls, always being careful to delineate "colored" members. In addition to these primary records, secondary sources, especially local and associational histo-

---

ries, had information about local churches which included membership lists.

As new sources have come to light, the initial data file of Baptists prior to 1865, both black and white, has grown to three files containing 5,465 names, and it continues to grow as other sources are found. These files contain a number of problems and discrepancies. The most difficult task was to eliminate repetitions. This was not always possible from the records. However, sometimes it was obvious that the church clerk was repeating names. When this happened, the duplication was deleted. Further deletions were necessary for those individuals whose names were either unclear or insufficient to be of use. For example, "Sister Smith" might refer to any number of people and, thus, verification from tax roll or census sources was impossible. Lastly, the African-American members were transferred into a separate file of 612 names. The result of these eliminations was a transformed data list of approximately 4,000 names of white Texas Baptists prior to 1865.

Further revisions were necessary as some of these individuals came from sources that provided only partial lists, such as charter members only. For this reason, the data were once again pared to counties in which complete membership rolls were available. For purposes of statistical analysis, twenty of these counties distributed throughout the state were chosen as representative of the whole.
The regions selected were those outlined by Randolph Campbell and Richard Lowe in their study, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*. Five counties were chosen from each region, selected on the basis of location and availability of names. Those with more than one congregation to draw on were also favored. A complete listing of counties used in this study can be found in the Appendix C, along with information on those used in the smaller data sets.

The names of Baptists found in these counties were then checked against local tax rolls as well as the 1850 and 1860 censuses for verification of location and slaveholdings. The result was a list of 1,138 Baptists in the state who appear in sources other than church records. This, then, became the data set for determining the extent of slave-ownership among Baptists.

A note should be added on why names were not chosen randomly from the edited file. The problem with random selection is that church rolls included a number of women and children who were not slaveholders but who came from slaveholding families. A random selection process might fail to verify many of these, whereas the method employed would be more likely to include entire slaveholding (or non-slaveholding) families. Other local records including probate and deed records were used on a limited basis.

The final chapter on the Reconstruction period relies on "official" statements from associational and state re-
cords and from a state newspaper, as well as church minutes. The same limitations on this source material apply as outlined above. The importance of this period is the addition of records from newly organized African-American associations. In addition to this information, some anecdotal material was available.

In spite of these problems, the story of Baptists and slavery in Texas can be told by relying on a combination of local, regional, and state official minutes; personal accounts; and statistical analysis. The result is a tapestry of white and black Baptist interaction and activity, built on a foundation of egalitarian theology, and tempered by racial considerations.
Baptists, as a unique denomination within Protestant Christianity, began in the early seventeenth century as a part of the religious ferment engendered by the Reformation. The distinctives which set them apart from others was an emphasis on believer’s baptism, "priesthood of the believers," and religious liberty. They were, from the beginning, congregational in nature, carefully eschewing any semblance of hierarchy within the denomination.¹

The English colonies in America became an incubator for Baptist growth, offering not only an open missionary field but a haven of refuge for English dissenters. The Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century provided the theological opportunity for Baptist extension, and by the time of the American Revolution Baptists were one of the fastest growing Christian groups in the colonies.

Baptist decentralization and emphasis on separation of church and state as well as the importance of evangelizing

always made them reluctant to be involved in strictly political issues, especially one that stood to overturn an established social order. The result was that unlike some other "Nonconformist" bodies, Baptist occupied the middle ground on the issue of slavery, preaching to the slaves about spiritual freedom while admonishing them to accept their temporal situation. By the early nineteenth century, the moral aspects of slavery had given birth to a latent concern for blacks among English Baptists as an outgrowth of an egalitarian theology and church polity. The issue sprang forth full-bloom when bondsmen on the island of Jamaica, some of them Baptists, forced the issue by rebelling. This so-called "Baptist War" had the effect of galvanizing Baptist opinion in England against the institution and led, ultimately, to its demise within the British empire.²

For Baptists in the North American colonies and, later, in the nascent United States, the issue was more difficult, particularly because of the proximity to its everyday practice. Anti-slavery comments before the American Revolution were almost non-existent within Baptist circles, but the development of "natural rights" philosophy coupled with

American revolutionary ideals led to some questioning of the institution. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the consensus in the newly formed nation was for gradual abolition. The problem was not "if" but "how" and "when." Baptists, too, were caught up in this general euphoria of democratic idealism resulting in some efforts to end slavery. For example, John Leland, a preacher in Virginia, who was noted as an advocate of religious liberty, opposed the institution while David Barrow, another Virginia Baptist, helped create an anti-slavery association of churches in Kentucky. Barrow's efforts faltered by the late 1820s.3

The mood of Baptists toward slavery began to shift to a more regional perspective by 1831. In the mid-1820s, Richard Furman, a prominent pastor from South Carolina, forwarded a document to the governor defending slavery as biblically sound and beneficial to blacks. This became one of the first shots fired by Southerners in an attempt to

---

defend their practice. What had been a "necessary evil" now became protected as a "positive good." In the North, William Lloyd Garrison, who had a strict Baptist upbringing, began his uncompromising attacks on the institution in 1831, and in Virginia, Nat Turner, a slave and self-styled Baptist exhorter, was about to sow terror into the hearts of Southerners with his bloody rebellion later that same year.4

The polarization of Baptist opinion paralleled that of the nation as a whole. The formation of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840 followed by the American Baptist Free Mission Society the same year began the schism which resulted in creation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845. Although slavery was not the only reason for the split, it was the primary reason and became a

---

harbinger of Southern secession from the United States fifteen years later.\(^5\)

Thus, as Anglo-American settlement in Texas expanded rapidly during the late 1820s and early 1830s, the Southern states began to defend slavery as a positive good. The Texas Revolution (1836) came after this watershed of opinion, and Texas' entrance into the United States was emotionally charged with the issue of slavery's expansion. Moreover, at the very time Texas was brought into the American federation, the national Baptists were splitting into two distinct missionary organizations, primarily because of slavery. As most Baptists in Texas came from Southern slave states, they were a part of the cultural milieu that supported and defended slaveholding. Baptists attitudes in Texas, although not one-dimensional, were certainly one-sided as the ownership of bondsmen remained a part of their heritage.

A survey of literature on slavery and religion provides only a limited overview without much particular reference to Texas. The most detailed accounts come from sources that are more specifically about slavery, religion, or Baptists. General histories on slavery, for example, furnished comments on Baptists. Ulrich B. Phillips' seminal study,  

\(^5\)McBeth, 381-91. McBeth provides an excellent version of the specific events leading to the split in the conventions.
American Negro Slavery, although somewhat dated in its paternalism, noted the role Baptists played in slave life:

The churches which had the greatest influences upon the negroes were those which relied least upon ritual and most upon exhilaration. The Baptist and Methodist were foremost . . . .

Phillips also supplied statistics on where Baptist strength was greatest. Kenneth M. Stampp's revisionist study, The Peculiar Institution, viewed religion as a tool for suppression of bondsmen that also, ironically, became a means of psychological escape for the slaves. According to Stampp, Baptists had a special appeal because of their simple message coupled with the added appeal of baptism by immersion.6

A third major study, Roll, Jordan, Roll, dealt extensively with slavery and religion. According to the author, Eugene Genovese,

> [e]motional appeal and organizational flexibility gave the Baptists the edge, but they might have thrown it away had they not undertaken the task of conversion with the vigor they did. The organizational flexibility of the Baptists provided a particularly good opportunity for the retention of magic and folk belief despite the theological strictures against them . . . .

Moreover,

The Baptists' efforts to proselytize among slaves and their willingness to rely on, or at least not

exclude, black preachers did not prove them less racist or more deeply concerned with the secular fate of the blacks than were others.

Another work, by John Blassingame, relied, like Genovese's, on the perspective of the bondsmen. Even though he said much about black religious practices, very little on Baptists in particular, appeared in his narrative.⁷

General works on slave religion speak to the issue of Baptist treatment and attitudes. Although Milton Sernett, writing on Black Religion and American Evangelicalism, stated that the existence of black churches was "at the whim of local white authorities" with independence as "strictly nominal," Mechal Sobel found sixty-eight distinctively African-American Baptist churches in the South before 1865, at least two of which were in Texas. Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Ante-bellum South, by Albert J. Raboteau, commented on black activities within Baptist churches:

Baptists, precisely because of their independent church polity, offered more opportunity than any other denomination for black members to exercise a measure of control over their church life. In

some mixed churches committees of black members were constituted in order to oversee the church order of black members.

Similarly, a study published in Finland postulated that the "unique feature of the Baptist denomination was its practice of giving the same rights to black members of the church as it gave to the whites."

The blacks were accepted as members on the same condition as the whites—with the exception that the slaves had to show the written consent of their masters. Although the slaves were under the control of the whites, they also had their own deacons who functioned as religious leaders in the plantations. The blacks had the same duties as the whites, and were also expelled from membership for the same reasons.

All of these comments concerned Baptists throughout the South, but the concepts were just as applicable in Texas.

The most comprehensive general history of Baptists is Leon McBeth's *The Baptist Heritage*. This text, encyclopedic in scope, referred to slavery in several passages but is especially valuable for its discussion of the schism within the Triennial Convention over the issue of slavery. The

---

issue of race in the context of Baptists of slavery was dealt with in two works, *Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists* by John Lee Eighmy, and a more general work, H. Sheldon Smith’s *In His Image, But . . . : Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910*. None of these works dealt with Texas specifically.9

Books on African-American Baptists are also more general and not very useful in assessing the situation in Texas. *A History of Black Baptists*, by Leroy Fitts, is the most detailed. Although he referred to Texas only in passing (such as praising the establishment of Bishop College), he offered an important discussion of the establishment of separate black churches prior to the Civil War. James Washington’s work on black Baptists is much more focused, emphasizing the white role as more obstructionist than helpful to African-American church growth. Fitts and Washington, taken together, provide a useful beginning to an area of Baptist history in need of further research.10

---


All of these sources concur that Baptists, along with Methodists, had the most success in working among the slaves and in allowing African-American membership in their churches. As Baptists headed west to the newly opened frontier region of Texas, they took these established practices with them. Even though a few other generalities can be gleaned from surveying the general literature about religion, slavery, and Baptists, sources specifically on Texas are the most help in placing Baptist slaveholding in context.

A few Baptists entered Texas, along with other Southern Protestants, during the 1820s. They brought with them the cultural norms to which they were accustomed. The fact that non-Roman Catholic practices were outlawed inhibited the movement but did not completely discourage them from establishing primitive institutions. Baptist James D. Allcorn, for example, entered Texas as a part of Austin’s colony in late 1821. His wife, Lydia, was baptized in 1829 while the area remained a part of Mexico. One of the earliest preachers was Thomas Hanks who settled near San Felipe. Another was Joseph Bays. Thomas Pilgrim established the first Sunday School during this era. In general, however, information about Baptists at that time is scant.  

---

Notwithstanding the fact that so little was written about Baptists during the early years of settlement, observations from other sources about religion and slavery did appear. The earliest accounts about Texas came from travelers in the area during the Republic and early statehood periods. Frederic Guillardet, writing in 1839, noted the political importance of Texas to the slaveholding South. The newly constituted Republic provided an outlet for distressed slaveowners weary of abolitionists agitation and depleted soil:

It stands to become the land of refuge for the American slaveholders; it will be the ally, the reserve force upon which they will rest and possibly fall back from . . . all the slave states, whenever this issue of slavery, so pregnant with latent danger, shall at last erupt to sever the two opposing sides in America. If as a result of this schism or of any other incompatibility that great association, the American Union, should be one day torn apart, Texas unquestionably would be in the forefront of the new confederacy, which would be formed by the Southern states from the debris of the old Union.

His observations, although prescient, did not encompass comments about religion or its relationship to slavery.  

William Kennedy, an Englishman, wrote in 1841 that "Texas is not geographically adapted to the great extension of slavery." However, he defended the institution as a necessity in the region. His comments on religion and

---

12Frederic Guillardet, Sketches of Early Texas and Louisiana translated by James L. Shepherd, III (1939; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 68.
churches amounted to two paragraphs with no specific mention of Baptists. H. Yoakum's book, *History of Texas from Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846*, was much more detailed in its approach to religion. In his second volume was a "Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Different Religious Protestant Denominations of Christians in Texas," covering eleven pages. In another place he mentioned a "watch-dog" committee established in Houston to filter out ministerial impostors on the Texas frontier of the late 1830s. Neither of these sections mentioned religion's connection to slavery.13

Frederick Law Olmsted's *A Journey Through Texas*, published in 1857, provided some insight into the religious practices of Texans. When visiting the town of Crockett, he was informed that the local church had no real denominational affiliation, choosing instead to "let anybody preach that comes along." In another section, entitled "Piety in Negroes," Olmsted recorded comments made by one of his hosts on the subject of slave religion:

Speaking about the preferences of negroes for certain religious sects, he said they were not particularly religious about here any way. They generally

---

joined the church which their master attended, if he
attended any. Otherwise, that which was nearest.

The host went on to tell the story of a black man who de-
fended his faith by pointing out to people that the Bible
mentioned "John the Baptist" but said nothing about "John
the Methodist." Early descriptions of Texas thus provid-
ed only passing observations on the subject of slavery and
Christian practice or belief. More recent histories have
not fared much better.

A number of secondary works have been written on the
history of Texas. An early narrative by John Henry Brown
(1892) incorporated a chapter on "Churches in Texas."
Although this included two pages on Baptists, nothing was
written about slavery. Another work, William Ransom Hogan's
The Texas Republic: A Social and Economic History (1946),
commented on the split in the Methodist Episcopal Church
over the slavery question. In discussing religion among the
slaves, he wrote that

[i]t was deemed essential that the black quarter
of the population remain in bondage for both its
spiritual and economic welfare.

---

14Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas Or, a
Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (New York: Dix,
Edwards and Company, 1857; reprinted in Austin: University
Nothing appeared about similar sentiments among the Baptists.\textsuperscript{15}

Other general histories have been only slightly more detailed in outlining the importance of slavery and in describing slave religious practices. \textit{Texas: A History} by Seymour V. Conner referenced Baptists only with relation to the establishment of Baylor University. His observations on churches were limited to a few statements about the lack of "interest in organized religion." As late as 1850, according to the author, only a few church buildings existed, with most services held in local community halls and businesses. Conner's brief description of slave life on a plantation did not encompass slave religion. \textit{The New Texas Reader} (1961), edited by Banks and McMillan, had short, anecdotal accounts of Texas history and included a brief description of the organization of the oldest Methodist church in the Republic. The editors recounted that a slave, Celia Kraft, was allowed to join in order to have the requisite ten individuals necessary for membership.\textsuperscript{16} Archie McDonald, Rupert N. Richardson, and Joe B. Frantz all included comments on


slavery and some about religion in their general Texas
history texts, but none of them mentioned slavery and reli-
gion.  

James Reese and Lorrin Kennamer's book, *Texas: Land of
Contrast* (1978), included three pages on "The Negro in Pre-
Civil War Texas." Its only reference to religion was a
statement on the role of spirituals in the life of the
slaves. These songs "combined protest and religion." The
authors noted that most blacks during the Reconstruction era
were either Baptists or Methodists, and that both organiza-
tions had created separate bodies for the black churches.  

Several sections of a 1984 edited work did a better job
of referencing religion and slavery. Roland C. Hayes's
essay, "Blacks in Texas," recognized the importance Christ-
ianity played in offering hope for the slaves.

Churches were and are the focal point among black
people. They supported education and provided
forums for discussion, outlets for frustration
and an organizational structure for the develop-
ment of black leaders. Baptists formed a clear
majority, followed by Methodists.

---

17 Archie P. McDonald, *Texas: All Hail the Mighty State*
(Austin, Texas: Eakin Press, 1983); Rupert Norval
Richardson, Ernest Wallace, and Adrian N. Anderson, *Texas:*
The Lone Star State, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981), 196-98; 213-15; Joe B. Frantz,
*Texas: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton and

18 James V. Reese and Lorrin Kennamer, *Texas: Land of
Contrast. Its History and Geography* (Austin, Texas: W. S.
John Storey concurred stating that the growth of Baptists in the late nineteenth century was due, in part, to their appeal to the blacks. On the other hand, Protestant groups, including Baptists,

with few exceptions... defended the peculiar institution, looked upon blacks as innately inferior, and later justified secession. . . . With church leaders and the laity of one mind, dissenting opinions on slavery were not readily tolerated.

In listing black Baptist leaders after the Civil War, Storey mentioned Richard Henry Boyd, a former slave, who became secretary of the National Baptist Convention, a black organization.19

David McComb's *Texas: A Modern History* (1989) observed that Baptists in Texas "stressed piety rather than ethics" and defended the institution of slavery by "defining the role of blacks as one of servitude and labor." In spite of this, Baptists willingly proselytized among the blacks.20

T. R. Fehrenbach had one of the more detailed discussions of slavery in his general history, *Lone Star*, but his comments on religion in general and Baptists in particular, were limited. He noted that a significant number of planter families were Episcopalian while most farmers were fundamen-

---


talist or evangelical Christians. He also commented on the growth of Baptists, and their importance, along with Methodists, on the frontier middle class, even though they were slow to erect edifices. The closest he came to the problem of religion and slavery was a brief section on the moral dilemma:

Anglo-American law was forced by its own inherently liberal logic to dehumanize the Negro, because it could not accept the concept of subordination of one people to another, or inequality at law. This had created, and continued to create, a terrible moral confusion and definite hypocrisy in the American mind, toward both Indians and Negroes. Law, the organic cement that held American civilization together, never recognized the inherent tendency of a more powerful people to dispossess or take advantage of any weaker race upon whom they impinged. Law therefore adopted the concept that Negroes were not subordinated human beings, but mere chattels—property like swine or cattle—just as law looked upon Amerinds as vermin.21

In addition to general histories of Texas, a survey of literature on religion yields some grasp of both the problems and possibilities of slavery.

Denominational histories furnish some information about slavery and religion. DuBose Murphy's survey of the Protestant Episcopal Church concluded that there was hardly such a thing as a "race problem" in the South. The colored population was composed almost entirely of slaves, whose economic and social status was understood and accepted by all concerned. The amount of attention devoted to their religious welfare varied according to the disposi-

---

tion of their masters. In many cases, slaves attended the master's church, and on many plantations the slaves were expected to attend the daily family prayers at the "Big House." The records of the Episcopal Church occasionally mention services held specially for the colored people . . . . These fragmentary bits of information suggest that at least some of the Ministers of the Church felt a responsibility for the colored people in their parishes.

A second history of the Episcopalians in the state mentioned missionary work among blacks in Matagorda County. 22

Methodist histories provided a little additional information including observations on religion among the slaves. Olin W. Nail cited statistics to suggest that bondsmen made up one sixth to one fifth of membership in Methodist congregations. He also related the existence of missions maintained specifically for "Africans." The Methodist Excitement had a lengthy discussion of opposition to slavery among some Methodists in the state and he included a section on the hanging of minister Anthony Bewley. He cited twenty-four percent of total membership in 1860 as black. 23


Carter Boren, whose *Religion on the Texas Frontier* is primarily a history of the Disciples of Christ, dismissed the issue of slavery as unimportant because of the paucity of church members in the state. Moreover, unlike other major denominations, the Disciples did not divide over slavery. Even though several churches had slave members and others allowed attendance,

the Disciples, like the Baptists who came in Texas, were not in the economic class of the slaveholders generally. In fact, the plantation system was not of the developed state in Texas that it was in the Old South.

As this study will show, his assessment of slaveownership among Baptists was incorrect.\(^{24}\)

Reba W. Palm dealt with the issue of religion and slavery directly by focusing on Matagorda County. She commented that "[t]he Baptists usually accepted responsibility for their slaves’ religious lives." Moreover, "[p]lanters encouraged their slaves to attend religious services."\(^{25}\)

All of these works, including another on the Presbyterians, agreed in general that blacks and whites worshipped together during antebellum days. Not much is said, however,


about the extent of interaction or the official attitudes of these denominational bodies toward slavery.  

The story of Texas Baptists has been told in a number of works, yet is still not complete with regard to slavery. One of the earliest histories was written by Z. N. Morrell, a pioneer Baptist preacher. He depicted black and white Baptists as "happy in their church relations" when they all worshiped together. He also recounted personal anecdotes about his own interaction with slaves, including an instance when he struck a black man who was trying, with several whites, to disrupt a religious meeting, and another where a young slave boy joined a church where Morrell was preaching. In addition to these contributions, Morrell furnished some statistics on black churches and membership after the Civil War. 

A History of Texas Baptists, written at the turn of the century, offered little more in the way of information about the denomination and slavery except to list two "servants" as being charter members of a certain church. Similarly,

---


27Morrell, Flowers and Fruits, 82-83, 385-88, 411.
the **Centennial Story of Texas Baptists** included only a few anecdotal references to work among bondsmen.²⁸

One of the most comprehensive texts on religion and slavery was J. M. Carroll's work on Texas Baptist history. He included a chapter entitled "Baptist Work Among the Negroes Prior to the Civil War," portraying Baptists as vitally concerned about the spiritual well-being of their wards. His primary sources were associational and state minutes. Like Morrell, he inserted statistics, gleaned from associational reports, on black membership within predominately white churches. His summary statements, listed at the end of the chapter, included the following:

2. Our Baptist people, with possibly a few exceptions, had a keen sense of their responsibility and a strong conviction as to their duty to give the gospel to the slaves, no matter to whom they belonged.

3. Their usual custom was for all pastors, whether in city, town or country, whenever they preached to the whites on Sunday morning, almost invariably to give a special service to the colored people in the afternoon. To large plantations, and especially those that grew cotton and cane, where there were very few whites and many Negroes--sometimes hundreds of them--either volunteer or regularly employed missionaries had to go.

4. As a rule ... owners not only raised no objection to this religious work among the slaves, but made special arrangements for it and co-operated with it.

5. The Negroes themselves were easily accessible. It is really amazing wonderful how the

---

²⁸B. F. Fuller, *History of Texas Baptists* (Louisville, Kentucky: Baptist Book Concern, 1900), 101; *Centennial Story of Texas Baptists* (Dallas: Baptist General Convention of Texas, 1936). See, for example, pages 206 and 258.
gospel of Jesus Christ and the plain Word of God appealed to them. There seemed to be no infidels among them. History seems to show no other race of people on earth more ready to accept the religion of Christ.

6. The Christian slaves, as a rule, were really pious and noted for their loyalty to their religion. There were many exceptions.

7. The Bible, as believed and taught by the Baptists, most readily appealed to them. There were more Baptists among them than possibly belonged to all other denominations combined.

Carroll added comments on segregated seating within "white churches," the lack of black preachers, and the dearth of statistics on black numbers. In spite of this, he admitted that Baptist work in Texas was "their [blacks] history as well as ours."29

One of the more recent Texas Baptist histories, The Blossoming Desert, had even less on slaves and religion. In a section only one page in length, the author gave a cursory and uncritical overview of associational and state comments about religious work among the Blacks. A lengthier section outlined the "new relationship" generated by emancipation, providing quoted material from associational records to show the difference of opinion on how best to deal with the Freedmen. He also outlined the progress African-Americans made toward creating their own religious institutions.30

---

29 Carroll, History of Texas Baptists, 252-60.
A few sources on blacks in Texas offered insight into religion and slavery. Alwyn Barr's *Black Texans* offered the following comments on black-white religious relations:

Slaveholders read the Bible to their slaves, brought them to sit in a segregated section of the white church, or in a few cases organized separate meetings or churches on some large plantations. . . . Baptists and Methodists all appointed missionaries to the slaves.

Lawrence Rice, in *The Negro in Texas*, told of the lives of several prominent black Texas Baptists who had been born in slavery.31

The most complete handling of religion and slavery in Texas is found in Randolph Campbell's definitive study, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865*, published in 1989. This is the first comprehensive overview of the institution of slavery as it was manifested in Texas. Campbell treated religion as one of several factors offering psychological support for those in bondage.32

A few other notable sources on Baptists and slavery can be detailed. The story of the segregation of whites and blacks first into separate services and then into different congregations was told admirably by Paul W. Stripling in his


doctoral dissertation "The Negro Excision from Baptist Churches in Texas (1861-1870)." According to Stripling, the major impetus for black organization of distinct churches was the failure of whites to address the needs and desires, as well as the new status, of the Freedmen. John Lee Eighmy saw this trend as a positive one, providing blacks the opportunity to raise up leaders for the future.\textsuperscript{33}

The story of missionary activity among slaves was described by LaNelle Douglas in an M.A. thesis and by Jerry Berlyn Cain in a journal article titled "The Thought and Action of Some Early Texas Baptists Concerning the Negro." Although critical of white Baptist treatment of blacks in general, Cain attempted to give a positive interpretation to that attitude by emphasizing the concern they had for the religious welfare of the African-Americans.\textsuperscript{34}


\textsuperscript{34}LaNelle S. Douglas, "Religious Work Done by the Texas Baptists Among the Negroes in Texas from 1836 to 1873," (M.A. thesis, Sam Houston State University, 1967); Jerry Berlyn Cain, "The Thought and Action of Some Early Texas Baptists Concerning the Negro," \textit{East Texas Historical Journal} XIII(Spring, 1975).
Secondary sources on slavery, Baptists, and Texas are useful in establishing the current and developing opinion on the Baptist connection to the institution. Baptists were clearly among the leaders in benefiting from providing religious instruction to bondsmen. Their church structure, as well as an "equality of men before God" theology, made their denomination particularly favorable to the slaves. Blacks, in turn, benefited through participation and creation of their own institutions.

The two major areas about Baptists and slavery that have been well documented are those concerning missionary activity among bondsmen, and white attitudes toward the slaves as found in official pronouncements. Both of these have been utilized to defend slavery or at least comment on its positive or benign effects. In order to detail Baptist attitudes, this ground must be covered again before moving on to the more telling relationships found within individual congregations and between masters and slaves.
CHAPTER II

INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

An important indicator of the Baptist position on slavery can be found in "official records." Although no denominational hierarchy existed that could speak for Baptists as a whole, local congregations came together in loosely organized "associations" scattered throughout the state. These organizations held annual meetings in which they advocated approaches to spreading the Gospel either educationally or through missionary activity. Likewise, these same churches banded together in larger regional or state bodies to do the same thing. In addition, the growing number of Baptists in Texas justified the publication of newspapers dedicated to promoting their ideals and publicizing their accomplishments. All of these institutions can be utilized in assessing Baptist attitudes toward slavery.¹

Most associations passed resolutions recommending work among the slaves similar to the one passed by the Austin

¹The most useful guide to Baptist Associations is found in "Texas Baptist Associations, 1840 to 1886," The Journal of Texas Baptist History V(1985): 79-101. See also, Appendix A at the conclusion of this study for a list of associations and dates of extant records.
Association in 1858. In that report, the churches giving religious instruction to slaves were praised while others were admonished to do so. Moreover, this particular resolution suggested that pastors and other white members hold Sunday evening services which would include "reading of Scriptures, preaching, and such other instruction be given as will inspire their [blacks] moral and religious condition." The Judson Association, meeting in 1855, asked the churches to take the matter "into prayerful consideration" without proposing any specific plan of action. Most meetings made specific suggestions, however.  

The committee report of the Colorado Association complained in 1858 that even though slaves enjoyed "religious privileges equal to the whites" where churches existed, most of the areas where the slaves lived had no churches at all. The Little River Association called work among the slaves a "laudable enterprise," and several associations, notably Colorado and Little River, gave reports on work being done among the slaves. Noah Hill, a white minister, was praised for establishing congregations composed almost exclusively of black members. He regularly visited six locations, and

---

2Minutes of the Austin Association, Held with the Church, Burnet County, Texas, in July, 1858 (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1858), 3-4; Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the Judson Association, Held with Zion Church, Anderson County, Texas, commencing November 3rd and closing the 7th, 1855 (Palestine, Texas: Office of the Trinity Advocate, 1855), 11.
occasionally several more, in preaching to "about two hundred and twenty-five." J. G. Thomas and T. M. Anderson were also cited for work among the slaves.³

Numerous associational minutes placed the burden for religious instruction upon slaveholders themselves. The eighth annual session of Little River held that "all who own slaves" were responsible for having the "gospel preached to them." The Richland meeting of 1860 felt that "each slaveholder" would be "called to account for the manner in which he act[ed] towards those over whom he is called to exercise authority." This was in regard to the "indifference manifested almost universally throughout the entire Association" on the subject of religion for the slaves. Religious instruction was better served when coming from the masters rather than others according to the Colorado Association. As late as 1864, the Cherokee Association resolved that "God will not hold that man guiltless, who denies his servants

³Minutes of the Colorado Association, Held with the New Providence Church, Gonzales County, Texas (Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist Book and Job Office, 1858), 7; Minutes of the Eighth Annual Session of Little River Association of Baptists, Held with Prospect Church, Burleson County, Texas, on Friday, 23d of September, 1862 (Houston: Texas Book and Job Printing House, 1862), 6; Minutes of the Fifth Annual Session of the Colorado Baptist Association, Held with the Macedonia Church, Travis County, Texas, September 12, 13 and 15, 1851 (Austin, Texas: Cushney and Hampton, 1851), 13; Minutes of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Little River Association of Baptists held with Elm Grove Church, Williamson County, Texas, on Friday 16th of September 1859 (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1859), 10.
religious instructions." Furthermore, bondsmen should receive the "benefits of the Gospel" as surely as whites received the "benefits of their labor." Similar admonitions could be found from Cherokee, Colorado, Trinity, Tryon, and Waco Associations.4

A principal reason for religious instruction was a concern for the spiritual welfare of the slaves, for the "immortal souls growing up at our doors, . . . hungering and thirsting for the bread of life."5 According to the Central Baptist Association, black souls were "precious in the sight of God" requiring instruction "in the word of eternal truth," while an 1860 resolution from the Colorado meeting called them "a part of God's Creation, of God's glory." The year before, the Colorado report lamented the lack of work among the 20,209 slaves within the boundaries of the association. This was the equivalent of 1,010 slaves for every congregation, or 2,247 for every minister, yet the statistical report for that year showed only one-hundred seventy-two black members. It would be better, the report concluded, to

4Minutes, Little River Association, 1862, p. 6; Minutes of the Second Annual Session of the Richland Baptist Association, Held with the Bush Creek Church, Formerly Providence, Navarro County, Texas, in October 1859 (Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Power Press, 1860), 7; Minutes, Colorado Association, 1858, p. 7; Minutes of the Cherokee Baptist Association held with Larissa Church, Cherokee County, Texas, October 10th, 1863 (Tyler, Texas: Reporter Book and Job Office, 1864), 5.

5Minutes, Colorado Baptist Association, 1851, p. 13.
cease to enlarge the book of resolutions and reports; and open the Book of Acts that these immortal beings may have the bread of eternal life distributed among them . . . .

When associations promoted religious activity among the slaves as a God-given duty, they were confirming their belief in the essential quality of all persons before God. However, the moral tension inherent in slavery is more evident in the other principal reason given for spreading the Gospel among the slaves—submission.

A number of associations supported the concept that religion among the slaves made them docile. A Mount Zion resolution stated that "preaching to them is productive of much good" without stating why. Other associations, however, were more explicit. The most refined argument came from Trinity River. They believed that

. . . the sincere and hearty reception of the gospel to servants renders them happy and contented in their situation in life—makes them faithful in the discharge of their duties, and affords them

---

6Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the Central Baptist Association, Held with the Bradley Spring Church, Shelby County, Texas, in September, 1858 (Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist Book and Job Office, 1858), 6; Minutes of the Colorado Association, Held with the Shiloah Baptist Church, Fayette County, Texas, Beginning Friday, 14th, and closing Tuesday, 18th Sept., 1860 (San Antonio, Texas: The Herald Steam Press, 1860), 10; Minutes of the Colorado Association held with Old Caney Baptist Church, Wharton County, Texas, on Friday the 16th of September 1859 (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1859), 9.
comfort and joy in all their labor and toil through the journey of life.\(^7\)

A committee of the Tryon Association urged that slaves be instructed both in the "great principles of salvation," and "in their duties as servants in all things." Ministers were requested to

\[\text{teach them that their relation is of divine appointment, and that the Bible makes their fidelity as servants a test of the genuineness of their Christian character or profession.}\]

The 1862 report called preaching to the slaves "prudential" as well as a duty, and this same association resolved, as late as 1864, that "[r]eligion makes good servants," that "peace and quiet reign among them," and that they were "more humble and obedient to their masters." Religious instruction would make the slaves "better servants and true followers of the meek and lowly Jesus."\(^8\)

---

\(^7\)Minutes of the Third Annual Session of the Mount Zion Association held with Mount Carmel Church, Rusk County, Texas, September 1859 (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Power Press Print., 1859), 10; Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association of United Baptists, Held with the Baptist Church at Waco, McLennan County, Texas, September, 1857 (Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Book and Job Office, 1858), 7.

\(^8\)Minutes of the Tryon Baptist Association, Held with the New Salem Baptist Church, Polk County, Texas, in August, 1860 (Anderson, Texas: Office of the "Texas Baptist," 1860), 5; Minutes of the Tryon Association, Held with Mt. Ariel church, at Livingston, Polk County, Commenced on Friday, September 5th; Closed Monday, September 8th (Houston: Telegraph Book Office, 1862), 4; Minutes of the Tryon Association, Held with Laurel Hill Church, At Cold Springs, Polk County, Commenced on Saturday, Sept. 3d; Closed on Tuesday, Sept. 6th (1864), 4; Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Providence
The idea of Christianity as a means of social control was most readily made in an 1860 Union Association report. Michael Ross, who chaired the committee, wrote:

Slavery being of divine arrangement, it is important that the people should become acquainted with the means devised by the Sovereign of the Universe for their regulation and government, that thereby, and through the influence of the Holy Spirit, they may yield a hearty obedience to all of God's requirements; and thus their own happiness may be secured while with goodwill doing service unto God, they shall obey their masters in all things.

Furthermore,

with the smiles of God upon our efforts, the negroes would become contented in their stations, they would render faithful service to their masters; the relations of masters and servants would become harmonious and pleasant; the machinations of the devil, through his emissaries, the deluded mad fanatics of the North and elsewhere, would become abortive, and all their plans and schemes would be frustrated, and God's name would be glorified in the salvation of men. 9

Thus, the work of salvation had a utilitarian function as well as a spiritual one.

The belief that Christian principles made their servants peaceful and contented did not stop Baptists from keeping a wary eye on the slaves. Many committee reports

---

9Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with the Bellville Baptist Church, Austin County, Texas, Commencing August 17th; and Closing August 21st, A.D. 1860 (Anderson, Texas: Office of the "Texas Baptist," 1860), 14.
requested that white church leaders, particularly deacons, always be in attendance at slave meetings. One 1857 committee urged whites to attend black gatherings "in order to aid and give character to such meetings and to prevent any disorder that might otherwise occur." This Colorado Association statement was repeated almost verbatim by the Mt. Zion body the next year. Little River suggested two or more whites along with the preacher, presumably white. In August 1860 during a time of heightened sectional tensions, the Tryon Association suggested that owners take slaves to church or send them with overseers, reminding the slaves to return home "without delay" after services ended.  

There was no indication whether any churches actually allowed blacks to meet without supervision. Why they felt compelled to mention this in their reports is a matter of speculation. Perhaps different committees had heard of blacks gathering in some locations without the requisite whites in attendance. Had a specific church done so, howev-

---

10 Minutes of the Colorado Association, Held with Navidad Church, Fayette County, Texas, Friday before the Third Lord's Day in September, 1857 (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist, 1857), 14; Minutes of the Mount Zion Association, Held with the New Prospect Church, Rusk County, in November, 1858 (Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Book and Job Establishment, 1858), 8; Minutes of the Second Annual Session of the Little River Association, Held with Lexington Church, Burleson County, Texas, Commencing November 7th, and continuing until November 10th, 1856 (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Office, 1856), 4; Minutes, Tryon Baptist Association, 1860, p. 5.
er, it would have probably been specified by name. The more likely reason was extra precaution.

Such action came from increased national tensions. Baptists rarely made strong political statements in their associational records, but approaching civil war and the actual outbreak of hostilities prompted a harsher line. The tenth session of the Trinity River Association in 1858 saw preaching to the slaves as a way "to prostrate the designs of the evil-minded fanatics, who are seeking to undermine and destroy our long cherished and Scriptural institutions."

Sometimes the references were vague, such as the Trinity River report which advised dropping the matter of work among the slaves "on account of the political condition of the country." This statement, made in September 1861 noted that nothing of real value could be done anyway to help the slaves as long as the owners were disinterested.\(^\text{11}\)

At least four associations reacted strongly to "disturbances" or the "state of excitement" in the fall of 1860. This was probably in reference to a rash of fires in the North Texas region attributed to slaves and abolitionists. The Cherokee resolution, for example, blamed the difficulties on "northern fanatics, and wicked incendiaries," while

\(^{11}\text{Minutes, Trinity River Association, 1858, p. 7; Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association of the United Baptists, Held with the Sterling Church, Robertson County, Texas, September, 1861 (Anderson, Texas: John H. Wilson, Book and Job Printer, 1861), 10.}\)
Richland Association condemned "the introduction of abolition emissaries . . . clothed in sheep's clothing, but in fact Northern wolves." The most extensive attack came from Little River in 1863. The report stated that the sinful and foolish course which has been pursued for a number of years by the abolitionists of the North toward our slaves, and especially the state of things by which we are at present surrounded, make it necessary that great care should be observed by us in our conduct towards our colored population. The unwarranted and wicked interference of the Yankees of the North with the negroes of the South, under the false pretense of friendship and love for that race, has made it absolutely necessary for us, their owners, to be much more rigid in our discipline towards our slaves, and to deprive them of many privileges which before those interferences, we were extending to them, so that, in point of fact, the abolitionists of the North, in place of being friends of the negroes, are really their worst enemies.

From this fear Baptists attacked their Northern adversaries and increased white supervision over black meetings.

One way to reconcile the humanity of the slave with the necessity of slavery was through claiming divine support for the institution. Examples of arguments concerning divine

---

12Minutes of the Cherokee Baptist Association, Held with Knoxville Church, Cherokee County, Texas, October 13th, 1860 (Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist, 1860), 10; Minutes of the Third Annual Session of the Richland Baptist Association, Held with Bold Springs Church, McLennan County, Texas, In October, 1860 (Corsicana, Texas: Office of the Navarro Express, 1860), 4. See also Minutes, Tryon Association, 1860, p. 5 and Minutes, Colorado Association, 1860, p. 10.

13Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of Little River Baptist Association, Held with Dove Church, Caldwell, Burleson County, Texas, From Friday, September 19th, To Monday, September 21st, 1863, Inclusive (Houston: Galveston "News" Book and Job Printing Office, 1863), 5.
sanction for slaveholding can be found in associational minutes, and slavery was seen as biblically based. Preaching to the slaves allowed them to "emerge from nature's night into the marvelous liberty of the Gospel." The purpose of slavery, according to the Waco Association, was to civilize and Christianize the African so that "the leaven thus deposited may leaven the whole lump of the African people." In other words, black Baptists could be sent to Africa as missionaries. The Cherokee Association envisioned the North as interfering with God-ordained relationships:

> Slavery is an institution of Divine appointment. To perpetuate it, we as Christians are pledged. The strength of a mighty people is united with the avowed purpose of severing relations between master and servant, and giving the slave an unnatural position in society. Led on by fanaticism and infidelity they have forced upon us a war that will, in all probability, be of long and painful duration . . . .

14 Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Little River Association, Held with the Lexington Church, Lexington, Burleson County, Commencing on Friday before the Fourth Sabbath, August, 1858 (Anderson, Texas: "The Texas Baptist" Book and Job Establishment, 1858), 8; Minutes of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Annual Sessions of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with the Churches at Bosqueville, Antioch and Searsville, respectively, in 1862, 1863 and 1864 (Houston: Richardson and Owen, 1865), 12.

15 Minutes of the Cherokee Baptist Association, Held with Jamestown Church, Smith County, Texas, October 12th 1866 (Tyler, Texas: Tyler Reporter Job Office, 1861), 5.
Other accounts called slavery "of divine authority" or "fully sanctioned by the Bible."\textsuperscript{16}

The "divine origin" of slavery did not decrease the obligation toward the blacks; indeed, the need for spiritual nurturing was considered the more urgent because of it. Baptists used Abraham's servants as biblical models for slavery yet were cognizant of the obligations inherent in such a view: "... the pains Abraham was commanded to use toward his children, he was also to use toward his servants." The divine sanction of slavery required them to provide the slaves with "the means of grace."\textsuperscript{17} The Waco Association in 1863 blamed the war on Baptist failure to carry out the biblical mandate by exploiting slave labor:

We are not only under the same obligations to impart the Gospel to them as to other sinners, but we are under additional obligations from the benefit we derive from their labor. ... Neglect of our religious obligations to them, and prostitution of the productions of their labors to the promotion of pride and wickedness, has, in part, brought about the grievous war that is so severely scourging our land.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16}Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association of United Baptists held with Salem Church, Limestone County, Texas; September, 1859 (Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Power Press Print., 1860), 8; Minutes, Tryon Association, 1862, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{17}Minutes, Trinity River Association, 1859, p. 8; Minutes, Tryon Association, 1862, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{18}Minutes, Waco Baptist Association, 1863, p. 12.
Obviously, if the biblical version of slavery was to be promoted, then white Christians would have to conform their practice to that ideal.

In order to promote missionary activity, a few associations passed resolutions reminding owners of the important role slaves held in Southern society. As the Waco Association report of 1863 indicated, the benefit slaves gave to whites created special obligations. Another association asked its members to "consider the debt we owe to this portion of our people," suggesting that the churches voluntarily contribute to mission work among bondsmen. The Colorado Association noted that "we claim their services to administer to our temporal wants." A. W. Moore, in the 1859 San Marcos assembly, took the unusual tactic of reminding his fellow delegates that the five to six thousand slaves in the area were

mostly producers, and the proceeds of their labor directly or indirectly, pay a large proportion of the expenses of the Gospel amongst us; Brethren, ought we to muzzle the ox that treads out the corn— I know you will say no!  

Another report held that slaves were only "loaned to us," asking if Baptist Christians were not, then, "accountable to God for our neglect of their spiritual welfare?" The ac-

---


20 Minutes of the Convention and First Annual Session of the San Marcos Association held with Elm Grove Church, November, 1858 (Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist Power Press, Print., [1859]), 10.
count went on to suggest that the sins of blacks would be held against their white owners if the Gospel were not presented to them.21

Thus associational minutes consistently called for increased missions activity among the slaves, recognizing both a spiritual and practical reason for doing so. At the same time, the institution of slavery was defended as biblical, and caution was suggested in reaching the blacks. There is no way to tell from the minutes what the primary motive was for the slaveholders, but they certainly desired to keep their slaves and created rationales for doing so. They may have also been "concerned" about their wards as a way of easing their consciences.

Records from the state Baptist convention echoed the sentiments found in associational reports. The Baptist State Convention of Texas was organized in 1848, a larger body than the association, but including churches throughout the state. As in associations, congregations sent messengers, not delegates, and any opinions expressed by the whole body had no "official" standing in the local church, although they must have certainly had influence as they expressed attitudes about slavery by leaders from these local entities. Therefore, statements made about the institution

---

21Minutes, Colorado Association, 1860, p. 10.
of slavery at the state level can also be utilized as indicators of Baptist opinion in general.

The organizational meeting of the new convention included a committee report on the "religious condition of the black population." This report began with a comment about the attention blacks were drawing throughout the entire "civilized and enlightened nations of the earth." Furthermore, the United States was looking "with painful anxiety to the future, on account of this portion of our population."
The report called upon Baptists, as much as politicians and other groups, to focus on the needs of slaves. Like some of the associational assertions, the account placed slavery within God's divine arrangement to bring the gospel to Africa.

"Many good, pious, christian blacks have been sent back to that poor, benighted nation; and now we see lately springing into existence, a republic in Liberia. The missionary is there; the heralds of the bible, both white and black; have gone from our beloved republican missionary land, and raised the standard of the cross.

The process of conversion thus provided a "double incentive:" first for the slaves and then for Africa."

The convention authorized several missionaries to work among the slaves. Missionary Anderson Buffington wrote a lengthy report in 1856. His history, although questionable,

---

22Organization and Proceedings of the Baptist State Convention of Texas, Held with the Antioch Church, Anderson, Grimes County, September 8-12, 1848 (Huntsville, Texas: Banner Print, 1848), 11.
certainly reflected the feelings of many of his contemporaries:

When we remember that the original design of the importation of Africans to the Christian shores of America was purely to Christianize them, by removing them far away from the corruption of heathenism, and surrounding them with Christian influences, we feel that in laboring for their salvation we are co-laborers with God.\textsuperscript{23}

The slaves have been given the benefits of "advanced civilization," according to the 1860 report, after being "[t]aken from the barbaries of their native land."\textsuperscript{24}

The slaves' status implied not only the need for conversion, but also a general requirement that bondsmen be cared for by their Christian owners. The original report referred to "an awful responsibility" to "make provision for their spiritual wants," while a later statement commented that slaves were as "dependent as children and their energies must be directed by a superior race." Because God placed them under the care of whites, "their physical and moral training must necessarily be that which we bestow upon them." The 1860 report maintained that when "experiments" were made for the betterment of the black race by letting


\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Baptist State Convention of Texas, Session of 1860} (Anderson, Texas: The "Texas Baptist" Book and Job Power Press, 1860), 5.
them go free, they slipped back into their "barbarity" without the special guidance of "another race."\textsuperscript{25}

As in several of the associational reports, state committees defended the institution of slavery. For example, the initial meeting approved a statement describing slavery as "amply and fully sustained by the Bible."\textsuperscript{26} The 1862 account proffered that the Bible clearly reveals to us that God has ordained the relations of master and slave, and fixed the relative duties of each. Servants are commanded to render obedience to their masters, and masters are required to give to their servants that which is just and equal.

This statement went so far as to place the blame of the Civil War on the failure of Southern Christians to do their duty toward the slaves, and echoed the sentiments of the Waco Association quoted earlier:

\begin{quote}
We think it must be clear to every christian mind that God is angry with us as a people for some great and general sin or sins, and as it cannot be wrong to own slaves, may it not be that much of our present deep affliction is a manifestation of God's displeasure against for our neglect to furnish the slaves that are among us the means of Gospel grace, by which their souls may be saved?
\end{quote}

The present evils would not be removed until Baptists acted accordingly. The Baptist problem was how to maintain slav-

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 5-6; \textit{Organization}, Baptist State Convention, 1848, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{26}\textit{Organization}, Baptist State Convention, 1848, p. 11.
ery as a divinely sanctioned institution without violating the biblical framework.27

According to state meetings, the reward for sharing the Gospel was the blacks' ready acceptance. One annual report observed that "in Texas the Ethiopian is stretching forth his hand for the lamp of life." In another, the positive results of evangelizing among the slaves caused them "to appreciate the effort that is made in their behalf." Moreover, no people who had heard the word of God ever received it "with more joy than the African race in our borders." Whites would be held accountable, according to this record, if they neglected the blacks, who were "more susceptible to religious teaching, and desirous of learning the truth as it is in Jesus." Thus, whites had two obligations: a moral one because of God's entrusting the Africans to their care, and a practical one because of the slaves' openness to the message.28

Unlike associational records, no state meeting suggested that Christianity made the slaves better servants. Perhaps the most logical reason for this was the state body's more general interest in missionary activity. Local enti-

27Baptist State Convention. Session of 1862 (Houston: W. E. Cave, Publisher, 1863), n.p.

28Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention, of the State of Texas (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Power Press Print., 1859), 12; Organization, Baptist State Convention, 1848, p. 11; Baptist State Convention, 1860, p. 6.
ties, on the other hand, faced the problems caused by slave-ownership more directly. The emphasis at the state level was on the duty whites held toward the blacks. Most reports called for more work among the slaves, particularly in those areas where little was being done. The 1851 account noted that several men had "devoted the larger portion of their time to this work." Moreover, planters were generally supportive of the work to the extent that some would donate $50 to $100 to those willing to preach to their wards. Buffington even brought nine dollars to the 1853 session raised from the slaves in Anderson County for the purpose of African missions.29

State minutes either mentioned the ways in which slaves were given religious instruction or made proposals as to what should be done. Such proposals included separate services, segregated seating in mixed meetings, or special services on individual plantations sponsored by owners. The state report of 1851 commended Hill and Buffington and praised those few "pious owners" who read scripture to all their slaves and gave oral instruction for the children. Hosea Garrett, a slaveholder and chairman of the committee that issue the report, recommended that every pastor in the

29Minutes of the Fourth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Washington, Texas: The Texas Ranger Office, 1851), 14; Minutes of the Sixth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention, of Texas, Held at Huntsville, in June, 1853 (Galveston: The Civilian Office, 1853), n.p.
state set aside time on Sundays for preaching to the blacks. In addition, slaveholders were requested to read the Bible to them and teach the children biblical truths. Both of these suggestions were tempered with caution, however. Slaves should be asked to observe "order and strict propriety" in their meetings, and slave children should not be taught to read.\(^{30}\)

In spite of such minor cautions, state records never suggested withholding spiritual guidance. The first convention adopted a resolution calling for "reading and explaining, in a clear and simple manner, the pure word of God." Furthermore, Baptist should

```
make them familiar with the bible [sic], by reading and directing their minds to those simple, plain, and important parts which appertain to their soul's eternal welfare and future destiny . . . .\(^{31}\)
```

This should be done as a part of each Sunday's exercises. Another report advised that churches appoint committees to look after black members by reading the Bible, holding conferences, and giving other religious instruction.\(^{32}\)

Although state records, like the associations', avoided comment on political events in most cases, the mention of sectional tensions made its way into some reports. During

\(^{30}\text{Minutes, Baptist State Convention, 1851, p. 14.}\)

\(^{31}\text{Organization, Baptist State Convention, 1848, p. 11.}\)

\(^{32}\text{Ibid.; Minutes, Baptist State Convention, 1859, p. 11.}\)
the closing months of the Civil War, the Baptist State Convention noted that the "temporal and eternal interests of the colored population" were "complicated with the dreadful war in which our country is involved. . . ." Perhaps in anticipation of emancipation, the churches were admonished to teach the slaves their "temporal relations, and clear conception" of their "responsibilities before God." A year earlier, S. I. Caldwell had placed the future of slaves within the context of occupying Union troops:

if the war, which is now desolating our country continues a few years, a large proportion of the negroes will be destroyed--killed in the battlefield, die in camps, or die from exposure in following and accompanying the Federal army. The Federals wish to rob us of our laborers, to prevent, if possible, the supplying of our army with provisions. To do this, they rob us of our negroes, decoy them off with specious promises, then put them in their army, to build fortifications, use them as firemen on their boats, or put arms into their hands, and in battle place them in front. Found with our enemies, aiding them in their cruel war against us, they will be declared and treated as our enemies. Though originally innocent, yet, by a political strategy of the enemy, they became involved, and are in danger's way from both parties. There is but one safe position for them, and that is to stay at home, and if the Federals approach, to avoid them.  

---


34 Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention (Houston: The Telegraph Book and Job Establishment, 1864), 6.
This type of rhetoric was rare for Baptists at either the state or local meetings. When it did appear, however, the paramount concern, at least at the state level, remained personal salvation.

Finally, state records show that no black church ever appeared as a member of the Texas Baptist Convention, at least formally. The committees were aware of them, however. The 1857 report observed that there were some places where the "colored brethren have a separate organization, presided over by a white minister." In addition, several black churches existed with black ministers, although white committees were in attendance. Since few churches met weekly, whites and blacks were both preached to on those Sundays the pastor was in the community. According to this report, in those black congregations with black preachers, services were held every week. The account also noted that many white pastors were "devotedly attached to their colored congregations, and labor for and with them with equal, if not more pleasure than for the whites." 35

In general, state records affirmed those stands taken by individual associations in calling for more religious activity among the slaves. Unlike many local organizations, however, state Baptists acted on that call by hiring men to

---

35 Proceedings of the Baptist State Convention, Held with the Huntsville Baptist Church, Commencing on Saturday, October 24th, 1857 (Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Office, 1857), 16.
work specifically among the blacks. Still, accounts at both levels bemoaned the lack of activity in every area where slaves lived.

The last important source for information about Baptist attitudes at the state level was a newspaper, the Texas Baptist, published from 1855 to 1861. This periodical, supported by donations from individuals, churches, and associational and state bodies, acted in an "official" capacity by publishing minutes of the various Baptist organizations in the state. In addition, a large number of correspondents forwarded sporadic reports on the status of churches within the state. Although the editorial positions taken reflected only those views of the author(s), the fact that the publication was read throughout the state by Baptist leaders and laymen must have given some type of official standing to the paper.

The Texas Baptist rarely commented on political issues such as slavery, concentrating on theology and denominational successes. On a few occasions, however, news reports appeared from other sources, supporting the institution of slavery and emphasizing the inferior status of blacks. An example occurred in December 1855 when the paper summarized an editorial from the New York Observer attacking abolitionism as a new type of "Pharisaism." Emancipation would result in "the establishment of a despotism more severe than that which was abolished." Most important, according to the
original article, the two greatest biblical principles were "Order and Liberty." Two other articles, reprinted in the Texas Baptist, supported slavery. One from the New Hampshire Patriot listed the number of slave members found in Southern churches as a way of defending the virtue of slavery. The other, from the Liverpool Post, maintained that the "transfer to the white man was a blessing" and, although "bondage remained" it was not as bad as that "imposed on them in their native soil." When Africans were "released from the presence of civilization," they relapsed "into the barbarism" of the race. The use of both Northern and English justifications for slavery certainly gave credence to the Southern belief in the rightness of their system. By 1860, the number of articles appearing in defense of slavery had increased.

In addition to reports sanctioning slavery, the Texas Baptist printed simple news items involving black Texans, which seemed to give the paper's tacit approval to slavery. A report from Richmond, Texas noted that two slaves were being hanged for murdering their master, while another story recounted the killing of a black child by a mink. In a later issue, the Grimes County District Attorney informed

---

36 The Texas Baptist (26 December 1859), [p. 2]; The Texas Baptist (18 August 1859), [p. 4]; "An English View of the Negro," The Texas Baptist (28 January 1858), [p. 1].

37 See, for example, The Texas Baptist (5 April 1860), [p. 3].
the paper that Adam Gortier, a free black in Montgomery County, chose a master under an 1858 law because he was "tired of freedom." The same official reported that Jackson Smith of Grimes County was sentenced to three years in prison for killing a slave belonging to Mrs. Speed. In May 1858 a short notice was given of a man named Kuykendall who escaped from jail where he was being held for "negro stealing." All of these stories were simple accounts without editorial comment. On one occasion the Anderson paper commented that the sale of two blacks constituted "good prices for hard times."  

Advertisements in the Texas Baptist expressed an implied support for slavery. Although a number of merchants and professionals advertised in the paper, no notice of a slave sale appeared except the one listed above. A few personal advertisements did involve slaves, however. An 1855 notice stated that a horse had been recovered "from a runaway negro boy," and included a description of the animal. William Loggins placed an advertisement in January 1860 about a slave, Henry, who ran away, taking a mule with him. Both the mule and the man were described in detail. The owner offered a "liberal reward" for Henry’s capture and either delivery or retention in a local jail until he could

---

38 The Texas Baptist (25 February 1858), [p. 3]; (20 May 1858), [p. 2]; (21 April 1859), [p. 3]; (26 May 1859), [p. 2]; (8 April 1858), [p. 2].
be retrieved. This announcement drew a special notice on the editorial page informing readers of Loggins' reward and stating "[a]rrest them." The only other advertisements to mention slaves were one for Kellum's Springs where "children and servants" paid only half price and an official probate notice of two slaves willed to Martha A. Stone.\(^39\)

On two different occasions the paper itself advertised for slave hires. In January 1858 the Texas Baptist office was looking for a slave woman who would cook, wash, and iron, or a young girl about fifteen years of age who was capable of doing housework. About one year later, the newspaper asked for anyone having "an active negro boy about 15 years of age" for hire to apply "at an early day."\(^40\)

Overall, the Texas Baptist editors incorporated only a few secular stories or advertisements involving slavery into their publication. Like the associational and state bodies, the paper was concerned for the spiritual welfare of slaves. Both local and state minutes were printed, verbatim, in the paper, some including reports on the "Religious Condition of the Colored Population." In addition, letters to the editors recounted work among the slaves. Correspondence from Waco in 1855 noted that in a local revival thirty-four

\(^{39}\)The Texas Baptist (25 July 1855), [p. 4]; (19 January 1860), [p. 2]; (24 June 1858), [p. 3]; (1 August 1855), [p. 3].

\(^{40}\)The Texas Baptist (28 January 1858), [p. 2]; (3 February 1859), [p. 2].
members were received, most of them black. A similar ac-
count of revival at Danville stated that three or four
persons waiting for baptism were black. A nine-day "extend-
ed meeting" north of Bonham was significant in that "plant-
ers . . . gave all their servants a chance to attend, and
there was among them a very deep interest;" while at Tyler,
Brother Morrill spoke to the black members of the church and
"administered the sacrament amidst flowing tears and rejoic-
ing hearts." 41

The newspaper also included missionary accounts. W. M.
Pickett, for example, reported that he had preached eighteen
sermons, traveled two hundred miles, and baptized three
blacks. David Fisher, who was paid $200 by the Baptist
State Convention to supplement another $200 from the South-
ern Baptist Home Mission Board, baptized 184 whites and
nineteen blacks in the year preceding the 1855 report. That
same year, James Huckins, with an annual stipend of $100,
devote himself "to the church and colored congregation" of
Galveston. Anderson Buffington, on the other hand, serviced
the black population without pay and "exerted a salutary
influence among that interesting class of immortal be-
ings." 42

41 The Texas Baptist (6 June 1855), [p. 2]; (26 December
1855), [p. 2]; (19 August 1858), [p. 2]; (4 April 1861), [p.
2].

42 The Texas Baptist (26 August 1858), [p. 1]; (7 Novem-
ber 1855), [p. 2].
Several other letters to the Texas Baptist promoted work among the slaves. Writing about the poor physical condition of the Washington Church, Paul Pry suggested a new church building, with the old structure donated "to the poor African, by the sweat of whose brow you live." Pastor S. G. O'Bryan wrote a letter in response to another preacher, J. R. Briscoe, who had written looking for a better location close to schools for his children. O'Bryan wrote that there were

near Waco, many large negro plantations, and no small number of them owned by Baptists. Many of these farmers have expressed a wish to have regular preaching for their servants on the plantation. If you desired . . . I think a good [situation] might be procured. . . .

Furthermore, he would "rejoice to see the day when the many servants in this wide Brazos bottom shall have regular preaching." 43

In February 1858 the Texas Baptist began a series of articles on theological points to be taught to the slaves under the heading "Notes and Questions for the Oral Instruction of Colored People." The introductory section stated that it was the duty of whites to impart religious instruction to those "dependent upon" them. Furthermore, the practical, positive results of doing so were "beyond question." According to the column's author, noted only by the

43The Texas Baptist (28 March 1855), [p. 2]; (15 April 1858), [p. 3].
initials "J. T.," the most "honest, faithful and well-behaved servants" were those who had the "greatest amount of religious intelligence." Such blacks apparently understood most fully the ordained relations between the races and, therefore, were most satisfied in that role. The problem of black misunderstanding of the Gospel stemmed from joint services with whites where the sermons rarely conveyed "sufficiently definite ideals to the negro mind." Instead, slaves should be taught separately the plainest doctrines and practical precepts of the Bible . . . set forth in the most simple and animated language, and constantly illustrated by the daily scenes and incidents with which they are familiar, and by the parables, miracles and historical events that are found in the Bible.

As very few blacks could read, they should be taught orally with their minds being "stored with the Scriptures." The article went on to suggest the creation of black Sunday Schools in every church or within every plantation household where possible. Moreover, owners should be encouraged to require attendance by their wards. The author suggested a method of organization and a process of instruction warning the teachers to avoid "negroism in speech" because it detracted from the dignity of the instructor and was offensive to the slaves. Later editions of the paper provided specif-
ic topics to teach the slaves, beginning with the doctrine of God.\textsuperscript{44}

As national conditions deteriorated toward civil war, the state Baptist paper became more militant in its defense of slavery and in its corresponding attacks on Northerners. In the weeks before the 1860 presidential contest, the number of stories dealing with national tensions increased. On 25 October an article under the heading "Signs of the Times," gave a lengthy news summary of increased anti-southern sentiment in the North. That same issue included an editorial drawing information from several sources to the effect that slavery was not only divinely arranged but a material and physical boon to the blacks.\textsuperscript{45}

Statewide tensions in the fall of 1860, referenced in several associational minutes, were also mentioned in the Texas Baptist. Using the strongest language of any Baptist organ, the editor wrote concerning abolitionists:

These are the friends of humanity who can turn a starving free negro, or even a poor white person away from their doors, and leave them to perish with hunger and cold . . . while they give their money to send among us to burn our houses and incite our negroes, who are well fed and clothed, to resist our lawful authority, and to murder the best and only true friends the negro had upon earth. For it is true in letter and spirit, that the faithful slaver [sic] owner is the only true

\textsuperscript{44}The Texas Baptist (4 February 1858), [p. 2]; (11 February 1858), [p. 1].

\textsuperscript{45}The Texas Baptist (25 October 1860), [p. 1-2].
friend to the negro. The Abolitionist is really the enemy and murderer of both black and white.

He continued:

... We are now forced to regard Abolitionists as our deadly enemies. ... To such men we can no longer keep open the doors of Southern hospitality, and feed and nourish the serpent that would strike his deadly fangs to our hearts; ... 

Then, expressing his own personal fears and concerns, the editor gave an uncharacteristic response, rarely seen among Baptists:

It may be said that it is unchristian-like to hang a fellow being, and religious editors should oppose it. To this we reply: 'the powers that are ordained of God for the punishment of evil doers;' and it is seen that no other means will stop these men from stealing and murdering, we are under the necessity of hanging them to save our own lives and property. Let them stay on free soil if they wish to live and we will not obtrude our doctrine upon them. ... They [Southerners] may be led to give up their property when they are convinced that it is wrong to hold it; but [sic] to wrest it from them by force would be quite an expensive undertaking. It would cost more blood and treasure than they will have made when the strife shall be ended.46

Such vitriolic statements in defense of property were a far cry from the primacy of the gospel message.

The attack on Northern abolitionists continued in a lengthy editorial dated 3 January 1861. The Texas Baptist defended the slave's condition "because by the God of his being he is now only fitted to be his servant, and the government should place him where he naturally and morally belongs." Furthermore, "there is not one word of intimation

46The Texas Baptist (13 September 1860), [p. 2].
in the Bible that a slaveholder is at all inferior to him who strains at a gnat and swallows a camel." Northerners were to be considered unsound in their morals, anti-republican in their politics, anti-Scriptural in their religion, unjust in their legislation, and faithless in their constitutional pledges of State equality and mutual respect.47

The author, probably G. W. Baines (the editorial was signed simply "B"), called on fellow Southerners to speak out against "disgraceful submission." He then proceeded to place the slaves in their "proper position:"

If the intellectual and moral condition of a race of men fit them only for despotic government, they will be slaves to their superiors wherever they may live, and to declare that they are equal in rights to the men who are fitted for a free republican, or a democratic government, is to declare what is positively absurd. They have not the capacity to understand or appreciate the rights, duties and responsibilities of a free citizen of a republican government, and therefore it is impossible that that morality can be sound which requires all human governments to allow men rights which they have no adequate conceptions of or capacities to exercise.

Finally, echoing themes appearing in state records, he defended the institution:

We are sure that God has given to us the right to buy and own slaves as a perpetual inheritance, and to transmit them to our children. We know that our Lord and the apostles recognized the institution of slavery as lawful, and made provisions both for masters and slaves in the first churches, and for these reasons we are determined not to be controlled by an ungodly and unchristian party of misguided fanatics in this matter. We are responsible to God and our fellow citizens

47The Texas Baptist (3 January 1861), [p. 2].
first, and until they condemn us, or, rather, while God and our own people justify us, we shall not fear those who condemn us without a cause.

The editorial ended by making an emotional appeal in recalling the persecutions of early Baptist leaders such as Roger Williams who suffered for their beliefs, particularly when church and state were combined. Thus, the battle over slavery was a religious one with the evil religionists of the free states attempting to oppress the good Christians of the South.48

After the outbreak of civil war, the paper continued to defend Southern perspective by publishing notices of "mass meetings" called to discuss secession, and printing several letters on the subject. Horace Clark, head of the Baylor Female Institute, wrote a lengthy article discussing the constitutionality of secession.49 James E. Harrison, on the other hand, chose a more emotional approach in criticizing Northern Baptists who,

under the sanctity of religion, have seduced politicians. They have caused to be placed upon the statute books of many of the Northern States, laws, clearly, and positively violative of the most sacred provisions of the federal compact. They encouraged the seduction and stealing of our property, "spirit- [ing] [them] away by means of "underground rail roads"

---

48 Ibid.

49 The Texas Baptist (22 November 1860), [p. 1]; (31 January 1861), [p. 1].
The issue according to Harrison was church and state separation. If the North won on this "moral point," he wondered what would keep them from regulating other moral decisions as well. He ended with a call to arms:

Ye men of the South--ye ministers of the South--ye professing Christians of the South--who hold your accountability to God, in religious matters--wake up and look around you--"To your tents, O Israel." I hope the Southern people will rise in the dignity, majesty, and power of their sovereignty, and assert their rights, equality, and freedom, even to the disruption of a government that has failed to answer the purposes for which it was created--the protection of life, liberty, and property.

He concluded that "the South only hopes to save the South, and our God ordained institutions."50

Summary

The moral contradiction created by slavery is seen in the quasi-official reports written and approved by associational and state meetings. These entities called for increased religious activity among the blacks as a God-given responsibility. The fact that slaves were "children of God" was never doubted in any of these accounts. Although the nature of their concern had paternalistic overtones, blacks were allowed to meet separately (in many cases this was recommended) and in a few cases had their own churches.

On the other hand, the institution of slavery was recognized as divine, and Baptists were cautioned to keep

50The Texas Baptist (7 February 1861), [p. 1].
watch over the blacks. Organizations, both state and local, promoted inequality in their admonitions to the churches to separate the races and to involve themselves in the affairs of their black wards. Moreover, as sectional conflict heightened, Baptists sometimes resorted to attacking rivals in the North.

Although the Texas Baptist had the least "official" standing in representing Baptist opinion, it may have had the most influence. Certainly, the tone taken by the editor(s) of the newspaper was stronger and more forceful than that appearing in minutes. Perhaps the newspaper was a vehicle for expressing opinions that Baptists felt could not be or should not be offered in their religious settings. If so, then the idea of a moral tension or contradiction is evidenced in the use of a non-affiliated medium as a vehicle for revealing the actual feelings held by Baptists on the question of slavery. Certainly the editor felt justified in taking and maintaining a much stronger tone than found in institutional pronouncements.

None of the reports by Baptist bodies, nor any of the statements appearing in the minutes or the state newspaper, show the actual extent of interaction between white and black Baptists. For that, local church records must be analyzed.
CHAPTER III

THE CHURCHES

The relationship of slaves and masters within Baptist congregations indicated the dilemma of Christian slaveownership. The traditional viewpoint, expressed in many early secondary works, and in some later ones as well, was of pious slaves occupying special seating within largely white congregations. Many accounts referred to blacks and whites having equal status within the churches and expressed the concern most whites felt for their wards. In some cases, such a perspective was utilized as a social commentary on the advantages of slavery over freedom. The paternalistic nature of black-white interaction was most evident in these accounts as owners and others set out to share the Gospel with the slaves by providing opportunities, with white supervision, for Christian and fellowship.¹

In more recent years, scholarship has focused on the importance of the black "subchurch" as an opportunity for self-expression within the slave community. This view

¹"A Time for Greatness," First Baptist Church, Marshall, Texas, booklet, no date, p. 4, Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.
portrays the system as largely paternalistic while allowing for a measure of black freedom. In actuality, Baptist polity, which included an intense individualism manifested in the expression "priesthood of the believer" and enhanced by a congregational format, provided both an opportunity for slaves and a problem for slaveholders.

The master class's acceptance of slaves as children of God cannot be doubted, but the treatment of blacks within the church can be used as an indicator of how far that idea carried in actual practice. The motives of slaveholders in "Christianizing" their bondsmen cannot always be determined, and it was clear, in some cases, that the major purpose was to create an attitude of docility. Nevertheless, a sincere desire to reach all "creatures" for Christ, including blacks, was manifest in the actions within individual congregations. Many secondary works, and some primary accounts as well, mentioned slaves meeting with white brethren, usually in separate seating along the sides, at the rear, or in the balcony.²

Church minutes were never obvious on where blacks sat. No church minutes ever "required" blacks to sit at the rear or in special places, causing at least one author to con-

clude that segregation among early Baptists was a matter of choice:

At this time there were no separate black Baptist churches in Texas. Church congregations were small with few numbering over thirty members. When they met for worship, black evidently sat with blacks and white sat with whites so that they could socialize more easily. There was no required segregation. Since preachers were hard to obtain, slaves and masters worshiped at the same time, in the same building, listening to the same minister.3

The author went on to state that formal segregation came only after these early congregations outgrew their cramped quarters. The most natural split was along slave-free lines.

John Lee Eighmy reached a different conclusion. He argued that "the mere presence of slaves in white congregations" could "easily obscure the racial distinctions carefully observed within the churches." He continued:

The Baptists did not allow their faith to effect a social brotherhood in any practical sense. On the contrary, their conduct reflects the white man's determination to keep the races separate in social life. Negro members never enjoyed an equal voice in church affairs, and when biracial congregations assembled, the slaves normally sat in a segregated section.4

R. A. Carter concluded that the practice of allowing blacks


4Eighmy, 670.
to attend white services was found only on "those planta-
tions owned by the more humane masters."5

Although the concept of "equality in Christ" was funda-
mental to Baptist faith, and elements of that equality could
be seen in black-white relations within the churches, there
remained a separation between the two races. When whites
and blacks did worship together, it was always within fixed
limits, and the separation widened with the passing of time:

Later they [blacks] were allowed another hour of
worship, with large bounds and privileges. Still
later they were provided with all the privileges
of the Baptist meeting house under the restrictions
of the white churches to which they belonged. The
master class gradually reached the position of
separating the races in worship, but for the secur-
ity of slavery they deemed it wise to hold the Ne-
groes as members of the white churches.6

Thus, the white congregation continued to control black
participation.

Existing minutes among Texas Baptist churches corrobo-
rate these statements found in secondary literature. In the
beginning, blacks and whites attended together, and slaves
were accepted into membership in the same ways available to
whites. Many joined by letter. This practice of accepting
a member from another church of like baptism and faith was
common for blacks and whites. Pastor Hosea Garrett and his
wife Polly, for example, joined the Chappell Hill congruga-

5R. A. Carter, "What the Negro Church Has Done,"
Journal of Negro History XI(January, 1926), 1.

6Brooks, 13.
tion by letter from Independence Church, along with a servant named Jeff. Henry Davis, a black, was accepted into the First Church of Houston by letter from a Baptist church in Rogersville, Alabama.\(^7\)

In several instances, blacks presented letters to become charter members of fledgling congregations. Of the eight charter members at First Church, Victoria, in 1852, one was Martha, a slave. A charter member at First Baptist Church, Ellis, was a slave, as were four of nineteen charter members in Houston. One of the oldest Baptist churches, chartered in 1838, was the Old North near Nacogdoches. Of its nine charter members, two were slaves. The Baptist Church at Wharton seemed to come into being with ninety-eight slave members and only twenty-four whites.\(^8\)

As in the case of whites, blacks were sometimes admitted by "statement" when a letter was not available. In

\(^7\)Minutes, Chappell Hill Baptist Church, Washington County, 1842-1850; Minutes, First Baptist Church, Houston, Harris County. Unless otherwise noted, church records are from the Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas. When general information is drawn from these records as a whole, the citation will read simply "Minutes." Specific citations will include the church and date of reference when appropriate.

\(^8\)"100th Anniversary--First Baptist Church, Victoria, Texas, 1852-1952," booklet, p. 7, Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas; Minutes, First, Houston (15 February 1852); The Nacogdoches County Genealogical Society, Nacogdoches County Families (Dallas: Curtis Media Corporation, 1985), 48; Annie Lee Williams, A History of Wharton County, 1846-1961 (Austin, Texas: Von Bockeckmann-Jones Company, 1964), 22.
Houston, Polly was accepted without letter when Brother Chilton "who knew her to be a regular member of the Church" testified that "he had baptized her." Fanny became a member at Brenham when "circumstances" hindered her from obtaining a letter. Similarly, Thomas joined the Pilgrim Church at Elkart in June 1840 on a recommendation from his master because his "letter" had been left behind in Tennessee when he moved; and in Port Lavaca a slave was restored to fellowship in a Baptist church after a fifteen-year period during which she was unable to attend. She was received with permission of her master. Richard, a slave in Navarro County, was taken under the "watch care" of the Society Hill congregation until a letter could be obtained from his previous church. In all cases, if slaves joined Baptist churches by letter, their dismission in the same manner was possible. The church records were replete with examples of slaves asking for, and receiving, letters of dismission.9

Most black members entered Baptist churches through "experience" and baptism. This method was comparable to white members. The first person baptized into the Green-ville Church was a slave belonging to Mrs. Eggbert Stevens. After Charles "joined by experience" the entire congregation

9Minutes, First, Houston; Minutes, Brenham Baptist Church, Washington County (June, 1843); "The Records of An Early Baptist Church," Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association XI(October, 1907): 116; Minutes, First Baptist Church, Port Lavaca, Calhoun County (22 May 1858); Minutes, Society Hill Church, Navarro County (9 July 1854).
attended his baptism and that of another slave, Dolly. Most accounts followed a formula similar to that of Davie Fulkison:

a colored slave living with Mr. R. J. Crow, also presented himself, and, after having made a profession of his faith, it was moved and carried that he be received into full fellowship after having been baptized.\textsuperscript{10}

The three methods of church membership--baptism, letter, and statement--were the same used by white petitioners. In addition, many accounts referred to blacks being extended the "right hand of fellowship" upon joining and of being granted "full fellowship" in the church.

The acceptance of blacks into white churches was contingent upon permission from their owner. The churches at Houston and Anna both received slaves by "recommendation" while "two Black Sisters" were admitted to the Redland congregation near Nacogdoches with a "voucher by Brother John Brewer." One record noted that "Ned Mosely held a permit from Emma B. Harrison dated April 3, 1860." At Hemphill, a slave was refused membership in August 1864 for lack of owner's consent.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10}\textit{Historia, First Baptist Church, Greenville, Texas, n.p.; Minutes, Prairie Lea, Trinity and Caldwell Counties, Book I (30 November 1850); Minutes, First, Port Lavaca (November, 1855).}

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Minutes, Anna Baptist Church, Collin County (October 1861); Minutes, First, Houston (5 June 1841); Minutes, Redland Baptist Church, Nacogdoches County (September, 1858); Minutes, Port Lavaca (8 April 1860); Minutes 1858-1890, First Baptist Church, Hemphill, Texas, transcribed and
Although the examples provided are anecdotal, they are representative of actions taken in all Texas Baptist churches. Membership rolls attested to the number of slaves among the congregants. Prior to 1865, 11.8 percent of Baptists were black. Of these only three were free blacks. The figures are misleading, however, as they only reflect the total over the life of the church. In many instances, the number of black members remained fairly stable while that of whites fluctuated over time. A more precise measurement of slave membership can be culled from associational statistical reports released annually. In 1851, for example, the Colorado Association listed seven of eleven churches having "colored" members. Blacks made up 33.6 percent of the total members reported that year. The Macedonia, Cuero, and Bethany congregations had less than 12 percent slaves while Gonzales, Austin, and Bastrop reported 31, 40, and 50 percent, respectively. Wharton registered 94 blacks (80 percent) out of a total congregation of 118. By 1858, the same association had twenty of forty-six congregations reporting blacks. Nine of these had over 30 percent slave membership. Wharton had increased its black members by only four, but a decrease in whites resulted in a 91 percent black fellowship. Twenty-three of twenty-eight members at Texana were black (82.1 percent) and sixty-four of one hundred at Old

Caney (64 percent). The first session of the Austin Baptist Association listed only two (of 14) congregations with blacks. However, nearly sixty percent of the Austin church itself was black. Table 1 indicates the number of slaves members in select churches.¹²

Some generalizations can be made about these data by comparing the change over time for those congregations who reported in the same year. For example, three churches listed black members in both 1858 and 1864. The percentage of slave members increased only slightly from 32.2 to 34.0 percent. In terms of absolute growth, however, the black numbers (48.8 percent) were considerably higher than for the whites (37.6 percent). For the five churches reporting in 1856 and 1860, a 29.8 percent decrease in slave membership occurred, most of the decline attributable to the Wharton congregation. At the same time, the white members increased nearly fifty percent (46.6 percent).¹³

None of these figures gives an accurate representation of how many slaves actually attended services. The fact that many joined during "extended meetings" (revivals) or baptismal services indicated general attendance. Even so, slave membership itself was extensive, totaling thirty percent or more from the reported records. Actual figures

¹²Minutes, Colorado and Austin Associations.

¹³Minutes.
Table 1

Black Members of Select Baptist Churches in Texas Before 1865 (Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>1858</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1862</th>
<th>1864</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Colorado/Austin)</td>
<td>(51.4)</td>
<td>(64.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(58.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Austin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(24.4)</td>
<td>(41.0)</td>
<td>(41.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dove</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Little River)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(13.8)</td>
<td>(15.3)</td>
<td>(15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaGrange</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Colorado)</td>
<td>(33.3)</td>
<td>(35.8)</td>
<td>(22.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Little River)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(26.1)</td>
<td>(14.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasant Grove</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Colorado)</td>
<td>(18.5)</td>
<td>(16.7)</td>
<td>(13.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Little River)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(23.9)</td>
<td>(23.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Creek</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Colorado)</td>
<td>(19.2)</td>
<td>(13.3)</td>
<td>(17.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Colorado)</td>
<td>(22.7)</td>
<td>(23.8)</td>
<td>(20.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Colorado)</td>
<td>(90.7)</td>
<td>(90.7)</td>
<td>(63.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Associational Minutes. Churches for this table were selected if the figures could be given for three separate reports at least two years apart.

May have been higher given the limitations of these records. Not all congregations reported every year, and those that did frequently failed to separate black and white numbers.
In addition, many associations did not report slave members at all.

Although slaves were welcomed into "full fellowship," it was not always clear what this meant. As noted earlier, slaves were required to have permission of their owners before they could join, and then sat in specially designated areas. Moreover, black Baptists were almost always listed or mentioned by first name only. The owner's last name was sometimes added parenthetically, and most minutes indicated slave/master relationships. The phrases "belonging to," "servant of," or "property of," followed by the owner's name, were common. Slave members were referred to as "property," "servant," "colored," "girl," "boy," or sometimes a combination of these. In some church membership rolls, names of blacks and whites were interspersed, approximating the period in which they joined. Other minutes listed blacks separately. Overall, there seemed to be no standard practice; preferences of the individual congregation or, in most cases, the church clerk, prevailed.¹⁴

The amount of blacks' actual sharing in congregational business is difficult to ascertain. Most records did not explicitly limit black participation. Many congregations, at their inception, established "Rules of Decorum." A typical set of rules would read that "all questions shall be

¹⁴Minutes.
decided by the vote of a majority except in the reception of members when it shall in all cases be unanimous." The same sentiments phrased differently might be "a majority shall rule in all cases except in matters touching fellowship" or in "all motions, or questions put to the church, each member is entitled to a vote." In none of these instances, nor in most of the others, was any distinction made between black and white members. This was true as well in rules for speaking. Did this mean, as the following author concluded, that blacks had full rights within the churches?

Although the ecclesiastical ancestors of today's Baptists 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.

If blacks were given a measure of equality, one would expect to find them speaking regularly at church conferences. This did not occur unless a black was asked to speak or unless the conference was a special one for blacks only. Furthermore, some church rules did specify white participation only.

A number of congregations required attendance of members, but only "white free male" members could be disci-

15Minutes, New Providence Church, Wallis, Austin County; Minutes, Plum Grove Baptist Church, Fayette County, 1840-1887; Minutes, New Hope Baptist Church, Cleburne, Johnson County, 1860-1879.

16Cain, 3.
plined for non-attendance, such as in the Jasper church. Female members were required to attend when possible, and nothing was said of the black members. In itself this situation may reflect the difficulty of regular black attendance rather than any attempt to treat slaves as "lesser" members. At Rock Creek, in Johnson County, however, a church meeting could be called "at any . . . time when a majority of the White male members may think necessary for the transaction of special business," indicating the special place white men held in the church.

The most detailed limits on blacks can be found in minutes of the Prairie Lea church. Not only were "all the white male members" expected at conference, but called meetings required a one-day notice to "each and every white male member." Any change in the rules took a two-thirds majority of the "whole white membership." In addition, all business was to be conducted by a voice vote of white members in attendance. The one exception to this rule was in receiving and excluding members which required a unanimous vote. One would assume from this careful wording that blacks could and did participate in disciplinary decisions.

---

17 Minutes, First Baptist Church, Waco, McLennan County; Minutes, Rock Creek Baptist Church, Johnson County, 1863-1874; W. C. Blake, compiler, A History of First Baptist Church of Jasper, Texas, 1835 (typed manuscript), Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.
and in routine acceptance of new members. Even this had its limits, however:

The testimony of colored persons never shall be taken or received in this Church in any cases, or under any circumstances whatsoever against white members; but their testimony shall be competent one against another.\textsuperscript{18}

The fact that some churches explicitly restricted black participation and the lack of evidence that slaves actually had a hand in routine church conferences indicated a lack of "full fellowship."

Black members did exercise a measure of decision making in the area of discipline. Antebellum churches had many requirements for their members including regular attendance, marital fidelity, and the absence of dancing, swearing, fighting, or other such "questionable" activities. When members were "accused" of such by other members, a committee was appointed to investigate and visit personally with the accused. If the person refused cooperation or if the accusation proved correct, disciplinary action was taken. Most members could forestall such action by exhibiting contriteness and a sincere desire to repent.

High moral standards were expected for black members as well as for whites. During a service in Red River County, a slave named Julia came forward, admitting she had danced during the Christmas holidays. In her case, the church

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Minutes, Prairie Lea, Book I.}
granted forgiveness, and she remained a member. Similarly, a black man named Ben was charged with "profane swearing and trading on the Sabbath." He admitted the charges but remained in the church by exhibiting his sincere sorrow. In this case, the meeting was among black congregants only and they were the ones who voted to forgive. In another church, a three-month investigation of a black accused of "retailing spirituous liquors on the Sabbath" and "Drunkenness" turned up no evidence. J. D. Allcorn's initial report exonerating the slave was not accepted by the church, and three names were added to the list of investigators. They too could not sustain the charges, and the cases was dismissed. There were other cases of slave "acquittals," as well.  

For both white and black members expulsion was a real possibility. In February 1855, Hardy, a member at Prairie Lea, was found guilty of "dancing and other unchristian conduct." When he showed no signs of repentance, he was expelled. Without detail, the Lonesome Dove congregation took up the case of Benjamin Baker, a white man, and Sister Mariah, a slave, at the same conference. Committees were appointed to visit with each and report the following month. The case against the black woman was dropped at the next meeting while that against the white man was postponed yet

---

19Minutes, Concord Baptist Church, Red River County (January, 1859); Minutes, Prairie Lea, Book I (December, 1855); Minutes, Brenham.
another month. He was eventually expelled. In September 1858 "charges of mass unchristian conduct" were given against three slaves. They were all expelled while the church claimed to be "no longer Responsible [sic] for their conduct." Other slaves were excluded for disorderly conduct, lack of attendance, improper conduct, adultery, profane language, unchristian conduct, stealing, and disorderly walk.20

The disciplining of black members was similar to that of whites and not more frequent. Elizabeth Turner, in assessing the minutes of First Baptist Church, Galveston, counted twenty-seven expulsions between 1840 and 1861, inclusive. Of these, fourteen were white and thirteen black. The breakdown between men and women was also fairly even: eight white men, six white women, five black men, and eight black women were disfellowshipped. Those excluded for non-attendance were all white; those excluded for adultery—one man and two women—were all black. One black and two

20Minutes, Prairie Lea, Book I (February, 1855); Minutes, Lonesome Dove (October-December, 1852); Minutes, Brenham; Minutes, Concord, Red River (June, 1864); Minutes, First, Houston, p. 15; Minutes, First Baptist Church, Gonzales, Gonzales County, 1847-1868 (March, 1850); Deming, Bridge Cemetery 1850; Hawley Cemetery 1898; Tres Palacios Baptist Church 1852, 2nd ed., compiled by Hawley Cemetery Association (Matagorda County, 1977), 34; History, First Baptist Church, Rockwall, Rockwall County, Texas (manuscript), Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.
whites were dismissed for "intemperance." The fact that church minutes referred to slave husbands and wives, and severely chastised or expelled them for adultery or having children out of wedlock, indicated the "equality" of expectations for black congregants.

At least two examples could be found of a disciplinary action only applicable to slaves. One was that of Frank, in Brenham, who was found guilty of "theft and rebellion towards his master." In the other, charges were brought against "Bro. Wyatt" for an "attempt to resent correction" from his overseer. He was retained, however, upon asking forgiveness. In another instance, "coloured Brother Jake" was excluded "for stealing a Boat and running to the Enemy" in 1864, but the Anna church applied the same action to white men for swearing allegiance to their government and then deserting to the enemy.

Several cases of discipline against whites could be connected directly to slaves. A lengthy case ensued at First Church, Houston, involving Maria P. Scott, who was charged with "falsehood in representing to bro. Jessee P.

---


22Minutes, Brenham (July 1859); Deming, 33; Minutes, Anna (December 1863); Minutes, Chappell Hill Baptist Church, volume I, 1842-1930 (14 June 1857).
Bowles that Sister Fuller did not have her negro chastised for stealing" her money and that said Sister "gave herself little or no trouble about the matter," Scott was also accused of denying she had made such a statement. At the Old North Church, near Nacogdoches, a "called fellowship" had the following notation: "brother Wm. Sparks is reconciled with black brother Norman." This same congregation considered a case involving Andrew Caddell for about six months beginning in September 1852. He was accused by another white member of "treating a negro man by Chastiseing [sic] in an inhuman manner." At the same conference a black man, Jack, was accused of making his way "with a gun belonging to Brother Anthony Caddell." There was no indication in the minutes of the connection between these two cases. Jack's cases was dismissed, however, while Caddell was excluded after arbitration from another church.23 The most serious charges were made against William Lucas, pastor of Liberty Baptist Church. In December 1861 he was excluded for adultery and asked to give up his credentials. At the next conference in January, however, this action was reconsidered and a committee was appointed to investigate Lucas as well as the man who made the charges. In a written affidavit, the accuser stated:

---

I have seen Wm. Lucas repeatedly in situations that would have blasted the reputation of a worldling, for virtue, if he had any. In fact so plain and frequent were his attentions to my negro Girl, That I from having the most unbounded confidence in him lost it. I have found them alone together. I have seen him run half bent from my field through the bushes, when I was approaching, and when I laxed [sic] him with it, he acknowledged that he had sought a criminal communion with her, repeatedly and to secure his object he had told her to take Alum and it would prevent her having children. He acknowledged the same in presence of J. S. Benson and his own wife. He also acknowledged to me that he had kept up a criminal connexion with a woman in Arkansas. [H]e told me that he had said too much to a negro woman belonging to Greenwood. The above are the main points that I have seen and heard from him. I have not given all the particulars and details because I thought it unnecessary.

Lucas remained excluded but the charge was changed from adultery to "unbecoming and unchaste conversation with Negro women."24

In Galveston, pastor James Huckins was accused of beating a slave. A letter from member George Fellows to "Brother Sawyer" stated that he (Fellows) could not listen to preaching, with profit where the remembrance of sound of the sighs and groans of the slave of Mr. Huckins will wring in my ears . . . from the hands of her master, a minister of the gospel . . . .25

When Huckins resigned in 1847 he made reference to the "causes" without naming them, but a letter addressed to him

24Minutes, Liberty Baptist Church, Hookerville, Burleson County, 1857-1889 (15 December 1861-18 January 1862).

by the congregation mentioned some members' dissatisfaction with him, particularly over the issue of conversion of children. No mention was made of the problem with his slave. Huckins' slave ownership may have been partly responsible for creation of the Southern Baptist Convention as Baptists in the North refused to condone such a practice by missionaries.²⁶

No real differences existed, then, in the types of action taken by churches in disciplining black and white members. In most cases, African-Americans seemed to be allowed to vote and, in a number of instances, the action against blacks was taken by slave members only, meeting in separate conference.

The fact that black members often met separately to conduct such business was an indication of the "enforced" segregation inherent in Baptist institutions in antebellum Texas, but it was also indicative of the willingness of white Baptists to provide some avenue of self-expression for blacks, at least in matters of conscience. John Eighmy, for instance, suggested that separation was an extension of the original segregation within the services but that this had importance in establishing black self-esteem. Instead of a negative, black worship services acted "as a creative social

²⁶Minutes, First Baptist Church, Galveston, Galveston County, microfilm from Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; J. B. Link, ed., Texas Historical and Biographical Magazine, vol. I (Austin, Texas: J. B. Link, 1892), 185.
force of far-reaching significance for the progress of the Negro." 27

Initially, blacks met with whites in almost all congregations. Although the church records are rarely explicit in authorizing joint sessions, the fact that slaves came forward and requested membership during regular services and conferences indicated their attendance. For those congregations where slaves remained a small minority, unified services usually continued, even after the Civil War. For churches with larger black membership, records show that baptisms were occasionally held in common. In March 1848 the Galveston Church voted to hold a communion service in the afternoon and invite the "coloured members."

Whereupon it was agreed that the coloured members occupy the back pews;--the male members on the right and females on the left.

The next year, Galveston minutes indicated a prayer meeting with the "coloured Church being present." 28 As slave membership grew, distinct worship practices were initiated and maintained.

Congregations varied in their approach to separate black meetings, although some standardization was apparent. In many churches, black members met at a different hour on

---


28Minutes, Society Hill; Minutes, First Church, Houston, 72; Minutes, Liberty, Hookerville (October 1858); Minutes, First Church, Galveston (28 March 1848, 31 May 1849).
the same day as the white congregation. Since many churches met only once or twice a month in order to accommodate a minister who had several congregations, the minister preached to the slaves as well as the whites. The Prairie Lea congregation formally voted to extend "Church privileges to the blacks," but without an indication of the time. In Galveston, the first black members joined in February 1840 with no mention of distinct services for six years. Black Jack Church in Fayette County began segregated meetings in 1860, and at Brenham the minute indicated a continuation of joint services along with separate ones.29

The most popular time for slave services was at 3:00 p.m. on Sunday ("sabbath"). This was true at Black Jack, Anderson, Brenham, and Gonzales and was common enough that the Colorado Baptist Association recommended to churches a 3:00 time as "the best plan we could adopt." The Ebenezer Church in Walker County, however, had early Sunday morning services for the slaves.30

---

29Minutes, Prairie Lea, Book I (April 1854); Minutes, First Church, Galveston; Minutes, Black Jack, p. 31; Minutes, Brenham.

30Minutes, Black Jack, Anderson, Brenham, and Gonzales; Minutes of the Seventh Annual Session of the Colorado Baptist Association Held with the Church at Seguin, Guadalupe County, Texas, September 9, 10, and 12, 1853 (Seguin, Texas: The Texan Mercury, 1853), 9; Walker County Genealogical Society, Walker County, Texas: A History (Dallas: Curtis Media Corporation, 1986), 125.
When African-American members met separately, it was always under strict white supervision. Several congregations, including Gonzales, Port Lavaca, and Houston, created committees to supervise black services. Other minutes simply recorded the attendance of certain whites at black gatherings. The Brenham Church voted in May 1861 to appoint five men to attend slave services "in compliance with the State Law." In Houston, a committee was appointed every two months to "attend the meetings of the coloured members and assist in the business of their conferences." One of the whites was to act as clerk. The minutes also noted that black proceedings were to remain separate from the rest of the congregation.31

Personal accounts by former slaves also confirm the existence of separate black services. Thomas Johns, for example, noted that only whites had a formal congregation, but slaves were allowed to meet later on the same day. If slaves wanted to go to the regular white service, they were required to sit in the back. Amy Else's owner, a Baptist preacher, would hold services for the whites and then return to lead his slaves to the church for their own meeting. According to one ex-slave, blacks were allowed to have their own services "'iffen dey have de manager of 'ligion to

31Minutes, First Church, Houston, pp. 50, 78, 90; Minutes, First Church, Gonzales (March 1857-August 1859); Minutes, Port Lavaca (18 May 1858); Minutes, Brenham (May 1861).
kinder preach." This must be in reference to a black exhorter, as she added that he could not read but instead simply emulated the white preachers' sermons.\textsuperscript{32}

In spite of white supervision, separate black meetings provided some opportunity for self-expression. Business was usually conducted under the watchful eye of whites, but the business was that of the blacks. First Church, Galveston, allowed the most freedom for black members. Slaves joined that congregation only eleven days after its inception, and in 1852 African-Americans constituted the majority. By then, they had already reorganized themselves into the Africa Baptist Church under the direction of a white leader, David B. Morrill. Although they were granted a semi-autonomous status, they remained under the guidance of the original congregation. In July 1851 black members elected their own deacons: James (Hall), Isaac (Boswell), and Luke (Hall). A year later, Matthew (Crozier) was chosen to replace Isaac. Both James and Luke Hall were freemen, perhaps indicative of the extent of license allowed to black congregants. This liberty was further enhanced by the acquisition of a lot in 1855, deeded by a white member, Judge J. P. Cole. Although the white pastor and others remained in attendance, the minutes stated in 1856 that the "Coloured members of the

Baptist Church met at their house of worship," and the business they conducted, particularly of a disciplinary nature, was brought by their own deacons. The minutes noted that in 1859, the African-Americans chose the Reverend James Langley (a white man) as their pastor.\footnote{33"Avenue L. Baptist Observes Anniversary," The Galveston Daily News (21 February 1981), section A; Minutes, First Church, Galveston (9 July 1851, 14 September 1856, 7 January 1859).}

In addition to conducting their own business, black members at Galveston established their independence through the voluntary contribution of money. A call for support of the pastor for the ensuing year netted $50 a year in pledges from the black congregation in 1851, 1853, and 1855. An annual contribution was not always in evidence from the minutes, but most likely such a gift was made in those years between. Furthermore, an 1855 report to the Baptist State Convention noted a $3.20 mission offering given by the blacks for "colored missions."\footnote{34Minutes, First Church, Galveston (7 January 1851, 25 May 1853).}

Galveston blacks had their own building, selected their own deacons, and chose their own white pastor. The fact that a black preacher, David Jones, was a member might also indicate preaching by blacks as well. Nevertheless, ultimate control remained in the hands of whites. With the outbreak of sectional hostilities in 1861, the black congre-
ederation was placed under more restrictions, and a white member, Brother Bolton, was appointed to see the black deacons about temporarily discontinuing Wednesday evening prayer services "until the times became more settled." The minutes stated, however, that he was to offer this as "advice," indicating that African-Americans had a choice in the matter. In addition, white deacons and others were assigned to meet regularly with the black congregation on Sunday afternoons.35

Galveston was not the only place where black members exercised a measure of independence. At Houston, three slave members, Simon, Ned, and Jasper, were chosen as a "committee of Watchmen, whose duty it [was] to keep an oversight of the coloured members in the discharge of such duties as become faithful brethren . . .," but they were responsible to the "Pastor" or some other "leading white male" member in reporting the unchristian conduct of a black member. In 1859, the slaves were given the "privilege of selecting where they would have their house of worship located," and the white pastor was told to help them in getting a building erected. The Chappell Hill congregation chose "Jeffrey" to report to the deacons any cases of un-

35Minutes, First Church, Galveston (6 June 1847, 3 May 1861).
Christian conduct among black members. The slaves contributed $10.50 for African missions in October 1860.36

Both Galveston and Houston were in "urban" areas and may not be indicative of black congregational control in the rest of the state. Nevertheless, some evidence does exist for separate "African" churches elsewhere. In 1854, a "colored" church applied for admission into the Colorado Association, sending two white ministers, Noah Hill and J. L. Loudermilk, as delegates. The church, located on the J. H. Jones Plantation near Caney in Matagorda County, claimed twenty-five members. The regular business of the association acknowledged the petition from the church and voted to accept them into the body. No indication of a protracted discussion on the subject can be found in the minutes. Although appearing on the list of churches the next year (1855), the church was not represented at the associational meeting and did not reappear in any subsequent minutes.37

Several other "independent" black churches can also be presumed from available records. An example in Anderson failed in its bid to join the Union Association in 1855, and an 1857 State Baptist Convention report mentioned the exis-

---

36Minutes, First Church, Houston, pp. 92A, 108, 114; Minutes, Chappell Hill (14 June 1857, 13 October 1860).

37Minutes of the Eighth Anniversary of the Colorado Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Old Caney, Wharton County, Texas, September 8, 9, and 11, A.D. 1854 (LaGrange, Texas: "The Monument" Office, 1854), 4.
One account on Brazoria County stated that

[t]he finest church building in Brazoria County was said to be the brick church building on Waldeck plantation. Over its door were inscribed the words, "Ethiopian Baptist Church—erected 1856." Morgan L. Smith had the white minister come out from Columbia to preach in this church on Sunday afternoon to his slaves, who were required to be "nicely fixed" for the occasion. White worshipers often came along with the preacher.  

A senior member of the St. John Baptist Church in Liberty County credited the church's organization to runaway slaves with the aid of Cornelius Devore, a veteran of San Jacinto. Joshua Seale's slaves, in Jasper County, built the Dixie Church in 1853 with one of his bondsmen as the first preacher. R. C. Burleson commented on layman A. C. Horton, one of the largest slaveholders in Texas, who had a church house for his slaves, "built convenient between his plantations."  

In general, black Baptists had opportunities to worship together and in at least one case were afforded a chance to join a predominately white associational body. White oversight was still prevalent but did not seem from the records

38Sobel, Trabelin’ On, 350-51.


to have been particularly oppressive. Preaching to the slaves was done regularly even when not connected with a formal institution as attested to by the appointment of missionaries and by personal accounts.

In addition, under some circumstances white Baptists allowed black preachers. The practice of allowing blacks to preach was common enough that a number of minutes dealt with the subject. At Caldwell, Riley Williamson, a black man, was licensed to speak in public "in preaching and exhortation among the Colored People." Qualey, a slave of John Davis, joined the Pilgrim Church in December 1852. The next fall a committee of the congregation was appointed to ask his owner if the slave could "exercise in public," meaning preach or exhort. After a favorable report, the church allowed him to preach under certain restrictions. The only other mention of Qualey was in 1859-1860 when charges were brought against him for "disorderly conduct." The accusations were eventually dismissed. In another example, Brother Tom was granted "limited license" to preach in Fayette County. Prairie Lea Church held a conference for black members in 1850 to examine those who "exercise in public." If any were found qualified, the congregation would give written permission. When "Brother Nelson" was authorized to preach he could only do so to the blacks and only within the bounds of the church. In addition, he could not call any meetings without the church's consent and without the pres-
ence of one or more white men. Another account referred to slave preachers being used in the absence of a pastor at mixed services.\footnote{History, Caldwell County, 13; "The Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church," The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association XII(July 1908): 22-24, 39; Minutes, Plum Grove (April 1860); Minutes, Prairie Lea, Book I (August 1853 and November 1850); Burleson County Historical Society, Inc., Astride the Old San Antonio Road: A History of Burleson County, Texas (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1880), 111.}

One of the more interesting references was at Prairie Lea where Jerry King, a black, was examined about preaching and asked to present his license at the next meeting. In April 1851 he presented a document from the "Red Land Church of Christ, Baptist Order, San Augustine County" dated May 1849, recommending him to preach. The document was signed by B. E. Lucas (pastor), A. Johnson (clerk), and R. Meador (moderator pro-tem). After discussion the following resolution was passed:

Whereas such an organization as "Red Land Church of Christ, Baptist Order," has never, to our knowledge, been in existence in "San Augustine County", and whereas bros. "B. E. Lucas" and "A. A. Johnson" have never been "Pastor" and "Clerk" of any such church, and further, as we deem that even a regularly organized and orthodox church of the "Baptist Order" would transcend the limit of her power and propriety in extending ministerial authority to a "brother of colour," Therefore, Be it resolved, That the document above referred to, is to all intent and purposes null and void.---The church mutually and unanimously agreed to defer the consideration of granting license to bro. Jerry King until some future meeting.
Perhaps the most interesting element to this account was that a Redland Church existed in adjoining Nacogdoches County. Furthermore, B. E. Lucas was pastor at Prairie Lea and present at that church meeting (as was A. A. Johnson) where this fraudulent "license" was read. Jerry King was apparently not present.42

Personal recollections by former slaves confirmed the existence of black preachers. Phoebe Henderson mentioned that she and her husband belonged to the same man and were married by a "colored Baptist preacher." Horace Overstreet and Louis Love both stated that black preachers simply mimicked the whites since they could not read. Another, Patsy Moses, referred to her slave grandfather as a "Hard-shell" Baptist preacher, and Amos Sims recounted meetings held at the slave quarters with a black preacher.43

The existence of secret religious assemblies by the blacks has been attested to in a number of sources, but is, of course, not evident from the "official records." As mentioned earlier, some limits were placed on black meetings as sectional tensions mounted and then broke into conflict.

---

42 Minutes, Prairie Lea, Book I (January 1851 and 17 April 1851).

Overall, however, black preaching continued, even if limited under white supervision.

**Summary**

The problem of slavery can be readily seen in the balance preserved between "soul-liberty" and "social distinction" within Baptist congregations. Most Baptist churches would not refuse membership to slaves (or freemen), yet found it expedient to place a number of restrictions upon their actions. This was no different, however, than in society at large. John Eighmy viewed this as an attempt to create in social relations what the whites could not condone theologically.

Blacks, both slave and free, could join "mixed" Baptist churches in the same ways whites did. Furthermore, blacks retained certain privileges of membership including participation in communion and voting on acceptance of new members. Discipline and expulsions were no more common among blacks than whites.

As slave membership grew, so did the need for further restrictions, resulting ultimately in separate, segregated services. Once different meetings were held, black members could begin to exercise more control. In some congregations they chose their own deacons, conducted business con-
ferences, and disciplined slave members. Moreover, slave exhorters were allowed the liberty to preach to the blacks on occasion.

White Baptists were obviously of two minds on the place of blacks within their congregations. The difficulty in reconciling these disparate understandings of slavery can best be resolved by viewing the personal and economic connection between master and slave among Baptists.
CHAPTER IV

MASTERS AND SLAVES

The reason for the dichotomy between words and action among Baptist institutions, both local and regional, is found in the personal relationships between slaveholders and bondsmen. Two approaches can be utilized to detail that interrelationship. One is a statistical analysis of slaveownership among Baptists; the other is anecdotal and personal, drawing its portrayal from diaries, memoirs, and secondhand accounts. Together they provide a window into the world of Southern Baptist slaveholders and slaves.

Slaveholding among Texas Baptists was extensive, and the numbers, as a percentage, exceeded ownership in the state as a whole. Of the 1,178 individual Baptists identified and examined in this study, 349 (29.6 percent) owned slaves. This statistic is misleading, however, because it includes children, boarders, and others who were found within slaveholding households. A more meaningful statistic is that among 853 separate households represented, 327 (38.3 percent of the total) held slaves at some point. Although this depicted slaveholding over the entire period covered (1850-1864), it is higher than the percentages of slavehold-
ers among the population statewide in both 1850 and 1860. In 1850 slightly more than 30 percent of all households in the state held slaves. By 1860, this figure had declined to 27.3 percent. A look at Baptist ownership for the same years yielded 59 of 162 in 1850 (36.4 percent) and 153 of 315 for 1860 (48.6 percent). Again, these are substantially higher than the statewide percentages.¹

A comparison of the distribution of ownership by region is possible when employing Campbell and Lowe's geographical designations, selecting five counties from each area. Figure 1 illustrates this division, and Table 2 breaks down the statistics by percentage of slaveholding Baptist families within each county. Not surprisingly, those counties located along the river bottoms in the interior of the state and in East Texas had the most slaveholding Baptists. The ones located along the Western edge of settlement and the lower Gulf Coast had fewer. The data correspond to those found statewide. For example, Washington County had the second largest slave population in the census of 1860 (6,616) and more than half of the total population was slave. This county had the highest percentage of Baptist slave ownership. Grimes County, which also had a slave

¹Campbell, Empire for Slavery, 68; Records of the Comptroller of Public Accounts, Ad Valorem Tax Division, County Real and Personal Property Tax Rolls, 1850-1864, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas. Hereafter cited as Tax Rolls.
Figure 1
Counties in Data Subset

Key:

Region I
1. Grimes
2. Jasper
3. Nacodoches
4. Red River
5. Smith

Region II
6. Calhoun
7. Galveston
8. Harris
9. Liberty
10. Matagorda

Region III
11. Collin
12. Fannin
13. Grayson
14. Navarro
15. Williamson

Region IV
16. Austin
17. Burleson
18. Fayette
19. Refugio
20. Washington
Table 2
Slaveholding Families Among Texas Baptists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Number of Verified Families</th>
<th>Number of Slaveholding Families</th>
<th>Percentage of Slaveholding Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimes</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacogdoches</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red River</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal:</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galveston</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matagorda</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal:</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region III</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collin</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fannin</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarro</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal:</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region IV</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burleson</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugio</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>84.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal:</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td>759</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tax Rolls; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants), National Archives, Washington, D. C. and Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants), National Archives, Washington, D. C.
population in excess of fifty percent of the total, indicated the second highest percentage of Baptist slaveholders. Similarly, Matagorda with over fifty percent Baptist ownership had over fifty percent blacks in the total population as well. Among the counties with the most Baptist slaveholders, only Liberty indicated a general population of less than fifty percent slave. On the other end of the scale, the counties with the least slaveownership among Baptists—Grayson, Refugio, Calhoun, Williamson, Navarro, and Fannin—all had less than twenty-five percent of their total population as slaves in 1860.²

The other counties represented statistics somewhere in between. Jasper, Nacogdoches, Red River, and Smith counties all numbered slaves in excess of twenty-five percent of the total population as did their instances of Baptist ownership. Corresponding data was also evident for Austin, Burleson, Collin, and Navarro counties. The two exceptions to this trend were Harris and Galveston counties, where the slave population was less than twenty-five percent of the total while Baptist slaveholding remained over thirty percent.³

²The four geographical regions utilized in this study were established by Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lower in Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas (College Station, Texas: Texas A and M Press, 1977), 16. Data on Baptist slaveownership came from Tax Rolls.

³Ibid.
Census data corroborated tax roll figures. All but three of the twenty counties surveyed indicated substantial growth of both bondsmen and slaveholders. In 1850, 54 Baptist households held 460 slaves. By 1860, this figure had grown to 153 households with 1,406 blacks, a 206 percent increase in the total number of slaves, coupled with a 183 percent increase in slaveholders. Jasper, Grimes, Smith, and Washington counties had the most Baptist-owned slaves by 1860. Calhoun, Refugio, Navarro, Collin, and Grayson had the least.4

Thus, slave ownership among Texas Baptists closely paralleled the number of slaves in each county and was somewhat higher overall than among families statewide. White Baptists, rather than showing any distaste for slavery, accepted and participated in the institution at least as often as other individuals in the state.

Another measure of Baptist attachment to slavery can be found in the number of planters, those with more than twenty slaves. No individual from the data set recorded more than one hundred slaves, although Albert C. Horton of Wharton and Matagorda counties, who was not listed among those congregations surveyed, was among the top slaveholders in 1860 with 167. According to the tax data of 1850, only 5 Baptists could be considered planters, out of a total of 162 (3.1

4Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants).
percent). Table 3 shows planter percentages among Baptists for all of the tax roll years. The fact that the figures varied so much the first few years does not overshadow their approximation to the statewide percentage of 2.3 in 1850. By 1860 the number of Baptist planters had risen considerably to that of the state rate (3.0 percent), and it continued to rise.\(^5\)

Additional analyses can be made from tax records which confirm the importance of slavery to Baptists, particularly with regard to economic status. Among Baptist slaveholders, 71.6 percent owned farm land while only 56.4 percent of the non-slaveholders did so. By 1860, this disparity had widened as 76.3 percent of the slaveholder Baptists owned acreage compared to only 38.7 percent of the non-slaveholders.\(^6\)

Representative cases can be drawn from each county to illustrate improved economic status among Baptist slaveholders. In Grimes County, for example, George W. Baines went from one slave worth $700 in 1853 to three assessed at $2,200 by 1857. His total worth during that same interval increased from $1,450 to $3,900 and by 1860 to $7,750. Although he was not a substantial slaveowner, Baines

\(^5\)Tax Rolls; Campbell, Empire for Slavery, 68.  
\(^6\)Tax Rolls.
**Table 3**
Baptist Slaveholders of the Planter Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Number of Cases</th>
<th>Number with More than 20</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864 *</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The 1863 tax returns were frequently poorly compiled. In many cases, slaves were not listed.

Source: Tax Rolls. Figures taken from all counties in data set, rather than the twenty listed in Table 2.

benefited economically from a system which he forcefully defended as editor of the *Texas Baptist*. In the same coun-
ty, James R. Bennett claimed twelve blacks worth $4,800 in 1851, but by 1860 his holdings had increased to twenty-one with almost $16,000 in taxable value. Isaac Parks increased his holdings from twenty-four to thirty slaves in five years and saw his slave property increase in value 150 percent over that period. In neighboring Washington County, state judge R. E. B. Baylor enlarged his slave holdings from two worth $1,200 in 1850 to twenty worth $18,400 ten years later. Table 4 shows the growth of the size of slaveholdings among Texas Baptists from 1850 to 1862. Table 5 illustrates the concentration of slave property during those years. There was a slight increase in the number and proportion of larger slaveholdings during these years. Tax roll data show that owners of twenty or more slaves increased their share of the total from 35.0 to 45.5 percent in twelve years. This latter statistic is comparable to the state as a whole where almost half of the slaves belonged to the planter class. The census data indicated a slight decrease over ten years (from 48.5 to 42.9 percent) in the percentage of slaves held by those owning more than twenty bondsmen. The discrepancy was due to the difficulty in matching individual Baptists with the slave schedules. In this case, the tax records were a surer indicator of growth. Thus, slaveholding among Baptists, as for all owners, became both more widespread in terms of the absolute number of
Table 4
Slaveownership Among Baptists
for Select Years
(Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Slaves:</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-49</th>
<th>50+</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tax Rolls</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>(55.9)</td>
<td>(25.4)</td>
<td>(10.2)</td>
<td>(8.5)</td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>(50.9)</td>
<td>(22.6)</td>
<td>(19.8)</td>
<td>(6.6)</td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>(50.0)</td>
<td>(20.5)</td>
<td>(20.5)</td>
<td>(8.3)</td>
<td>(0.8)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>(49.0)</td>
<td>(21.2)</td>
<td>(16.6)</td>
<td>(12.6)</td>
<td>(0.7)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Census</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>(50.0)</td>
<td>(20.4)</td>
<td>(16.7)</td>
<td>(13.0)</td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>(45.1)</td>
<td>(24.2)</td>
<td>(19.0)</td>
<td>(11.1)</td>
<td>(0.7)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Tax Rolls; Seventh Census; Eighth Census.
Table 5
Number of Slaves Held by Texas Baptists for Select Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Slaves:</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-49</th>
<th>50+</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tax Rolls</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Slaves</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Total</td>
<td>(16.5)</td>
<td>(26.9)</td>
<td>(21.5)</td>
<td>(35.1)</td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Slaves</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Total</td>
<td>(17.0)</td>
<td>(21.5)</td>
<td>(34.4)</td>
<td>(27.1)</td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Slaves</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Total</td>
<td>(14.8)</td>
<td>(17.7)</td>
<td>(34.9)</td>
<td>(27.2)</td>
<td>(5.4)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Slaves</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Total</td>
<td>(11.9)</td>
<td>(16.0)</td>
<td>(26.7)</td>
<td>(40.1)</td>
<td>(5.4)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Census</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Slaves</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Total</td>
<td>(10.4)</td>
<td>(15.7)</td>
<td>(25.4)</td>
<td>(48.5)</td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Slaves</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Total</td>
<td>(11.1)</td>
<td>(17.5)</td>
<td>(28.5)</td>
<td>(38.5)</td>
<td>(4.4)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tax Rolls; Seventh Census; Eighth Census.
slaveholders and more concentrated with regard to the percentage of slaves owned by planters.\textsuperscript{7}

Another indicator of slavery's importance was the total value or wealth for those holding bondsmen (see Table 6). In 1850, five slaveholding Baptists from Grimes County had land as well as slaves, and their holdings comprised 90.3 percent of the total worth of all Baptists identified in the county. Furthermore, their twenty-two slaves represented 30.0 percent of that total value. Ten years later, seventeen slaveholding Baptists accounted for 96.5 percent of the total taxable value for Baptists in the county, with 52.3 percent of that value being in slaves. Table 6 presents similar data for the other counties as well. In fifteen of the twenty counties, the percentage of total property value held by Baptist slaveholders increased over a ten-year period, although in some cases the portion of that figure attributed to slave value decreased. Still, slave ownership was an important contributor to economic well-being for Baptists, as well as for the general population.\textsuperscript{8}

What was true of all Baptists was also true of the leadership within the churches. For example, a data list of eighty-three ministers drawn from eleven counties exhibited figures comparable to those profiled above. According to

\textsuperscript{7}Tax rolls; Campbell, \textit{Empire for Slavery}, 193.

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Number of Baptists</th>
<th>Number of Slaveholders</th>
<th>Number of Slaves</th>
<th>Slave Values as %</th>
<th>Total Worth (as %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austin County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>99.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burleson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>79.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fannin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>77.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galveston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>95.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>93.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>96.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matagorda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>98.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Number of Baptists</th>
<th>Number of Slave-holders</th>
<th>Number of Slaves</th>
<th>Slave Values as %</th>
<th>Total Worth (as %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nacogdoches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>93.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red River</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861 *</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>99.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1861 used instead of 1860.

Source: Tax Rolls.

the tax rolls, thirty-five of these men (42.2 percent) were slaveholders, and seven were planters. The largest single owner was T. M. Anderson of Washington County, who registered fifty-one slaves in 1858. Twelve ministers claimed an aggregate property value of less than $5,000 while seven claimed more than $20,000. By way of contrast, forty-six (95.8 percent) of the non-slaveholders had property of less than $5,000 in value. None of these had property valued at
more than $10,000. Five ministers claimed no property at any time, either on the tax rolls or the census schedules.\footnote{Tax Rolls; Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule 1; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 1. See also Richard Elam, "Baptist Ministers and Slavery in Antebellum Texas," The Journal of Texas Baptist History IX(1989): 3-4.}

Sixty-one of the eighty-three ministers appeared on the 1860 census returns. Twenty-eight (45.9 percent) held bondsmen. All of these had a total value of $1,000 or more, whereas most of the non-slaveowners had wealth of less than $5,000. Nine ministers possessed 58.8 percent of the total wealth for the entire group. District judge and Baptist Minister Robert E. B. Baylor was the only individual to claim $50,000 or more in value, 13.0 percent of the total.\footnote{Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1 and 2.}

Not only did the slaveholders among Baptist pastors possess most of the wealth, they were also more likely to increase their worth with the passage of time. The amount of taxable property claimed by ministers varied from year to year, but, in general, economic status improved for the majority of them. Only a few slaveholders, such as Anderson, actually reported a decline in slaves and total value of property. Most were like Baylor who reported only $1,530 in property with two slaves and no land in 1850, only to see this increase to 1,323 acres and twenty slaves by 1860. His total worth the latter year was $28,300. All together,
twenty-seven slaveholders increased the aggregate value of their estates from $115,365 in 1850 to $336,712 in 1860, a 191.1 percent gain in value. Although the absolute numbers were not impressive, the percentages for non-slaveholders were comparable. Twenty-one men with no slaves increased their value from $12,268 to $39,802, or a 224.4 percent change.\textsuperscript{11}

One important difference existed between slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Only 43.7 percent of the latter showed gains in wealth, whereas 77.1 percent of slaveholders increased their value. Fourteen of the original eighty-three ministers were listed on the 1850 census with eight of these appearing ten years later. The five slaveowners among them increased their holdings by 249.4 percent from $8,700 to $30,400, with four of the five owning no slaves in 1850.\textsuperscript{12}

Similar data can be compiled on the number of slaves and slave values among ministers. Robert C. Clay of Smith County more than doubled his worth (to $1,150) by acquiring one slave. Fannin County's Washington Sloan also increased his small value by the acquisition of slave property. James H. Wells, on the other hand, saw his value decrease after obtaining a slave. He later reported no slave property at

\textsuperscript{11}Tax Rolls; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 1.

\textsuperscript{12}Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1 and 2; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1 and 2.
all as did D. C. McCauley, who had earlier claimed one. In spite of these cases, some dramatic increases in slaveholdings were noted. T. M. Anderson, mentioned earlier, increased his holdings from thirty-nine to fifty-one in four years (30.8 percent). Baylor’s holdings rose 900 percent from two to twenty. Overall, eighteen ministers added to their holdings as the decade progressed. Four men experienced more than a 200 percent gain while another ten maintained their holdings. Only three reported a decline in slave ownership.\textsuperscript{13}

Table 7 shows how Baptist ministers compared to household heads statewide on the amount of wealth held by slaveholders and non-slaveholders. In 1860, for those having $20,000 or more in wealth, 93.4 percent was owned by slaveholders. For Baptists, the figure was 100 percent. Non-slaveholders comprised 99.7 percent of those owning less than $500, again differing only slightly from the Baptist’s 100 percent. The mid-range figures were also close enough to confirm the Baptist trends: 30.3 percent of Texas wealth in the $500-9,999 range possessed by slaveholders versus 38.0 percent among Baptist ministers.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13}Tax Rolls.

\textsuperscript{14}Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 1; Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power, 44, 63.
### Table 7

**Distribution of Wealth Statewide and Among Baptist Ministers, 1860**

(In percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Wealth</th>
<th>Statewide: Slaveholders</th>
<th>Statewide: Non-slaveholders</th>
<th>Baptist Ministers: Slaveholders</th>
<th>Baptist Ministers: Non-slaveholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0-499</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$500-19,999</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000+</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Several additional conclusions can be drawn from the census data. The mean age for non-slaveholders was forty-three as opposed to forty-seven for slaveholding ministers. Also, slaveowning Texas Baptist pastors were more likely to be from the lower South, and non-slaveholders from the upper South or free states. Fifty-two percent of the slaveholding ministers came from the lower South, whereas only thirty-six percent of household heads statewide came from that region.\(^\text{15}\)

As for all Baptists, the distribution of slaveholding among ministers depended upon location. For example, twelve of fourteen pastors in Washington County were slaveholders at some point. Not only was this county one of the most populous in terms of free and slave individuals, it was also the home of Baylor University. The prestige and wealth created by this Baptist school might explain, in part, the large number of slaveholders among the preachers. Henry L. Graves, Rufus C. Burleson, and George W. Baines were all Presidents of the institution and held bondsmen, as did the school's namesake, R. E. B. Baylor. In addition, members of the board and at least two instructors were slaveowners. Figure 2 displays the eleven surveyed counties divided by geographical region. Those counties near the frontier had few slaveholding pastors; those in older, more settled regions, had more. Again, this parallels statistics found among Baptists as a whole.  

Associational records also furnish an opportunity to gauge the extent of influence possible for slaveholding pastors. For example, four of seven pastors listed in the Union minutes of 1844 held slaves. These four represented eight different congregations. By 1847, seven of eleven were slaveholders representing eleven churches. Only five

\footnote{Elam, "Baptist Ministers," 5-6.}
Figure 2
Counties Utilized for
Minister Subset

Key: Counties (Year)
1. Burnet (1854)
2. Caldwell (1848)
3. Fannin (1838)
4. Galveston (1839)
5. Goliad (1837)
6. McLennan (1850)
7. Parker (1855)
8. Polk (1846)
9. Smith (1846)
10. Titus (1846)
11. Washington (1837)
of twelve held bondsmen in 1861. These slaveholders pastored an aggregate of ten congregations.

Slaveholders were not always church or associational officers. The 1858 statistical table for Mt. Zion Association, has only two churches from the data set, neither of which had slaveowning delegates that can be verified. In the Vineyard and Honey Grove Churches of Fannin County, fifty percent of the total delegates were slaveholders in 1855. The Sister Grove Association, located in North Central Texas, listed fourteen separate pastors in 1858, of which ten could be found in tax and census records. Only one of them was a slaveholder. Trends found in these examples were followed in most other cases as well.

By contrast, in major slaveholding counties Baptist slaveowners were not only more likely to be leaders within the churches, they were also more likely to be chosen delegates or messengers to annual associational and state meetings. The 1845 Union Association records, for example, disclosed that three of the four delegates from Providence Church in Washington County were slaveholders as were three of four from Independence Church in the same county. Two of three individuals representing Plum Grove Church (Fayette County) held bondsmen. At least twenty-six of seventy-two delegates sent to the associational meeting that year were slaveholders, and for those churches in the data set, twen-
ty-three of thirty-six owned slaves. Four delegates from Independence Church in 1851 were found in the data set, and all of these owned slaves. Similarly, all six of the chosen messengers from Providence Church (Washington County) that year were slaveholders as were four of five from Antioch Church in Grimes County. Again, these trends follow the other indicators for Baptists.

One way to assess the significance of slaveownership among Baptist leaders is to look at individual offices within the separate congregations. Local Baptist officials usually included the pastor (sometimes called elder), deacon(s), clerk, and treasurer. Table 8 denotes those leaders who were slaveholders and compares them to the total number of church officers for each separate congregation.

As a general rule, churches tended to choose slaveholders at a rate higher than non-slaveholders (60 to 40 percent). The pattern varied by counties, however, according to region. Those areas with the largest concentration of slaves exhibited a higher percentage of owners among the leadership. For instance, seventeen out of nineteen leadership positions in Washington County’s three churches were

\[17\] Not all of the churches listed in the associational records were researched for slaveownership so it is likely that additional slaveholders could be found among the delegates. Considering that additional names might be added, the number that can be verified is impressive.

\[18\] Minutes.
held by slaveowners (89.5 percent). On the other hand, Calhoun and Navarro counties with eight and nine positions, respectively, indicated no slaveholders in those offices.\footnote{Minutes.}

Many slaveholders served in leadership capacities within the state denomination as well. J. W. D. Creath and Michael Ross were general agents for the Baptist State Convention between 1851 and 1860; both held bondsmen. J. W. Barnes, whose wife owned slaves, was treasurer of the State Convention from 1848 through 1861. Another slaveowner, J. W. Terrell, served in the same capacity between 1863 and 1864. Corresponding secretaries of the Convention included R. C. Burleson (1848-1854), J. B. Stiteler (1855), Michael Ross (1859), and Newel W. Crain (1862), all slaveholders. Secretaries George Washington Baines (1850-1852, 1854), Stiteler (1853), J. M. Maxcy (1855), and O. H. P. Garrett (1859-1861) were owners. The most prestigious position, and perhaps the most influential, was that of President. Between 1848 and 1865 every President of the Baptist State Convention either owned slaves or had owned slaves at some time. These included H. L. Graves (1848, 1850, 1852-1853, 1857, 1861-1865), J. W. D. Creath (1849), R. E. B. Baylor
Table 8

Slaveholding Leadership Within Baptist Churches
(As percentage of whole leadership group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Churches (By county)</th>
<th>Pastor</th>
<th>Deacon (Slaveholders)</th>
<th>Clerk</th>
<th>Treasurer</th>
<th>Trustee</th>
<th>Total Leaders</th>
<th>Slaveholders (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill Creek</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burleson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dove</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Lavaca</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowlett</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fannin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey Grove</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vineyard Grove</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plum Grove</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galveston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Grove</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Churches (By County)</th>
<th>Pastor</th>
<th>Deacon</th>
<th>Clerk</th>
<th>Treasurer</th>
<th>Trustee</th>
<th>Total Leaders</th>
<th>Slaveholders (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matagorda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tres Palacios</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacogdoches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old North</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society Hill</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanchona</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugio</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red River</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brenham</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chappell Hill</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>92.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brushy Creek</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 16 29 14 4 10 121 60.3

Source: Church minutes.
(1851), James Huckins (1854-1856), Rufus C. Burleson (1858-1859), and Hosea Garrett (1860).  

Connections to Baylor University were also important in denominational circles. The first board of trustees included R. E. B. Baylor, A. G. Haynes, A. C. Horton, James Huckins, and Nelson Kavanaugh, all of whom owned bondsmen. In addition, three of the first four Presidents (Graves, Burleson, and Baines) were slaveholders. Several instructors also owned slaves.  

The mouthpiece for Baptist work in the state was the Texas Baptist which began publication on 7 March 1855. George W. Baines was editor, with J. B. Stiteler assisting. Both men owned slaves. As noted earlier, this paper was a vocal apologist for the Southern slaveholding society. Local agents for the paper included slaveowners Hosea Garrett, B. B. Baxter, and William B. Eaves. Four of six "traveling agents" were non-slaveholders, however. Only one, David Fisher, held bondsmen.

All of this suggests that Baptists who possessed slaves were regarded as the primary leaders of the denomination. Although slaveholding was not a criteria for leadership

---

21 Ibid., 13; Link, I, 158, 161.
22 The Texas Baptist (7 March 1855), [p. 1]. For editors, see masthead. Agents are listed on the first page. See also, Carroll, Texas Baptist Statistics, 20.
selection, the prestige and wealth which these individuals held made them prime candidates for positions of influence.

Not only were slaveholding Baptists leaders in their churches, they were leaders in the community and state as well. Albert C. Horton was a member of the first Congress of the Republic of Texas, a delegate to the state constitutional convention, and the first Lieutenant Governor during statehood. R. E. B. Baylor was a circuit judge for the state, utilizing his court appearances as opportunities to preach in different communities.23

Several slaveholders of the First Baptist Church, Galveston, were prominent in city, regional, and state circles. Gail Borden was a wealthy businessman and inventor who was instrumental in beginning one of the first newspapers in the state. In Galveston he served as alderman and secretary of the Galveston City Company. He was also collector of customs for the Republic at the Port of Galveston. James P. Cole succeeded Borden as Secretary of the Galveston City Company, chaired the local "Committee of Safety" which promoted secession after Lincoln's election, and served as judge-advocate and quartermaster for several military units. John S. Sydnor was elected both alderman and mayor of the city. He owned one of the wharfs, helped to incorporate the

first Chamber of Commerce, and attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish a public school system on the island.²⁴

In Refugio County, where slaveholding was less important, local officials were less likely to own blacks. Mansfield Barlow was a teacher, Baptist preacher, justice of the peace, and surveyor. He was also "prominent in public affairs," and one of the few slaveholding Baptists in the county. Another was James M. Doughty, who served as deputy sheriff and tax assessor-collector. C. P. Miles and Jeptha Williams, non-slaveholding Baptists, both served as sheriff. J. B. Patterson was district clerk in 1854. He did not own slaves.²⁵

Similar trends can be noted in other counties. Noah T. Byars of Navarro County served as Sergeant-at-Arms of the Texas Congress from 1837-1842, receiving over three thousand acres for service to the Republic. He also served as associate judge of local county courts. He did not hold bondsmen, however. Washington Anderson of Williamson County fought at San Jacinto, signed the petition to create the county, and served on a committee to select the county seat.


Levi Asher also signed to create the county. The first held slaves; the latter did not. Amos Brymer, a Baptist in Burleson County, owned bondsmen and served as county commis-

sioner in 1850. On the other hand, Jacob Baccus had no slaves and served as one of the first two justices-of-the-

peace in Collin County. Lemuel Herrin, slaveholding preach-

er from Panola County, was one of five commissioners chosen to select a new sight for the county seat. 26

Many others served as secular officials as well. The most critical indicator of slavery's importance was leader-

ship within the denomination, but the fact that a number of slaveholding Baptists held positions within the larger community reinforced the significance of owning bondsmen in terms of social position.

Another means of ascertaining individual attitudes toward slavery is through personal accounts. No standard pattern emerged as to treatment of slaves. In this, as in distribution of ownership, Baptists were much like the population as a whole.

The attitude of Baptist owners toward religious instruction for their wards varied. Most seemed to desire some type of "religion," if for no other reason than to make their slaves more docile. Others were more actively involved in and concerned with the spiritual welfare of the bondsmen. Albert C. Horton, for example, was praised by Rufus Burleson for the way in which he read Bible lessons to his blacks:

Nothing ever impressed me more than his tender and deep interest for the comfort and religious welfare of his slaves. He owned nearly 300—a large number of them members of the Baptist Church. He made a church house, built convenient between his plantations, and employed a preacher to preach for them. Bro. Noah Hill, his pastor, said it was the most touching scene he ever saw to see Gov. Horton and his noble wife reading the Bible and praying for their servants. If the South had been full of such Christian masters as Gov. Horton, God never would have allowed abolition fanatics to set the slaves free till they were christianized and prepared for citizenship, or to return home to Africa and colonize and christianized the Dark Continent. . . . [H]is zeal for the salvation of the colored race inspire us to love Texas more than life . . . .

Andrew Goodman's master, "Bob," also had a church built for his slaves, allowing a slave preacher to speak to them "every Sunday morning." Nelson Davis also mentioned a church building on his plantation for slaves.28

27The Life and Writings of Rufus C. Burleson, ed. Georgia J. Burleson (N. c.: Georgia J. Burleson, 1901), 711.

Not everyone gave regular instruction to slaves or built a building for them, but other owners faithfully took them to church. Isaac Parks mentioned taking all of his "hands" to church on a day set aside by Jefferson Davis for worship, presumably to pray for a collapsing confederacy. After finding the church closed, he "returned and went to work." Frank Adams revealed that his Baptist owner, Abel Adams of Jasper, made all his slaves go to church. Every Sunday "[d]ey hitch de mules to de bi wagons an' all pile' in." Phoebe Henderson told of never going to school any, "except Sunday School." Robert Turner, a Baptist minister, would preach to his slaves every Sunday and to "culled fo'ks as comes f'om all 'round tudder plantations to weuns chu'ch."29

Although most accounts referred to "all" slaves attending services, it would be difficult to prove such a contention. As noted earlier, attendance was usually only required of white males, but slaves could be held accountable on occasion. In many cases, the number of slaves owned by church members greatly exceeded the number of black members. This does not, however, exclude the possibility of their attendance, as bondsmen were allowed to make their own decision about "salvation," followed by baptism and church

membership. Some former slaves reminiscing about their childhood remembered going to church, but the Baptists were always reluctant to accept child members, either black or white, because of the emphasis on "believer's baptism." It is quite possible, then, that in some cases all of the slaves, or very nearly all of them, attended worship services. The fact that most congregations moved to separate services for the blacks in the afternoon or utilized special locations on plantations might be due, at least in part, to the number of servants attending.

Several associational reports admonished slaveholders not to utilize black preachers. Such a suggestion would hardly be necessary had the practice not been in effect. Lizzie Hughes noted that the "whites preached to the Niggers and the Niggers preached to themselves." She was baptized by an African-American preacher, Ned Fall. Former slave Horace Overstreet commented that there were black preachers among the slaves. Phoebe and David Henderson were married by a "colored Baptist preacher," with the blessing of her owner Master Hill.  

The actual treatment of bondsmen differed among white Baptists. Scott Hooper stated that his master, a Baptist preacher, was so kind to his slaves that other whites in the
area called them "free Niggers." Hooper's father was allowed to work an acre of land and save all the money he made. By the end of the Civil War he had saved over $500, though all in Confederate currency. This allowed him to have his own horse and saddle, and to buy extra food and treats for his family. Hooper said that his owner did not whip his slaves. Hooper's sister, Louise Matthews, added a story about a black who was "hired out" by her owner but returned to the Turner farm without permission because of over work. Instead of sending him back, Turner protected him and did not require him to return to his employer. Andrew Goodman could not recall any slaves ever beaten by his master or overseer, and, although the master trained dogs to hunt for runaways, they were never needed.31

Several accounts can be found of Baptists beating their slaves. The Baptist owner of Frank Adams sometimes "whip his slaves, hisse'f, but he wouldn't 'low nobody else to beat on dem." Dr. William Evans was a Baptist preacher who allowed his overseer to discipline by whipping on occasion but never the women. He sometimes personally supervised meals and knocked servants on the head with his cane if they got out of line. As mentioned earlier, James Huckins,

31 Rawick, (Scott Hooper), supplement, series 2, vol. 5, part 4, p. 1797, 1799; (Louise Matthews), supplement, series 2, vol. 7, part 6, p. 2605; (Andrew Goodman), supplement, series 2, vol. 5, part 4, p. 1525.
pastor at Galveston, was accused by one of his members of beating a slave.\textsuperscript{32}

None of these accounts indicated that Baptist slaveowners were any different than non-Baptists. According to former slaves, most owners treated their slaves with kindness, provided sufficient food and clothing, and encouraged religious instruction. Some ex-bondsmen emphasized the "family" atmosphere they experienced on the farm or plantation. At least one, however, recalled her father's being sold, and John S. Sydnor of Galveston actually operated a slave auction, "the largest slave market west of New Orleans." The \textit{Galveston Weekly News} reported in 1863 that Sydnor had sold sixty blacks at an average price of $1,774, one selling for $3,500.\textsuperscript{33}

Deed records also confirmed Baptist sales and purchases of blacks. In Red River County, for example, Stephen D. Rainy, a Baptist, and Robert Hamilton purchased twenty-two slaves, ten mules and horses, three wagons, and sundry other


items for $11,000. Rainy purchased another three slaves for $1,200 four years later. Mary Donoho ran her deceased husband's estate with slaves, and purchased her own on several occasions. N. B. Hutchinson and his wife paid $500 for a slave woman and her child. This transaction was witnessed by another slaveholding Baptist, Solomon Bryant. In October 1849 Mary Elizabeth Hutchinson filed a schedule of separate property on three slaves, a twenty-one year old woman and her two young children. William P. Saufley and his wife purchased a ten year old boy for $380 in May 1850. In addition to these actions, Baptist slaveholders used slaves as security for other deed transactions.\(^{34}\)

One of the best sources on black and white interaction was the diary of Isaac Parks, a white Baptist. Parks, from Grimes County, recalled the mundane life of a planter in central Texas. He frequently listed what each slave did on a certain day and how much work was accomplished. He mentioned hunting for "supposed negro thieves" in tandem with others, raising blacks for building entrenchments outside of Houston, and hunting runaways. Parks treated his own absent

slaves matter-of-factly, mentioning when they left and when they returned or were found without any reference to punishment. On one occasion, his blacks, John and Ned, were detained in Owensville jail where it cost him a $37 fee plus $4 tavern bill to retrieve them. Ill servants were always specified. On 25 January 1864 he noted that a slave, Wil- lis, was very sick. His references to this man continued for several months until he called in the family doctor. On 25 March, he wrote:

Willis, my beloved servant, died at ten o'clock today. His end was peaceful; though he never made a public confession I know not his present state.

Parks’s treatment of his slaves seemed very much as a parent supervising errant adolescents. As such, his concern for Willis and the rest must have been sincere.\(^35\)

R. C. Burleson, pastor and President of Baylor University and, later, Waco University, seemed especially sensitive to the plight of African-Americans. Among his papers was a manifest from the Customs House in Mobile, Alabama, dated 1851, claiming that the slave brought into Texas by Burleson was "legal chattel." According to a handwritten note with the document, this was "Elias." His diary indicated his pleasure at preaching to slaves, and he occasionally wrote that this pleased him more than his other preaching. In a private diary entry for January 1849 he chastised

\(^{35}\)Isaac Parks Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
himself for telling "low and 'marvellous yarns' about old women and negroes that ought not to be allowed in a decent kitchen." On another occasion he privately criticized a colleague for using the term "blacks" rather than "colored." The former should be avoided, he wrote, "as the servants dislike it." When traveling to the Post Office in Houston during freezing temperatures he saw a young slave boy carrying milk to sell but without a coat or shoes. Burleson wrote in his diary:

I find I had but 35 cents in the world or I would have got him shoes.—Oh righteous God what terror will seize the world in the judgment day.

In spite of his own slaveholding, Burleson displayed some concern for the plight of the blacks.36

In another instance, Judge James P. Cole of Galveston was credited with criticizing a fellow jurist for sentencing a black man to hanging after he tried to escape from jail. The original charge was burglary. Cole commented:

Why, sir, if Henry Forbs had been a white man instead of a poor negro, Judge Shelby would never have hung him . . . .

Cole, too, was a slaveholder.37

Baptist concern for the "poor colored" appeared both in official pronouncements and in personal reflections such as those expressed above. But what of abolitionist sentiment?

36Rufus C. Burleson Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

Although rare, this too found expression among Texas Baptists. J. M. Carroll's *History of Texas Baptists* made reference to a minister, Freeman Smalley, in Williamson County who held abolitionist views. His opinions seem greatly to have hindered his ability to gain access to the Texas people, and finally resulted, as it evidently appears, in his decision to leave the State, which he did in 1866, soon after the close of the Civil War. Before leaving, however, he succeeded in organizing what is said to have been the first Texas anti-slavery church. We have not been able to trace the history of this church.  

Carroll stated that Smalley worked in the state for eighteen years, from 1848 to 1866. One wonders how he could have remained so long within the state if his opinions were so strongly abolitionist. Another historian, Jeremy Cain, exaggerated what Carroll said:  

> 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.  

Little else is known of this congregation. A local history book said only the following:  

> After the December 1847 Baptist church service was held in Freeman Smalley's log home east of what became Round Rock, church activities continued. A deed was drawn January 12, 1854, to the trustees of the Anti-Slave Holding Union Baptist Church in the trusteeship of Zara Stearns, B. F. Smalley and James K. Smalley, and in 1855 the

---


Baptists and Presbyterians built a Union Church.\textsuperscript{40}

In spite of these references, it remains questionable as to the actual existence of such a church. Similar sentiments expressed in other parts of the state usually resulted in violent reaction so it is difficult to believe that Smalley would have been allowed to remain for eighteen years holding such views.

Much more is known of another abolitionist, Stephen Pearl Andrews. He was born in Massachusetts around 1812 and was the son of a Baptist minister. Because of a statement he made about how as a youth he was never able to experience the type of "salvation required by Baptists," several historians concluded that Andrews never formally joined a church. Records of the First Baptist Church, Houston, however, indicated that not only was Andrews a charter member of the congregation, he was also its first deacon. In addition, he was an active participant in the Union Association, serving as an officer of the organization.\textsuperscript{41}

Andrews came to Texas in 1839 after having lived in Louisiana. It was there that he married, gained a measure of wealth, and helped found the Louisiana Temperance Soci-

\textsuperscript{40}Scarbrough, Land of Good Waters, 312.

ety. No evidence exists that he held abolitionist sentiment before coming to Texas, and slaveholding existed within his extended family. His brother, Elisha, was a slaveowning Baptist minister, and another brother, Thomas, gained one hundred slaves through marriage. It was this marriage that provided the first suggestion of abolitionism in the family. Thomas's wife, Louisa, visited New England, where she was converted to abolitionism. Perhaps this was an influence on her brother-in-law, S. P. Andrews.42

With letters of introduction to leaders of the Republic of Texas, including President Lamar, Andrews established a law practice in Houston, learned Spanish, and was commissioned by the Congress to translate its laws and constitution into Spanish. He owned over 21,000 acres of land in the country, and a Galveston newspaper called him "the foremost lawyer in Texas." He continued to gain status during his first few years in the Republic. In 1842 he was admitted to practice law before the Supreme Court of Texas and was appointed by a Committee of Vigilance in Houston to visit the United States for the purpose of securing support in dealing with Mexico. He carried with him a letter of

42Shively, "Option," 78-79.
introduction from Sam Houston. By the next year, however, his fortunes had changed dramatically.\textsuperscript{43}

The cause of Andrews' misfortune was a plan to end slavery in the Republic with help from the British government. A large grant would be given to Texas as compensation for abolition. In return, Texas would remain independent, foregoing annexation into the United States. In his own words:

\textquote{My plan is for the British nation to buy up Texas, which I think she can do, . . . Let her lavish money upon the undertaking for she can never take a step so directly tending to the extinction of slavery, and the slave trade throughout the world. What I mean by buying is, that she shall . . . make it most obviously the interest of Texas to abolish slavery.}

In essence, there would be an exchange of British money for Texas land, slaveholders could be reimbursed for the loss of their slaves and slavery could be abolished; emigrants would pour into a "free soil territory" and under the protection of the British flag expediency would be made to serve principle.

Even though Andrews was bound to encounter opposition, the plan was not without merit and apparently engendered some support.\textsuperscript{44}

The initiation of Andrews' plan may have come as early as the fall of 1839 in a letter to an abolitionist, Lewis


\textsuperscript{44}Stern, "Stephen Pearl Andrews," 499.
Tappan of New York City. Tappan, in turn, informed his English friends of the proposal. If he made the proposal at this time, it failed to create a stir in Texas until 1843. On 16 March of that year, Andrews was invited to express his views at a public meeting in Houston. His presentation avoided any direct opposition to slavery and was warmly received. Nevertheless, at least one individual rose to protest his proposal as abolitionism.\(^{45}\)

Within a few days, Andrews was on his way to Galveston, promoting his scheme, and taking with him the partner to the mayor of Houston. There he found support from some influential citizens. One, Andrew J. Yates, was editor of the Galveston Daily Advertiser. Another, John S. Sydnor, was a public official and wealthy merchant. James Love, a planter and former member of the Kentucky legislature, also supported the idea as did Gail Borden, entrepreneur and inventor. Sydnor and Borden were both fellow Baptists with Andrews, and, more important, both were slaveholders.\(^{46}\)

After spending the night at Sydnor's country house, Andrews intended to enter Galveston on Monday, 20 March, but received word that a mob had searched for him at Yates's house. An initial meeting at the Customs House, where Borden worked, was delayed until Tuesday. The second meet-

\(^{45}\)Shively, "Option," 81, 82, 84-86.

\(^{46}\)Ibid., 86-86.
ing was interrupted by a mob of twenty men who challenged Andrews. The group was led by a lawyer, "Mr. Cole." He warned Andrews never to "return to Galveston to agitate this subject." The crowd then escorted the "agitator" to a waiting boat and sent him back to Houston.47

None of these accounts was clear about the identity of "Mr. Cole." It is interesting to speculate, however, about the possibility that he was James P. Cole, a lawyer and judge in Galveston, who was also a member of First Baptist Church. If this was the case, then a major disagreement was apparent within that congregation on this issue between Cole, Sydnor, and Borden.

Andrews's friends and neighbors continued to support him upon his return to Houston, even helping him to put out a fire set on his house. A meeting with the British diplomat, Charles Elliot, convinced Andrews of the necessity of taking his plan directly to the British government. Although passing through Galveston without incident, he was forced to hide in New Orleans as his reputation preceded him and the local paper editorialized against him. His own comments on this event reflected his growing agitation on the subject of slavery:

> It is a fitting instance of the arrogance and lawlessness of the slaveholding power . . . that I should be pursued as an outlaw for no offense committed within the city or state of the United States

even, but simply because, as a citizen of a foreign country, I had dared to advocate freedom.

Nevertheless, he successfully made his way to New York and Lewis Tappan.\footnote{Shively, "Option," 89-90.}

Little is known of Andrews's connections to Baptist circles after leaving Texas. He did return briefly to the Republic in the fall of 1843, but he was forced to leave and by October was back in New York. Still a young man, Andrews spent the rest of his life in abolitionist circles. Before his brief return to Texas, he and Tappan had traveled to the second World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. His plan, although warmly received by British officials, collapsed by the intervention of Ashbel Smith, representing the Republic of Texas. Smith also warned officials in the United States, including John C. Calhoun, of Andrews's proposals.\footnote{Ibid., 90-93; Harriet Smither, "English Abolitionism and the Annexation of Texas," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly XXXII (October 1928): 194, 196; Stern, "Stephen Pearl Andrews," 511-12, 517.}

By the fall of 1844, Andrews had signed documents giving his former partner the right to dispose of his property in Texas. He became active in the Liberty Party, serving on the Business Committee and as secretary. In January 1845 he proposed a resolution at a Liberty Party
Convention that schools be open to all children of all classes.\textsuperscript{50}

Andrews's proposal was important enough to produce references to it in the official correspondence and papers of the United States, England, and Texas. In the end, however, his greatest contribution may have been the opposite of what he intended, as some believe that his plan hastened the annexation of the slaveholding Texas "empire" into the United States, thus assuring the South more power in the war against abolitionism.\textsuperscript{51}

As important as Andrews was to abolitionist activities, his opinions apparently remained separate from his religious activity while in Texas. No evidence exists that he tried to implement his ideas through Baptist organizations or even his own congregation in Houston. Even with the fact that he had support from fellow Baptists in Galveston, his goal was secular in nature and practical in its application. In the end, the type of sentiment expressed by Andrews was rare indeed among Texas Baptists.


\textsuperscript{51}See for example, Stern, "Stephen Pearl Andrews," 491, 522.
Summary

The personal relationships between slaves and masters among Baptists was, in the end, not much different than that among the general population. Baptist leaders and laymen interacted with their bondsmen much as anyone else would. Treatment varied but was mostly paternalistic, with a few cases of severe punishment. Challenges to the morality of slavery surfaced on only two occasions, and evidence for one is questionable. Otherwise, Baptists seemed to have accepted the institution as a vital and God-ordained part of their society.

The rationale that Baptists created to defend slavery was influenced by the economic benefit they received. Slaveholding Baptists held most of the wealth among their fellow religionists and improved their economic situation at a much higher rate. Slaveownership was also important in creating the prestige necessary for these individuals to be the leaders within the denomination. Baptist pastors owned bondsmen at a much higher rate than the general population and exercised considerable influence within church circles.

The geographical extent of slaveholding among Baptists corresponded to that for the rest of the state. Where bondsmen were held in great numbers, many Baptists owned them as well. Areas where slave ownership was less impor-
tant resulted in a smaller percentage of Baptist slaveholding.

These facts are not surprising, but they do indicate that Baptists were far from being concerned with otherworldly matters. Instead, church members simply reflected the secular world in which they lived. The moral contradiction of slavery was most profound in the economic area. Baptists could not abandon a system from which they received so much benefit, even if it did not fit well with their theology, and although much of this economic advantage would be lost with emancipation, the social patterns created to deal with slavery were maintained well after the Civil War.
CHAPTER V

SEPARATION

The years immediately following the Civil War provide an opportunity for detailing white Baptist attitudes toward their African-American brethren when emancipation thrust a new "relationship" upon them. Because of this freedom, a more precise assessment can be made of attitudes in the years preceding and during the war. Were white Baptists content to let the social differences between them and their former slaves lapse, or did they insist on maintaining long established attitudes and social mores? And what, then, does this period say about concerns and beliefs earlier? As for the black Baptists, how did they cope with their changed status, especially with regard to their white counterparts? This chapter will explore these new connections.

In the months immediately following the collapse of the Confederacy, the attitude among white Baptists toward the new status of the blacks was one of continued interest tempered with caution. The minutes of the Waco Association stated in its 1865 "Report on Colored Missions" that it was "inadvisable to inaugurate or recommend any particular plan of colored missions" due to the "unsettled condition of
society, and under the existing pecuniary embarrassments."

A similar Union Association report advised that because of the "present chaotic state it [would] probably be best not to attempt the suggestion of any specific plan." The Cherokee report, in October, expressed "embarrassment" because of the "changed condition of these people." Tryon Association, also noting the changed condition, observed that the former masters continued to have "a peculiar interest in their [black's] spiritual welfare," and recommended that the churches continued in their same course as before. James D. Whitten, writing for the Colorado Association, reminded his fellow messengers that the status of the "colored population" had "undergone a mighty and powerful change" from that of a year earlier when he was appointed. Therefore, he felt compelled to treat the subject with "great delicacy." All of these reports in the fall of 1865 took note of the new relationship and acknowledged the need to continue work among the Freedmen. White Baptists, however, preserved an inferior status for the former slaves.¹

¹"Minutes of 1865," Waco Association, n.d., p. 5; Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Washington Church, Commencing September 15th and ending September 18th, 1865 (Bellville, Texas: J. F. Osterhout and J. T. Kimbrough, Printers, 1865), 4; Minutes of the Tryon Baptist Association, Begun and Held with Bethel Church, Polk County, Texas, on Saturday, September 2d, A.D. 1865, Being the Eighth Annual Session (Houston: E. H. Cushing and Company, 1865), 9; Minutes, Colorado Association, 1865, p. 4.
A common theme was the inability of the Freedmen to fend for themselves. Whitten wrote that the blacks were "utterly dependent upon us as a race." Furthermore,

[they are certainly in a helpless and dependent condition. To think 4,000,000 of people, illiterate, uneducated, always having directed by superior minds, cared for in sickness and health, now suddenly turned loose upon the world to be buffeted about by every wind that blows, . . . . The strong feeling of sympathy and attachment which once existed between master and slave has been alienated, and consequently the strong arm which once encircled and supported him has been withdrawn. They have ever been and must continue to be throughout time subject to the superior intellect of the white man, for the history of the race proves clearly his inferiority, and the more feeble the mind or intellect, the lower the sphere in society must be occupy. Consequently the more needy and dependent he must be. The negro left to himself must of necessity retrograde, and finally, like the Indian, nationally die. . . . [H]is natural or normal condition is barbarism . . . .

Other reports were not quite so forceful, relying instead on the argument that the Freedmen were unprepared for freedom. 

"Their general course," according to the Union account, "will probably not be a wise one." Moreover, they were, by nature, "indolent, idle, and unreliable." The Waco Association left open at least the possibility of black attitudes being learned behavior:

he is by habit, or nature, or both, indolent, indisposed to voluntary labor, ignorant and vicious and with an extremely low standard of moral rectitude.²

²Minutes, Colorado Association, 1865, pp. 4-5; "Minutes of 1865," Waco Association, 5; Minutes, Union Association, 1865, p. 4.
This sentiment about black morals was echoed in A. J. Holt's history of the Old North Church near Nacogdoches:

Several Negro women after freedom were excluded for adultery. Emancipation seemed to not have improved the morals of the Negro members of this church: as before "freedom" there was no case of discipline among them save that one Negro man was disciplined for drinking.  

In spite of these limitations, or more precisely, because of them, whites felt an obligation to care for the spiritual well-being of the Freedmen.

Although the responsibilities of the master had ceased, one report continued, the "obligations of philanthropy and Christianity" had not. White Christians should make allowances for the Freedmen's lack of training in freedom and continue a "straight-forward, patient discharge of our Christian duty in bestowing upon them the free and elevating principles of Christianity." The "true and faithful friends" of the former slaves were Southern Christians. This report admonished white Baptists to remember the service provided by the blacks and take care of their "present necessities." The changed relations did not decrease the "duty to God in giving them moral and religious instructions." Whitten stated that "if he has a soul to save, it behooves us as Christians to spread over him as far as possible the cloak of Christian charity." Thus, parent-like

---

obligations of the former masters did not change with the new status and neither did the immediate relationship of Freedmen and whites within the churches.¹

Disciplinary action, meetings, and even membership continued for the Freedmen, although there were hints of a possible shift in attitude among both whites and blacks within the first year of emancipation. The Waco Association report for 1865 suggested that it might be better "to organize colored churches separate and distinct from white churches." Still, most associations preferred to retain black members, primarily because of the lack of qualified African-American ministers and the fear of false doctrine permeating Freedmen ranks. There were other reasons, as well. For example, Whitten wrote that they should be taught not only about God but "to fear and respect the laws of the country, that crimes of all kinds must be suppressed." The Cherokee Association report recognized the "unlettered condition" of the former slaves and advised that the Freedmen "retain their membership with the churches as at present organized, until such time as may be required to enlighten and indoctrinate them."²

¹Minutes, Union Association, 1865; Minutes, Colorado Association, 1865, p. 5.

²Minutes, Waco Association, 1865, p. 5; Minutes, Colorado Association, 1865, p. 5; Barr, Black Texans, 68; Minutes of the Cherokee Association, Held with Hopewell Church, Smith County, Texas, October 7th to 9th, 1865 (Tyler, Texas: Reporter Book and Job Office, 1865), 8.
In spite of these concerns, individual congregations continued to treat blacks as in the past, and associational minutes continued to record black membership after the Civil War. The San Marcos Association reported nine churches with African-American members in 1865, while Colorado Association counted twelve. Tryon Association had fifteen congregations with black members that year. Table 9 lists churches for two associations and their black membership in three select years after emancipation.\(^6\)

Overall, a slight increase is apparent in black membership between 1866 and 1868, indicating continued activity to convert the Freedmen. After that the numbers begin to fall (with a few exceptions). Furthermore, after 1870 most minutes listed no black members at all.

A few examples of disciplinary actions against blacks can be found in the years immediately after freedom. Isaac Mitchell was called before the Alvarado Church in August 1865 on charges of swearing. In the initial charge he was referred to as a "coloured Boy of Mr. Mitchells," without

\(^6\)The Articles of Faith, and Minutes of San Marcos Association, Held with the San Marcos Church, Caldwell County, Texas, September, 1865 (Gonzales, Texas: "Gonzales Inquirer," [1865]); Minutes, Colorado Association, 1865; Minutes, Tryon Association, 1865; Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with the Willey’s Creek Church, September 9, 10 and 11th, 1865 (Austin, Texas: The Southern Intelligencer Officer, 1865); Minutes of the Little River Association of Baptists, Held with Port Sullivan Church, Milam County, Texas, on Friday, September 15th, 1865 (Navasota, Texas: The "Ranger" Book and Job Office, 1865).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Austin Association</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round Rock</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11.6%)</td>
<td>(16.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnut Creek</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(41.9)</td>
<td>(51.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webberville</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(42.2)</td>
<td>(69.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willey's Creek</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17.9)</td>
<td>(16.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zion</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(25.0)</td>
<td>(31.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mt. Zion Association</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beulah</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(45.9)</td>
<td>(50.9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cool Springs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.5)</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(59.6)</td>
<td>(66.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Zion</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.3)</td>
<td>(7.3)</td>
<td>(6.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Prospect</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(34.5)</td>
<td>(36.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Salem</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(26.8)</td>
<td>(24.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiloh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.2)</td>
<td>(9.8)</td>
<td>(8.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(32.7)</td>
<td>(20.9)</td>
<td>(21.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Minutes.
reference to the changed status. After confessing his guilt at the next conference, he was forgiven and retained. A charge of "immoral conduct" was brought against "Isaac" in January 1866, and he was disfellowshipped in February. The record was unclear as to whether these two Isaacs were the same individual. At Macedonia Church in Carthage, "Jerry, a colored brother formerly belonging to Sparkman," was excluded for using "profane language."

Attitudes expressed and actions taken during the first year of freedom for Texas blacks were continued by both associations and individual congregations between the years 1866-1869 inclusive, although a few changes could be noted. The Cherokee Association, in 1866, speculated that little change had taken place within the churches because of their "silence" on the subject of black membership. The African-American population had some "claim" upon the whites, but "how to meet it and how to discharge it most discreetly to all concerned" was a "truly perplexing" subject. The Austin report noted that the blacks were "destined to wield an influence in our midst for good or for evil, both to us and to themselves." Furthermore, as God has given over to the whites the duty of "mental and moral training" for the blacks, then work needed to continue among them, particular-

---

7Minutes, 1845-1866, Macedonia Baptist Church, Carthage, Texas; Minutes, First Baptist Church, Alvarado, Texas, Book I, p. 29.
ly as they had always looked to the Baptists for their spiritual guidance.⁸

Associations varied in their emphasis on the status of the Freedmen. Some, like Mount Zion, maintained that Christian obligations did not entail "equality, social or political." The San Marcos Association, on the other hand, said nothing about the legal or social status of blacks, except to note differences had occurred.⁹ Instead, the emphasis was on Christian brotherhood:

The relation and rights of Christians begin inalienable, [t]hey must forever unalterably stand. That relationship and those Heaven-born duties arising out of them are the same now as before, and their performance imperatively demanded at our hands. If they had souls to be saved or lost under the old, they have them under this new relation. If they were worthy of Salvation then they are equally so now. If it was our duty to preach to them then it is equally so now. . . . We exhort you, therefore, brethren to neglect not your duty, nor suffer any change in your feelings for them because of an act performed by another. By it you have lost your property, yet do not let it jeopardize your souls, but continue to love God in all His dispensations and His people of every grade, rank and color under the sun.

Moreover,

⁸Minutes of the Cherokee Baptist Association, Held with Palestine Church, October 13, 1866 (Houston: Texas Baptist Herald, 1866), 9; Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Perryville Church, September 8, 1866 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866), 9.

⁹Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Mount Zion Association, Held with the Mt. Zion Church, Rusk County, Texas, September 14th, to the 17th, A.D., 1866 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866), 5.
as the colored man was raised with us and we with him, morally and religiously our destinies are the same; born under the same sun, raised in the same clime, enbibing the same habits, allied by the tender ties of family relationship, we can but regard them as part and parcel of us. . . .

This type of "religious" equality was always a part of Baptist understanding, but rarely was it so forcefully argued. The San Marcos statement was actually a revision of the original committee report, which was shorter and more general. The first report was given back to an expanded committee, resulting in the more lengthy account cited above.

That new black churches were begun and that blacks were meeting separately from whites was obvious from some of the minutes. A Trinity River report criticized the Freedmen for non-attendance "on the Ministry of white men," for having "worship to themselves," and for claiming that some had "been called to the Ministry . . . while very few of them have any qualifications whatever . . . ." This report suggested that white Baptists should convince blacks to abandon their night meetings. Moreover, a "united effort"

---

10Minutes of the San Marcos Association, convened at Hill's Prairie Church, Bastrop County, Texas, Friday before the First Sabbath in September 1866 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866), 9-10.

11Ibid., 4.
should be made to "convince them that the Southern people are their best friends."

Several African-American congregations attempted membership in white associations. A special committee of the Little River Association was created in 1866 to consider a petition of the Mount Gilead Colored Church for admission into the body. Although recognizing the need of Freedmen to receive the gospel and eventually to establish separate churches, the committee recommended that the "colored people remain, for the present, as they are, in connection with the white churches; and that the Association decline to receive the Mount Gilead Church." A Union Association committee, faced with a similar problem, also suggested that black members remain within white churches. The established fact of the African Baptist Church in Houston, however, required that this congregation be admitted into the association with the stipulation that they adopt the articles of faith of the First Baptist Church, Houston, and that annual delegates to the associational meetings come from that body. In a separate action, the association passed a resolution recommend-

---

12 Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the Trinity River Baptist Association, Held with the Lost Prairie Church, Limestone County, Texas, September the 8th, 9th, and 10th, A.D., 1866 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866), 7.
ing that the African Church choose its moderator and clerk from the membership of the white church.\textsuperscript{13}

The most detailed analysis of the problem of separate African-American churches was provided by the Colorado Association. The majority report, adopted by the body, advised against organizing Freedmen into their own congregations. A summary of the reasons given are as follows. First, blacks did not possess "sufficient intelligence and education" to avoid doctrinal errors when "unaided by the superior intelligence of the whites." Secondly, no blacks were really fit for the ministry nor were blacks capable of organizing themselves into associations. Lastly, the best way for whites to teach them would be in unified congregations "modified to suit altered circumstances." The report went on to suggest that separate meetings be established, where practical, with the assistance of a white preacher. In addition, white members should assist the Freedmen in conferences in order to train them in disciplining themselves and in accepting new members. No African-American

\textsuperscript{13}Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Liberty Baptist Church, Burleson County, October 25, 1866 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald Office, 1866), 3, 8; Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with the Brenham Church, Commencing on Friday, August 17th, Ending Monday 20th, 1866 (Houston: Gray Smallwood and Company, Book and Job Printers, 1866), 9, 15.
should be allowed to preach unless qualified and authorized by both black and white members.\textsuperscript{14}

The minority report, printed in the minutes, recommended that the Freedmen be organized into separate congregations. According to the chairman, the time had been "sufficiently long, since the former relation ceased to exist between the races," and that separation would "give satisfaction and liberal contentment" to both blacks and whites. In non-church related affairs, the Freedmen were not content to remain with their former masters "in a state of civil freedom." This would eventually be true in churches as well, as the blacks "never have been, and we presume never will be, permitted to exercise equal rights, immunities and privileges with the white members of the Church." Moreover, this constant feeling of inferiority would inhibit their ability to "enjoy that religious freedom and happiness which they would if associated in a separate organization entirely their own." Their ability to reach a greater number of Freedmen would be enhanced "with pastors of their own choosing, with deacons of their own setting apart, in houses of their own building, and exclusively under their own control for worship." Although this report expressed a religious concern, a practical one was addressed as well. If Baptists

\textsuperscript{14}Minutes of the Colorado Baptist Association, Held with Hallettsville Baptist Church, Lavaca County, Texas, Beginning Friday, September 14, and ending Tuesday, September 18, 1866 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1866), 19.
did not help the Freedmen in this manner, "[n]orthern fanaticism" would "raise its hideous monsters amongst us, dressed in heaven's livery" by "pandering to the prejudice and ignorance of the colored population. . . ."¹⁵ Although the majority report probably represented the consensus statewide, the minority report was more realistic in its assessment and reflected, to a large degree, the increasing black withdrawal from the churches.

Some associations were still expressing doubts as late as 1869 about the advisability of allowing black separation. The Little River report of that year lamented that "this unfortunate race is exceedingly addicted to superstition." Their desire to be away from white supervision was because they wished to come together "not for the better but for the noise."¹⁶ Soda Lake Association observed that Freedmen were "susceptible to religious training" but only under white supervision. The report continued:

... in no instance do we believe them competent to set up for themselves and maintain and perpetuate the wholesome and salutary doctrines of Baptists. This is one of the greatest evils resulting from emancipation. Therefore we recommend our churches to ordain no colored ministers who is incompetent to preside over and indoctrinate his

¹⁵Ibid., 20.

¹⁶Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Little River Church, Milam County, September 24th, 1869 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869), 15-16.
people into the principles of the Baptist denomination.\textsuperscript{17}

The Saline Association, as well, recommended the continuance of black membership "as when they were slaves" with preaching by white ministers.\textsuperscript{18}

Gradually, more associations advocated segregation. In 1867 the Sister Grove and Little River bodies advised churches to encourage black separation. A similar resolution in Bethlehem Association was tabled. The Union report of 1868, recognizing the "general disposition on the part of the freedmen to withdraw from our white churches and organize to themselves," recommended encouraging this trend while maintaining ties to aid and cooperate with African-American brethren.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17} Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Session of the Soda Lake Association, Held with Walnut Creek Church, Upshur County, Texas, September 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1869 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869), 12.

\textsuperscript{18} Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session, of the Saline Baptist Association. Held with Shiloh Church, Henderson County, Texas, October 16th, 17th, and 18th, A.D. 1869 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869), 9.

\textsuperscript{19} Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Sister Grove Baptist Association, Held with the Pilot Grove Church, at Pilot Grove, Grayson County, Texas, September 13th-16th, A.D. 1867 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1867), 14; Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Providence Baptist Church, Burleson County, September 29, 1867 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1867), 9; Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Bethlehem Baptist Association Held with Zion Hill Baptist Church, Jasper County, Texas, October 12th and 14th 1867 (Jasper, Texas: Jasper News-Boy Office, 1867), 3; Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Huntsville Church, Walker
Individual churches also had to deal with black separation. First Church, Jasper, asked the Bethlehem Association for an opinion on the "status of the colored members" because during "the past year they had had separate services and discipline." By April 1867 blacks were receiving and baptizing new members although the official date of church organization was August 1869. Letters of dismission were granted to black members of the regular (white) congregation at a number of conferences as they gradually separated. At Gonzales, Freedmen were first authorized to use the church building in the afternoon of any Sunday the whites were meeting "and at no other time." The whites then recommended that blacks organize themselves into a separate church with a white pastor provided they pay one-half of the building upkeep, choose a white person as clerk, and establish a Sunday school. Although the resolution passed unanimously, the pastor noted at a later conference that the blacks were reluctant to withdraw because they felt inadequate to create and maintain a church organization without the "advice and assistance of whites." The blacks agreed to help defray the expenses of the pastor's salary, but they did not desire a change in their status. The white members agreed to let them remain. As late as March 1867 blacks were still holding services at 3:00 with the white pastor in charge. The

County, Texas, commencing September 11, and ending September 14, 1868 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1868), 4.
Concord congregation (Red River County) appointed a committee of five to visit with the Freedmen and advise them to organize into a separate church. Once accomplished, the black members were all granted letters of dismission in October 1867.  

In April 1868, the Port Lavaca church approved a list of articles outlining the conditions under which "persons of African descent" would be allowed to remain or join. These included a provision separating white and black conference meetings. The Freedmen could not in any way participate in white meetings, yet they had to allow a committee of white members aid them in theirs. Furthermore, any property acquired by the respective congregations was the sole possession of that particular group. Finally, the African-American membership would be required to form a completely separate body at any time the white members thought it "expedient." Seven black members chose to remain under the conditions authorized by the whites. At the next conference, the Freedmen, meeting separately, chose their own moderator, assistant treasurer, and assistant financial secretary. By October, black members resolved to secure their own preacher and petitioned the whites for permission

---

20W. C. Blake, comp., A History of First Baptist Church of Jasper, Texas (Typed ms., 1835), p. 14, Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas; Minutes, First Baptist Church, Gonzales, Texas; Minutes, Concord Baptist Church, Red River County, Texas.
to use the meeting house "one half the time."  

By the beginning of 1870, Freedmen had also withdrawn or been asked to withdraw from Jasper, Old North, and Prairie Lea. Nevertheless, statistical tables of the associations attested to continued African-American membership.

The reluctance of associations to allow black congregations due to the inadequacy of ministerial candidates did not stop some from licensing Freedmen to preach. For example, in June 1866 the Rockwall Church licensed a black man, Anderson, provided he would preach only to other African-Americans. "Jordan" asked permission of the Society Hill congregation in Navarro County to preach among his own people. The church unanimously granted his request. Minutes of the Liberty Church mentioned a "colored brother Riley" who was asked to preach at the organizational conference of a black congregation.

By the late 1860s, Freedmen were still being accepted into membership, dismissed by letter, and disciplined in

---

21Minutes, First Baptist Church, Port Lavaca, Texas.

22Holt, "Brief History," 65; Ivey, First Baptist Church, Jasper, 7; Minutes, Prairie Lea Baptist Church, Caldwell County, Texas, Book II.

23First Baptist Church, Rockwall, Texas 1852-1952. Centennial Celebration," pamphlet, Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas; History of First Baptist Church, Rockwall, Archives, Roberts Library; Minutes, Society Hill, Navarro County, Texas; Minutes, Liberty Baptist Church, Liberty County, Texas.
many "mixed" churches. J. F. Hines's missionary report to the 1868 state convention reported that in San Antonio "[t]he colored membership is in a prosperous condition" as "many have been added to the church during the past year."

In July 1869, the Refugio Church voted to receive blacks into membership under the same conditions as whites until they had a sufficient number to organize into a separate body, and as late as October and November 1869, Freedmen were received into membership of the Redland (Nacogdoches County) and Trinity (Trinity County) churches, respectively.\(^\text{24}\)

Churches also continued to discipline blacks in the same manner as before emancipation. The Florence Church excluded a free woman, Easter, in December 1866, and another, Matilda, in November 1869, both for adultery. The most common disciplinary action was for absenteeism. On several occasions, the Trinity Church excluded Freedmen because no one knew their whereabouts. Similarly, the Plum Grove congregation (Fayette County) appointed a committee to investigate non-attendance by blacks. In October 1869, the committee recommended that "all" Freedmen be erased from the church roll because their places of residence were unknown.

\(^{24}\)Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1868), 18; Minutes, 1855-1918, Refugio Baptist Church, Refugio County, Texas; Minutes, 1859-1871, Trinity Baptist Church, Trinity County, Texas; Minutes, Redland Baptist Church, Nacogdoches County, Texas.
A statistical table at the end of the record book noted in 1871 that "colored all gone."\textsuperscript{25}

Between 1865 and 1869, local and associational minutes depicted both the continuity of work among the ex-slaves and the obstacles found in doing so because of the newly achieved status of the blacks. This dilemma was evident from the official state records as well. The 1866 report defended slavery as beneficial for the blacks' spiritual development. Many African-Americans shifted from being "steeped in the lowest superstitions and forms of idolatry" to "truly converted to God." Still, superstition and immorality reigned, requiring prolonged labor by white Baptists in providing "mental and moral elevation." Not only was this good for the Freedmen because it brought them into God's kingdom, but it was good for the "welfare of the whites" by making blacks less susceptible to strange doctrines and thus less dangerous. A separate report suggested the establishment of "sabbath schools" as a way to minimize "superstition and fanaticism" among the blacks. After commending J. F. Hillyer for volunteering to work among the Freedmen, others were encouraged to do so.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{25}Minutes, Florence Baptist Church, Florence, Texas; Minutes, Plum Grove, Fayette County, Texas.

\textsuperscript{26}Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866), 9, 24.
J. J. Sledge, writing as chairman of the 1867 committee "on the religious condition of the African race," expressed even more pessimism about the possibilities of work among the Freedmen. He wrote:

The prospects for their moral elevation are gloomy. They are not much inclined to hearken to white ministers; and there are but very few of their own color competent to instruct them in pure religion. They are averse to the simplicity and morality of the gospel; and easily swayed by fanaticism, superstition and animal magnetism. Their tendency is to barbarism and idolatry.

The role of white Christians would be to "arrest this tendency, and promote their religious welfare."  

After 1867, the accounts were more affirmative. A short report in 1868 noted that the Freedmen were "in very great need of religious care and instruction" and that churches should extend "sympathy and aid to the colored population." The committee went on the recommend that one or more missionaries be hired by the Baptist State Convention to work among the Freedmen. A resolution the next year opined that there was "no more inviting field for Christian labor" than that "among the colored population of Texas."  

Thus state, as well as local records became

---

27 Minutes of Twentieth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1867), 22.

28 Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention, of Texas (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1868), 16; Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Session of the Baptist State Con-
increasingly optimistic about black prospects in the five years after the Civil War. This was especially true as blacks relied increasingly upon themselves.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of assessing Baptist work among the blacks during Reconstruction is that done by the former slaves themselves. Under slavery African-Americans were allowed or requested to meet separately in many cases, and several of these congregations, such as at Galveston, were semi-autonomous. John Lee Eighmy viewed this as a positive development for later black activity as it gave them their own sense of worth and provided opportunities for leadership enhancement. With emancipation came increased latitude for organizing separate entities.\(^{29}\)

The almost immediate attempts by several black congregations to be admitted into white associations attested to their new-found freedom. Although few of these were granted membership, associations were acutely aware of the problem and a number of them addressed the issue. More important, records provided evidence of increasing African-American organizational activity. As noted earlier, several churches licensed black preachers specifically to preach to the Freedmen, and black congregations were continuously being created out of previous multi-racial congregations. A

\(^{29}\text{Eighmy, "Baptists and Slavery."}\)
Little River report observed in 1869 that there were two "African churches" within the bounds of the association, one with a white preacher and the other, near Lexington, with a black man. Together they had baptized seven individuals the previous year. Trinity River noted that a black association had been created. The Waco Association, making the same observation, felt that an African-American association would help hold off the Roman Catholics who bred on "ignorance and superstition." This report also mentioned that at least one black preacher was ordained. The Union Association was more specific about the new black association, noting that there were "about twenty churches" and that they had several ordained ministers who had "a good degree of intelligence, and some little education."  

Although rare, a few instances of black participation in white organizations before 1870 can be found. The African Church of Houston appeared on the Union Associational statistical tables for several years until 1868 when it joined the black group. The 1869 state financial report

30Minutes, Little River Association, 1869, p. 16; Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Trinity River Baptist Association, Held with Bethel Church, October 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, A.D. 1869 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869), 12; Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with the Cow Bayou Church, August 20 and 21, 1869 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869), 6; Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Huntsville Church, Walker County, Texas, commencing September 11, and ending September 14, 1868 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1868), 5.
indicated an offering of $6.60 from the "African Church at Towash."  

In general, the problem of the Freedmen within the churches was solved through their gradual removal and separation. Some congregations retained blacks after 1869, but these too were eventually segregated. In spite of separation, however, white Baptists continued to express an interest in the spiritual welfare of their former slaves.

An indication of the changes taking place could be found in the Colorado report of 1869 when the Committee on the Colored Population was discontinued and replaced by an African Mission Board with their own officers and financial arrangements. That same year, the Colorado Association refused admittance of the St. Paul's (black) Church in Victoria, recommending instead that the creation of distinct congregations required distinct associations, as well.

Several associations expressed an interest in the Freedmen as a good way to protect white Christians. The Waco Association felt that ex-slaves' salvation and the whites' "own welfare" demanded spiritual instruction for the Freedmen. Both Trinity River and Tryon Associations feared

---

31Minutes, Union Baptist Association, 1866-1868; Minutes, Baptist State Convention, 1869, p. 22.

32Minutes of the Colorado Baptist Association, Held with Hebron Baptist Church, DeWitt County, Texas, beginning Friday, October 15th, Ending Sabbath, October, 17th, 1869 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1869), 3, 9.
the incursion of Roman Catholic doctrine unless Baptists concerned themselves with the spiritual well-being of their former wards. The 1870 Tryon report was alarmed that "colored priests" were being educated to send among the blacks and that recent laws requiring school buildings for the Freedmen would be occupied by Catholic teachers "holding themselves in readiness to occupy these houses as soon as built." The Executive Committee of the Austin Association reported that they were unable to find "a sound Baptist minister" among the Freedmen, and that, unless white Baptists worked with them, they would be attracted by the "pomp and glitter" of the Roman Catholics who would use their conversion to "drive the Baptists from the land." 33

The primary issue was the "ignorance" of the Freedmen in matters of religion. One association found it prudent to preach to the blacks "until they became properly indoctri-

33Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with Salem Church, August 26th, 27th and 29th, 1870 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870), 13; Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Session, of the Trinity River Baptist Association, Held with Mount Pisgah Baptist Church, (Freestone County, Texas,) on Saturday before the Second Sabbath in October, 1870 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870), 8; Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session, of the Tryon Baptist Association, Held with Mt. Ariel Baptist Church, (Livingston, Polk County, Texas,) on Saturday before the Third Sabbath in October, 1870 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870), 8; Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Webborville Church, Travis County, Commencing on Saturday before the Third Sabbath in August, A.D. 1872 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1972.
nated . . . if even they should." The Freedmen were "uneducated and unmoralized" with a religion that consisted primarily of "human excitement." Another argued that the blacks were "heathenized Christians or christianized heathens at best." Because of their former status, they were unable to appreciate "civil or religious liberty" and, therefore, "naturally unfit to be Baptists." Nevertheless, Baptists should preach the gospel to them. The San Marcos Association lamented the "wild and superstitious" religious exercises practiced by the Freedmen and feared that any attempt to reform them "at present, would be time and labor spent in vain." Similar opinions were expressed by Saline, Austin, and Tryon Associations.  

---

34 Minutes of the San Marcos Association, convened with the Clear Fork Church, Caldwell County, Texas, on Friday before the Third Sabbath in July, 1871 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1871), 2; Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Liberty Hill Church, Saturday, August 16, 1873 (Austin, Texas: Statesman Book and Job Office, 1873), 7; Minutes of the San Marcos Association, Held with the Black Jack Church, Fayette County, Texas, Commencing on Friday, before the Third Sabbath in July, A.D. 1873 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1873), 5; Minutes of the Saline Baptist Association Held with Bright Star Church, Van Zandt County, Texas, in her Sixteenth Annual Session, Convened on the 26th day of September, A.D., 1874 (N.p., n.d.), 10-11. Minutes of the Austin Association, Held with Round Rock Church, Commencing August 19, 1876 (Round Rock, Texas: Headlight Book and Job Office, [1876]), 7; Minutes of the Tryon Baptist Association Held with the Bethel Baptist Church, Louisiana Settlement, Polk County, Texas, on Saturday Before the Third Sabbath in October, 1871 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1871), 4.
A few associations reasoned that outside manipulation was the cause of black ignorance. The 1871 state convention heard a report blaming the indisposition of Freedmen to accept teaching from white preachers as "brought about by a few politicians and for partizan [sic] purposes." Moreover, the enemy of souls may be seeking, by sectional and political prejudice, to dry up our sympathies and paralyze our efforts for this ignorant and deluded people. We should be guarded against such evils.

Concern for the salvation of men was "above and independent" of politics. The Bethlehem Association accused Northern Baptists of "blending politics, open communion, Campbellism, abolitionism, radicalism, and a host of other isms whose name is legion, along with their religion." Such opposition to traditional Southern Baptist shibboleths would be "subversive to the gospel."35

If ignorance was the problem, then education was the solution proposed by many groups. According to the Tryon Association, "[i]gnorance is the mother of superstition," and "as long as the benefits of education are withheld ... we may cherish no hope of their improvement in morals." The Union Association recommended instructing black preachers and churches in proper doctrine, encouraging Freedmen to

---

35 Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1871), 11; Minutes of the Bethlehem Baptist Association Held with Zion Hill Church, Jasper, Jasper County, Texas, October 7, 1871 (Houston: Texas Baptist Herald, 1871), 9.
establish Sunday Schools, distributing Bibles and tracts, supporting efforts to establish schools to train African-American ministers, and inspiring Freedmen to build schools to educate their children. An 1872 report stated that the "means by which the end must be attained" is "[e]ducation, physically, intellectually, and morally." What is "true of the white man is also true of the black." Little River Association stated that Freedmen should be advised to educate their children as well as themselves and, in the following year, suggested that white churches purchase and distribute to the Freedmen copies of doctrinal books, tracts, and newspapers including the Baptist Herald. Whereas before emancipation, education for the blacks was considered dangerous and useless, after freedom it became imperative.36

36Minutes of the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Independence Church, Washington County, Texas, commencing Sept. 9th, and ending Sept. 12th, 1870 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870), 17; Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Tryon Baptist Association, Held with Moscow Baptist Church, Moscow, Polk Co., Tex., on Saturday before Third Sabbath in October, A.D. 1873 (Houston: Texas Baptist Herald Print., 1873), 7; Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the San Antonio Association, Held with the Cibolo Church at LaVernia, Wilson County, Texas, Commencing Friday, Aug. 2, 1872 (San Antonio: Herald Job Printing and Book Binding Establishment, 1872), 4; Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Knob Spring Church, (Burleson County, Texas,) commencing Friday, September 23d, 1870 (Houston: The Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870), 10; Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association. Held with Dove Church, Caldwell, Burleson County, Texas, Sept. 22, 1871 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1871), 15.
The Texas Baptist Herald began publishing near the end of 1865. It too displayed similar attitudes toward the Freedmen as those found in state, associational, and local records. Included among its pages were scattered reports of the various official meetings held throughout the state. For example, in October 1866 the paper gave a lengthy column to the Colorado Association meeting in which minority and majority reports were presented on the issue of separation of blacks into their own churches. The correspondent who reported the action wrote:

We believe that the action of the Association in adopting the Majority Report, was the best present disposition of this perplexing question; as it is a self-evident proposition that the negroes, as a mass, are unprepared for keeping the doctrines and ordinances of the Word of God, pure and unmixed with error; that, unaided by the intelligence of the white race, and when entirely left to their own action, they would probably degenerate into animalism and superstition;--That there may be exceptions existing, in which separation would be beneficial to both races, is not disputed; but, as a general rule, we believe that this separation would be fruitful of evil; and as it is our bounden duty to extend instruction to this race, we had better hasten slowly in our action, and be guided by the indications which God's providence may unfold in the mysterious, unevolved and unsettled future.37

Other accounts of black congregations meeting under the auspices of white members were reported in personal writings forwarded to the paper.

37 "The Colorado Association," The Texas Baptist Herald (3 October 1866), [p. 1].
In addition to notices of meetings, the *Texas Baptist Herald* also published financial reports. In many of these, "colored members" gave regularly to help finance various mission and denominational activities. A third-quarter report on collections for the state convention noted contributions from the black members in attendance at the Union Association meeting and from those at Independence. African-American members of both the Plantersville and Anderson churches gave money for the Domestic Mission Board, $2.40 and $3.80, respectively. The Macedonia Colored Church gave an offering of $4.55 for state work at the end of 1867, while the black members at Gonzales and Halletsville participated in a collection for the state convention early in 1870.\(^\text{38}\)

Individuals, primarily ministers, occasionally wrote letters on the subject of ministry, education, and other topics relative to the Freedmen. On September 26, 1866, a lengthy letter by F. M. Law was published on the subject of "What Shall We Do for the Freedmen?" This letter was in response to an earlier epistle asking what was being done. Law praised the work done before emancipation and stated that he knew "the mind of Baptists well enough" to suspect

that there would be "no general relaxation of their efforts for this people under the new state of things." He proposed three articles for the newspaper. The first would be on current status of blacks; second, the duties of Christians to promote the gospel among them; and third, the most useful forms of instruction. Law tempered his last proposal by stating that "the mental capacity of the negro differs very much from that of the white man." For this reason, blacks were not "susceptible of cultivation to the same extent" as whites, nor was such a thing "desirable."

Law's assessment of the "moral condition of the freedmen" expressed some of the pessimism found in official reports. He wrote that the lowly "present moral status of the Negro" was "apparent to all" and, thus in no need of proof. This was as true for "Christian" blacks as well as non-Christian. He disagreed, however, with those who doubted the reality of slaves' salvation experiences. Superstition could be attributed to attitudes and practices passed on to each succeeding generation from the initial importation of Africans into the Americas. The solution to this problem was religious instruction, not rejection. White Baptists were admonished to work with the Freedmen to prepare them for the "practical Christian life," not only for the good of the blacks, but for the whites as well: "If they
[blacks] make shipwreck of character, occupying the position they do, we suffer also."39

A letter written in November 1868 reached a similar conclusion. This author, "J. H. W.," attacked those who wished to leave the blacks alone in response to Reconstruction activities. Instead of following "reason," "sound judgement," and "good policy," they were bound by the "dictates of passion and prejudice." If white Baptists allowed African-Americans to organize into separate congregations, they would be subject to all types of evil influences, particularly "Jesuitism." Christian education would not completely solve the problem, however, because for the descendants of Africans, superstition was "hereditary, engrafted into their very constitution." In order to forestall their degeneracy, blacks must be "controlled by the superior intelligence of the Caucassian [sic] races."

Leaving the Freedmen on their own would invite "rapes, arsons, murders, thefts, robberies, and in fine an exterminating war of races."

Like Law, this writer saw the neglect of the Freedmen as a reaction to the "malign influences" currently operating in the state. White Christians in their "natural and laudable hostility to political and social equality with ne-

39"What Shall We Do for the Freedmen?" The Texas Baptist Herald (26 September 1866), [p. 1].
groes," forgot the greater biblical principle of equality in Christ. Also like the previous writer, this author felt that self-interest was a part of the concern for the spiritual welfare of the former wards.  

Another letter, signed simply "A Native of the South," attacked an earlier epistle critical of the amount of work being done among the Freedmen and calling it "negro on the brain." In response to this claim, a correspondent wrote that it was "negro on the heart," not "on the brain," for those working diligently among the former slaves were also those hardest at work among the whites as well.  

Optimism pervading state and associational records after 1867 was also found on the pages of the Baptist Herald. J. W. D. Creath wrote several reports for the newspaper which included comments on the Freedmen. In March 1868 he stated that

[a]s a general thing, the Freemen have become so indolent and worthless, that the farmers are determined to employ white labors as far as possible.  

Six months later he wrote for the New Bethel and Texas Baptist Associations that

---

40 "What Shall be done with the Negroes?" The Texas Baptist Herald (11 November 1868), [p. 1].

41 "Negro on the Heart," The Texas Baptist Herald (14 November 1866), [p. 2].

42 J. W. D. Creath, "Cash and Pledges to the B.S.C.T.,” The Texas Baptist Herald (4 March 1868), [p. 2].
[t]he freedmen are working as a general thing much better since their pretended friends have ceased to interfere with them by removal. 43

W. D. Ferguson noted that the time has passed when "designing men from the North" interfered with the Freedmen's acceptance of white aid. Instead, the Freedmen now welcomed white instruction and, if the Baptists did not do so, the Roman Catholics would. He recommended that Sunday Schools be organized for the blacks and recounted his experience in establishing one with over forty children and young adults. Although only one fourth could read, they were "orderly, attentive and respectful, and willing and anxious to be instructed." 44

On occasion the Baptist paper became a sounding board for Southern apologetics. For example, William Howard's description of a black Sunday School in Brenham, referred to white Southerners as "the old, tried, faithful friends of the colored people." Another letter attacked the Bible Union for publishing a speech critical of Southern slaveholders. Slaves were not "in the darkness of ignorance and oppression," as reported in the speech. Instead, they had "many privileges, and were religiously taught." S. G. O'Bryan was critical of the new "revised version" of the

43J. W. D. Creath, "The New Bethel and Texas Baptist Associations, etc.," The Texas Baptist Herald (26 August 1868), [p. 1].

44W. D. Ferguson, "Letter," The Texas Baptist Herald (8 June 1870), [p. 1].
Bible for translating "men-stealers" as "slave dealers," providing an opportunity for abolitionists to apply the term to the biblical patriarch Abraham and, by extension, to Southern slaveholders. O'Bryan did not wish, however, to discard the new translation and, unlike the previous writer, he desired continued support for the Bible Union.\(^4^5\)

While defending the moral and intellectual superiority of the white race, several writers to the paper assaulted the viewpoint that blacks were not of the same physical origin as whites. A series of articles appeared critical of a pamphlet in circulation which claimed that blacks were pre-Adamic and, thus, beasts not subject to the gospel message. The pamphlet's author, "Ariel," proclaimed that Africans, as beasts, were preserved on the Ark by Noah. Ham's curse destined them to be "kinky headed, low forehead, thick lipped and black skinned." The author of the series, "J. A. K.," indicted this concept by showing its absurdities. If blacks were beasts, then they could be hunted and killed "like wild dogs." Moreover, it would be "no harm to kill a negro--a mere brute, while to kill the mulatto" would be "a righteous act and highly commended." A lengthy bibli-

A critical exposition followed attacking "Ariel's" position. F. M. Law, in calling for Freedmen schools, carefully outlined the differences between the races, yet still rejected the idea of separate creations for blacks and whites. Education would benefit both whites and blacks, and would have the added attraction of creating an African-American clergy able to read as well as "exhort" the "Word."

Correspondents to the Baptist Herald promoted education, in general, for the Freedmen, but more specifically called for Sunday Schools. One letter to the editor revealed the existence of three Sunday Schools for African-Americans in Houston, and others elsewhere. Another noted the formation of the first "African Sunday school" in Brenham under the direction of Noah Hill. In both cases, the "superintendents" and teachers were whites, and the first writer was "utterly opposed to mixed schools."

In the few years immediately following the Civil War, local and state records, as well as the state Baptist newspaper, attest to the tension created by the new-found status of the blacks. Calls for continued missionary activity and

46 "The Negro—is he Man or Beast?" The Texas Baptist Herald (26 August 1868), [p. 1]; (10 September 1868), [p. 1].

47 F. M. L., "Common Schools for the Freedmen," The Texas Baptist Herald (10 October 1866), [p. 1].

48 Letter, The Texas Baptist Herald (9 March 1870), [p. 2]; The Texas Baptist Herald (12 September 1866), [p. 2].
inclusion within white churches for the Freedmen were tempered by practical considerations of control and fear. Whites, unable to fathom a society in which blacks were truly equal, gave lip-service to Christian equality while maintaining as much actual separation as possible. Freedmen congregations continued to be under white direction, and they participated occasionally in associational matters. African-American desire for separation, however, forced white Christians to deal eventually with the changed status. This was especially evident after 1870.

Several associations continued to report on the "colored population" throughout the 1870s and into the 1880s. The twentieth session of the Cherokee Association accepted a report calling for increased missionary activity even though "[a]t first thought" they "were inclined to erase this subject from our books and ignore the fact . . . that such a population existed among us." Not only should preachers work among the blacks, but these white ministers should also encourage them to give for the support of missions. The Waco report of 1873 echoed some of earlier years in absolving the blacks of any role in creating their current situation. Chairman J. W. Speight wrote:

Puritan cupidity and avarice put them in bondage, and Puritan hate and fanaticism robbed their masters of the right to their labor. In entering into and emerging from a state of servitude the negro was equally passive and wholly irresponsible.
Freedmen were now legally full members of society, and their spiritual welfare was of supreme importance. Like the whites, blacks were "degenerate" sons of Adam and in need of salvation. The Austin Association summoned members to hire someone to work among the Freedmen, while the Waco Association felt that both blacks and whites should contribute to the work.49

The 1873 state convention report noted that several years had passed since that body had attempted any work among the Freedmen and that financial pressures excluded the possibility for the coming year. Nevertheless, Christian duty required individuals to work among the blacks at every opportunity. A year later the convention could state that

religiously we regard their prospects more hopeful, their outlook more cheering, and as promising more success in Christian development, than at any period in the past.

Moreover,

they have manifested more confidence in, and more disposition to be instructed by the white brethren than formerly.

49"Report on Colored Population," Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Session of the Cherokee Baptist Association, Held with Dove Church, Smith County, Texas Commencing October 7, 1871 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1871), 11; Minutes, Waco Baptist Association, 1873, p. 16; Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with the Union Church, Falls County, Texas, Commencing on Friday before the Fourth Sabbath in August, A.D. 1872 (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1872), 7; Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held at Round Rock, August 19th, 1871 (Georgetown, Texas: Sentinel Print., [1871]), 7.
The reason for this increased optimism was apparent from the same report. Black churches, during the preceding year, had organized their own state convention with a constitution that "did not materially differ" from the white body. At least four white preachers were involved in that organization, "by special invitation." In addition to a state convention, blacks began the process of establishing a school, particularly for ministers, and a "Minister Institute," where whites addressed black preachers on the "cardinal doctrines of our holy religion."50

The creation of a black state organization was indicative of increased separate activity by the Freedmen, a process noted in many official reports. The first meeting of the Blanco Association counted three black churches within the area—at Corpus Christi, Rockport, and "Strong's." The one at Corpus Christi had a black preacher, and all three were "in a prosperous condition." The Austin report observed that the Freedmen were "self-sustaining," having built their own edifices. They had "large congregations and a membership that does credit to them." An account from Gonzales submitted that they had "houses of worship supplied by intelligent Ministers of their own

50Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Texas Baptist Herald Print., 1873), 5; Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Office of the Baptist Herald, 1874), 7.
"The Elm Fork Association remarked that "many additions have been made to their churches, and from a religious standpoint the outlook is encouraging."  

The extent of black membership in their own churches is difficult to apprise precisely, although some statistics are available. A Neches River report mentioned the Palestine (black) Association with thirty churches, twenty ordained ministers, and 1,000 members. A year later this had grown to 2,299 members in thirty-seven churches. Minutes of black associations also furnished data on churches and membership. The Trinity Association report of 1875 counted thirteen congregations with 684 members. Twenty-nine churches comprised the Central Missionary Baptist Association in 1878, with eleven of these new since the previous year. Total membership numbered 2,796 for an average of 103 for those congregations reporting. The East Texas Colored Association had twenty churches reporting 2,433 members in 1874. Several churches did not report members, so the actual figure was

51Minutes of the First Annual Session of the Blanco Association, Held with the church at Oakville, Live Oak County, Texas, Commencing Friday, August 21, 1874 (Pleasanton, Texas: Stock Journal Office, 1874), 3; Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association Held with Lampasas Church, August 14th, 1875 (Austin, Texas: Democratic Statesmen Book and Job Office, 1875), 8-9; Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the San Antonio Baptist Association Held with Union Church, (Gonzales Co., Texas,) Commencing Friday, August 7, 1874 (Pleasanton, Texas: The Stock Journal Office, 1874), 2; Minutes of the Elm Fork Baptist Association Held with the Church at Rowlett's Creek, Commencing Friday, Aug. 31, 1877 (Dallas: Baptist Publishing House, 1877), 5.
actually higher. The largest of these congregations was at El Bethel in Smith County, with a total enrollment of 311. Of those reporting, the average size was 135 members. This same association listed fifty-one separate congregations with a total membership of 7,286 six years later. El Bethel remained the largest at 436 members, with the average size increasing to 155. The Guadalupe Association had eighteen congregations in 1879 and twenty in 1880. Membership grew from 1,016 to 1,141 during that same span, a twelve percent growth.\(^{52}\)

\(^{52}\)Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the Neches River Baptist Association, Held with Sardis Church, Cherokee County, Texas, Commencing Saturday, October 24th, 1874 (Houston: Office of the Baptist Herald, 1874), 11; Minutes of the Neches River Baptist Association, convened with the Friendship Church, Houston County (1875) (Houston: Office of the Baptist Herald, 1876), 8; Minutes of the Trinity Valley Association, Held with the Live Oak Neches Church, Beaumont, Texas, August 19th, 1875 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1875), n.p.; Minutes of the Central Missionary Baptist Association, Held with Anderson Baptist Church, August 15th, 1878 (Houston: Ed. Smallwood, The Houston Book and Job Printer, 1878), n.p.; Minutes of the East Texas Colored Baptist Association Held with El Bethel Church, near James-town, Smith co., Texas, Commencing October 3d, 1874 (Houston: The Office of the Baptist Herald, 1874), n.p.; Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the East Texas Baptist Association, Held with Antioch Baptist Church, Rusk County, Texas, October 1st, 1880 (Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1880), [p. 19]; Minutes of the Sixth Annual Session of the Guadalupe Baptist Association (Seguin, Texas: John L. Stephenson, Book and Job Printer, 1879), n.p.; Minutes of the Seventh Annual Session of the Guadalupe Baptist Association (Seguin, Texas: Bledsoe and Rainey, Book and Job Printers, 1880), n.p.; Minutes of the St. John Baptist Assn. Hill’s Prairie Bastrop County Texas July 11 1879 (N.p., n.d.), 5-8.
These numbers depict only a portion of total black Baptist participation in Texas as many churches failed to report and many associational records are not extant. The State Convention counted "about ten associations" in 1877. Two years later that figure had grown to twenty-three black associations with 50,000 members in five hundred churches and over two hundred ordained ministers. Z. N. Morrell's history counted 40,000 black Baptists in 1882 with six hundred churches and five hundred ministers in twenty-five separate associations. (Appendix D gives the names of African-American Baptist Associations as listed in the Texas Baptist Year-Book for 1879). These membership figures more than doubled by 1890.53

With separation of the black churches and associations came less opportunity for interaction. Nevertheless, black and white Baptists retained ties in some cases following separation. Whites continued to aid their black brethren but only on request. Several associations "urged" the African-American congregations to accept white supervision and direction; coercion, however, was impossible.

53Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Session of the Baptist General Convention of Texas (Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1877), 19; Minutes of the Thirty-Second Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Brenham, Texas: Stallings and Sayles, Printers, 1879), 11; Barr, Black Texana, 107; Z. N. Morrell, Flowers and Fruits, 411.
One manner in which the two groups remained in contact was through "messengers" sent to one another's meetings. The Rehoboth Association appointed four men to attend the "colored brethren's association" on request from the blacks who desired whites to instruct them on associational matters. "Elder Wall" reported back from the black Palestine Association meeting where he was sent as an observer from the (white) Neches River Association. The Red River Association issued a call to members for assisting in the establishment of a black association the week after their own meeting. Messengers were sent from black bodies to the white ones as well. The thirty-fourth annual session (1881) of the Baptist State Convention included a messenger, J. S. Campbell, from the Lincoln (black) Association. Another visitor at that same meeting was S. W. Marston, superintendent for the Freedmen's Mission of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. There is no indication whether these men were black or white. Campbell, listed in the 1879 Baptist yearbook as corresponding secretary for the "Freedmen's Baptist State Convention of Texas," was probably black and Marston white, but it is impossible to tell from the record.54

54Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Rehoboth Baptist Association Held with Glade Springs Church, Franklin Co., Commencing September 29, 1876 (Dallas: "Texas Baptist" Publishing House, 1876), 5; Minutes, Neches River Baptist Association, 1875, p. 8; Minutes of the Red River Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church at Clarks-ville, Red River County, Texas, Beginning on Saturday before the 1st Sabbath in September, 1872 (Houston: Office of the
Various other methods of religious interaction could be noted in official records including continued preaching by whites at black services, financial aid, ordination of black preachers, and, in at least one instance, personal education. The State Convention report for 1877 stated that one black man was studying under the tutelage of William Carey Crane, president of Baylor University at Independence. The training of qualified African-American ministers remained a high priority for white Baptists, and in 1880 four hundred dollars was raised for the purpose of erecting a building in Marshall for a new college. The 1881 state report recommended that further assistance be given to the newly established Bishop Baptist College in Marshall, an institution for Freedmen established by the Northern Home Mission Society. The importance of education to blacks was obvious as well as at least three other schools were started by black Baptists within five years of Bishop's organization.

In spite of these indications of cooperation, the split between black and white Baptists introduced during slavery was perpetuated after emancipation. Interaction, although

---

Texas Baptist Herald, 1872), 12; Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Brenham, Texas: Frederick R. Carrick, 1881), 3.

55Minutes Baptist State Convention, 1877, p. 19; Minutes, Baptist State Convention, 1881, p. 11; Minutes of the Thirty-Third Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Brenham, Texas: "Reporter" Book and Job Printing Office, 1880), 17; Barr, Black Texans, 102-103.
existing, was rare and not uniform throughout the state. Many official statements held forth for a continued paternalism with white functioning in much the role they had during slavery. It was that attitude that no doubt drove the African-American members to disassociate themselves in order to have greater freedom to worship.

What was true institutionally, was just as certain in personal interaction and attitudes. In the personal accounts which could be discovered, no evidence exists of a wholesale change in attitudes among white Baptists who found themselves political equals to their former wards. The theology of equality so often preached in Baptist churches did not have an extension in the social and economic realm.

A few examples can be found of the treatment of Freedmen by individual Baptists. William Carey Crane, minister and President of Baylor University, wrote in his diary about preaching to, baptizing, administering communion to, and ordaining African-Americans. The newly obtained status of the blacks could be drawn from his record of marrying six Freedmen couples within a six-month period. Official records as well as reports to the state Baptist paper corroborate Crane’s activities.56

Isaac Parks, one of the larger slaveholders in the data set, provided detailed diary entries offering insight into

56William Carey Crane Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
attitudes among white Baptists toward their newly emancipated slaves. The diary made it clear that not only was Parks a Baptist, but a faithful church-goer as well. On 24 June 1865 he "called up all hands" and "read to them the late military orders declaring them free." His commentary on the Freedmen's reactions is worth repeating:

Some appeared sullen and some quite displeased with some of the regulations; some seemed sorry for the proposed change, some glad, while several expressed a determination to go to work as before. I directed them to finish hoeing the water melon patch, and enjoy themselves as best they could, as they had been engaged a good portion of the week in playing marbles.

Several Freedmen left that evening "without passes" as outlined in the new regulations, and Parks continuously wrote of certain blacks disappearing. Most of these returned within a day or two, and on at least two occasions he went to retrieve his "fugitives." He also noted circumstances when he came across wandering Freedmen and sent them back to their place of residence.

Parks had to adjust his labor situation as freedom progressed. Two days after announcing emancipation to his slaves, he wrote: "Negroes very loth [sic] to go to work."

The next day his son worked with the Freedmen and

[his presence done much more than make up for 6 absent hands, for the remnant done as much work, year, more by 8 o'clock, than all the hands did yesterday all day long.

One slave, Alfred, "became insolent and left, having refused to work at all." Parks attended a meeting from someone
reporting on what could be done about hiring and managing the Freedmen. Less than two weeks after his "freedom" announcement, he wrote: "Hands beginning to work a little harder." Still, he complained about the lack of work from the blacks. By November, Parks was paying the Freedmen wages. Six men were hired at $10 per month and two women at half that wage. On 18 November he noted that he had "settled up with Henry, Tom, Sank, Ben and wife" and in January signed a contract with the blacks.57

By January 1867, Parks was hiring blacks by the day. Wages varied from $.75 to $1.50 for the men and $.75 for the women. The agreement usually entailed a contract and was sometimes for a limited period. In June 1868, "Charlie" was hired for forty-two days only. Parks also hired from the sheriff a Freedman who was required to work off a fine for stealing. This cost him $.40 per day. Other work or barter arrangements were made periodically. At one point he "killed a beef" for a Freedman and noted that he was searching for cattle trades with the blacks in return for lumber.58

The new arrangement occasioned by freedom appeared to make little difference in Parks's treatment of the blacks. He continued to manage them much as he had before with the

57Isaac Parks Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

58Ibid.
added burden of making labor contracts. The comings and goings of various Freedmen were always mentioned as were deaths. Although he was interested in the physical well-being of the Freedmen, it is hard to determine whether this was real humanitarian concern or simply a financial one. On 30 June 1865, after noting the "Negro Jim sick," he wrote "Pat (mule) died." The only personal comment he included in his diary on the situation was on the first anniversary of emancipation in Texas (19 June) when he attended a black celebration honoring

their freedom, and of my poverty by the usurpations of the powers that be by dispossessing me of my lawful property, the hard earnings of myself, my parents and my grandparents.

Although obviously a faithful member of a local Baptist church, Parks made no mention of the religious affairs of the former slaves.59

Lizzie Penick, a Baptist writing to relatives in Georgia, expressed some of the same sentiments appearing in Parks's diary. A letter dated 21 December 1866 observed that blacks could not be hired to cultivate the farm. Early the next year, fourteen former slaves rented a second farm owned by the family. Although the Freedmen fed themselves,

59Ibid.
Penick's husband provided the land, a team, and feed for the team.\textsuperscript{60}

Penick's attitude toward the Freedmen was obvious from several comments. In complaining about the inability to hire blacks for working, she wrote: "[t]his is the best place in the world for negroes." On another occasion she commented that "negroes don't half work." A letter from Josephine Henry mentioned that her husband was operating a farm for $20 a month, but that "overseeing free negroes is unprofitable and unpleasant business."\textsuperscript{61}

A number of former slaves remembered their treatment at the hands of Baptist owners during emancipation and beyond. Amy Else belonged to a Baptist preacher, Dr. William Evans, in Marshall. She recalled her master and his wife gathering all the blacks at the in-town dwelling and crying as they announced freedom. Those who wished to stay were offered an opportunity to purchase land and pay it out over time. Another minister, Robert Turner, also wept as he announced emancipation. Two of his former slaves agreed that he seemed reluctant to free them because of his concern for their welfare. He offered land on a sharecrop basis. Elsie Reece recalled her Baptist owner joking with the Freedmen

\textsuperscript{60}Laura L. Perry Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid.
that they had to leave and then offering them an opportunity to remain for wages or sharecrop. Lewis Jones stayed with his former owner as a coachman for eight years after emancipation.\textsuperscript{62}

Mandy Hadnot remembered remaining on the Slade estate with her mother as a house servant after emancipation. After her mother’s death, she experienced a severe burn, but was nursed back to health by Mrs. Slade, "a good ol’ Baptis’ lady." The former owner spent hours reading the Bible, praying, and crying in empathy. At the age of sixteen, Hadnot was allowed to bring her boyfriend to the "big house" where they were taken to church by Slade. Afterwards they would be fed a nice dinner and be given ice cream. Hadnot recalled that although her former mistress paid her money "long after freedom," she was "too clos’ t’ spen’ any." Her wedding was arranged by Slade complete with "hope chest" and wedding dress. Several weeks after leaving, Hadnot was summoned to the Slade house where her former owner was ill. Hadnot does not mention going to church after emancipation, but it seems reasonable to assume, given their relationship, that she and her "mistress" shared a Christian bond of some

type. Slade had encouraged her servant’s church membership in slavery and had stood with her when she joined.\(^{63}\)

Hadnot remembered the years after slavery as a time when she was treated kindly and with respect by her former white owner. She may have been cautious in her statements because of the interview format, or perhaps she was remembering incorrectly after the intervening years. On the other hand, she may have remembered those events properly, for there were certainly whites who did treat their servants almost as family. If Mrs. Slade did do what Hadnot remembered, then she came close to fulfilling the expectations of her theology—that whites and blacks were co-equal in God’s sight. For many others, however, the institution of slavery and the relationship between black and white Christians remained an unresolved dilemma.

Summary

Ideas and attitudes expressed during the pre-war years were retained during the Reconstruction era. White Baptists continued to promote missionary activity among the freedmen, yet maintained a social separation. This led, eventually, to an African-American withdrawal from these congregations and the creation of separate entities. Both official records and personal recollections seemed to treat

blacks the same way as before. Only gradually did white recognition take place and separate Freedmen institutions accepted.

The creation of distinct local and regional organizations by the blacks was not only a sign of their "emancipation," but also of their desire to find within their own communities the psychology necessary to cope with their changed condition. Interaction with their white brethren gave the African-Americans some sense of Christian unity of purpose, but it did not seem to be enough to assure them of full "brotherhood" with the whites.
CONCLUSION

The fact that Baptists were living with a "contradiction" in owning slaves is not a new idea. The institution itself created a paradox in the United States. A nation born in the fire of revolutionary zeal, nurtured on natural rights philosophy, and dedicated to some form of democratic government maintained and benefited from a system that appears, from a modern perspective, to have been the antithesis of those ideals.

This study has explored that paradox for Baptists as they attempted to reconcile their theology with their actions. Texas Baptists came mostly from the American South, thus incorporating an already established slave system into their own culture. Only a handful of white Texas Baptists questioned slavery; the rest defended it both personally and in official statements from associational and state conventions. Moreover, a large percentage of Baptists owned slaves and benefited economically from the labor the blacks provided.

Still, Texas Baptists felt compelled to defend the humanity of slaves and the importance of imparting the gospel to them. Year after year they advocated religious
instruction for bondsmen and encouraged their wards to attend worship services, either with whites or separately. In addition, missionaries were active among the slaves, and white preachers regularly met with black congregants.

The result of this missionary activity was that black membership in Baptist churches was extensive, amounting to almost one third of all individuals, and in some cases, exceeding fifty percent. Treatment of blacks was similar to that accorded whites in terms of acceptance for membership, discipline, and granting letters of dismission.

This study posits the idea that these disparate attitudes toward slaves created a type of moral dilemma, similar to one suggested by Charles Grier Sellers and Eugene Genovese. These two historians, however, offer substantial "proof" of a dilemma by recounting the actual statements of Southerners.¹ No statements of doubt about the institution surfaced among white Texas Baptists. Where, then, was the dilemma? Did one exist, or were Baptists merely living with an unresolved paradox?

The amount of space dedicated by Baptist slaveholders and others to defending the institution, and the extent of "concern" for the blacks's spiritual welfare, seem to imply a tension that existed within Baptist minds on the subject. Whites readily accepted the socio-economic system in which

¹Sellers, "Travail of Slavery," 40-71; Genovese, Slaveholders' Dilemma, 10-45.
they lived, accommodating themselves to its demands. Although African-Americans were accepted into membership, their participation was restricted. Slaves were assigned special seating away from the white participants or segregated completely into separate services at different times. Perhaps whites held on to their status while reaching out to slaves as an appeasement to their sense of obligation and Christian duty.

The tension created by slavery could be found in interpersonal relationships between black and white Baptists. These were frequently friendly and well-intentioned, and many ex-slaves remembered those times with affection. Still, no white Baptist, with the exception of Stephen Pearl Andrews, seriously questioned the morality of slavery, and in his case, slavery's demise had important financial and political implications wholly separate from any moral considerations.

Bondsmen, assigned an inferior status, managed to find some consolation in occasionally holding their own services, electing their own officers, and even listening to their own preachers. In addition, religion became an escape, a way to be free within the confines of a less than ideal life. Baptist churches in Texas enhanced those feelings by providing opportunities, albeit small ones, for self-expression and leadership. "Church" became a focal point for African-Americans, and after emancipation they gradually took it
upon themselves to organize their own institutions, both local and state, as an extended form of their new-found freedom. Had white Baptists more readily accepted the improved status of the Freedmen, allowing them to participate equally in church matters, they might have stayed. The failure of the whites to do so resulted in a black exodus from mixed churches.

All of these trends, in the end, were not much different from the population at-large. Slavery was a complex game of economics and social interaction played out on a field of human frailty and inconsistency. White and black Baptists learned to cope in their own way.

The fact that slaves were allowed a measure of freedom within Baptist churches suggests that perhaps the questions posed about white actions are flawed. Douglas L. Wilson, writing on Thomas Jefferson in 1992, warned of the pitfalls of "presentism" in assessing history. In attempting to understand Jefferson, the historian must view his world the way he saw it, not the way it is viewed today. Wilson wrote:

How could the man who wrote that "All men are created equal" own slaves? This, in essence, is the question most persistently asked of those who write about Thomas Jefferson, and by all indications it is the thing that contemporary Americans find most vexing about him.

This question carries a silent assumption that because he practiced slaveholding, Jefferson must have somehow
believed in it, and must therefore have been a hypocrite. My belief is that this way of asking the question . . . is essentially backward, and reflects the pervasive presentism of our time. Consider, for example, how different the question appears when inverted and framed in more historical terms: How did a man who was born into a slaveholding society, whose family and admired friends owned slaves, who inherited a fortune that was dependent on slaves and slave labor, decide at an early age that slavery was morally wrong and forcefully declare that it ought to be abolished?\(^2\)

Using Wilson's argument, perhaps the question should not be how could these Christians hold slaves, but how could these slaveholders allow blacks into their churches and give them a measure of independence. Unlike Jefferson, however, white Texas Baptists never agonized over slavery as antithetical to their ideals. Instead, they accepted both elements of their belief system equally—blacks were destined by nature and history to be slaves, yet were due a gospel presentation as children of God.

Just as the seeds of emancipation could be found in Southern ideals of equality and democracy, so the seeds of slavery's demise were found in the idea of spiritual equality. The Baptist concepts of individual accountability and "soul-freedom," as well as the congregational system of governance, almost demanded some rights for the blacks. Once the intellectual assent to African humanity was made, Baptists had no choice but to grant certain responsibili-

ties. Baptists created a social system within their church-es that relied, to a large degree, on separation, with the full understanding that such a thing would not be true in God's kingdom. The separation allowed them to maintain an element of class status and position while at the same time granting the slaves a small measure of "being" as dictated by New Testament principles. After emancipation this ten-sion was preserved for awhile, until complete segregation ensued. But even then, white Baptists continued to assert the essential equality of all humans before God, including their black brethren. In the end, the moral dilemma for white Baptists was more implied than direct, yet could still be found in the difference between words and action.
APPENDIX A

ASSOCIATIONAL MINUTES
Date in parenthesis is organization of association. Other dates indicate published minutes available at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.

Alvarado (1864) — 1854, 1856, 59, 66-69, 71-80
Angelina (1875) — 1875-76, 1880
Austin (1857) — 1857-58, 61-62, 64-80
Blanco (1873) — 1873-80
Bosque (1869) — 1869, 71-80
Central (1852, previously Eastern Texas) — 1855-59, 1869-70, 72-73, 75-77, 79-80
Cherokee (1851) — 1855-57, 59-61, 63, 65-80
Colorado (1847) — 1847-61, 63, 65-76, 78, 80
Comanche (1875) — 1875-80
Eastern Missionary (1847, see Soda Lake) — 1847
Elm Fork (1849) — 1849-1880
Enon (1873) — 1874, 79-80
Hamilton County (1877) — 1878
Harmony (1865) — 1865, 71-74
Jacksboro (1876) — 1877-80
Judson (1853) — 1853, 55
Lavaca River (1877) — 1877-80
Leon River (1858) — 1858, 68-73, 75, 77-80
Little Brazos (1875) — 1879-80
Little River (1855) — 1855-77, 79-80
Mount Zion (1857) — 1857-59, 66-70, 72-76
Navasota River (1874) — 1874-77, 80
Neches River (1873, previously Texas) — 1873-75, 79
New Bethel (1860) — 1866, 68, 70-72, 74, 78-79
Palo Pinto (1879) — 1880
Paluxy (1880) — 1880
Pecan Valley (1876) — 1876-78, 80
Pedernales (1876) — 1876-80
Red Fork (1877) — 1880
Red Gap (1879) — 1880
Red River (1848) — 1857, 71-72
Rehoboth (1855) — 1856-59, 70-80
Richland (1867) — 1858-60, 67, 69-80
Sabine (1843) — 1843-45, 47-49
Salado (1874) — 1874-80
Salem (1863) — 1870, 73, 78-79
Saline (1858) — 1864, 69, 71-72, 74, 76, 78, 80
San Antonio River (1858) — 1858-59, 63, 65-72, 74-79
San Marcos (1858) — 1858-60, 65-77, 79-80
San Saba (1875) — 1877-80
Shiloh (1862) — 1868, 76, 79-80
Sister Grove (1853) — 1854-61, 64-80
Soda Lake (1848, previously Eastern Missionary) — 1847, 54, 1856, 69, 75
Texarkana (1874) --1875-80
Towash (1873) --1873, 77
Trinity River (1848) --1849-50, 55-59, 61, 63-67, 69-74, 1876-80
Tryon (1858) --1858, 60, 62, 64-80
Union (1840) --1841, 43-74, 76-80
Waco (1860) --1860-80
Waxahachie (1873) --1874, 76, 78-80
West Fork (1855) --1855-61, 67, 69, 71-76, 80
APPENDIX B

CHURCH RECORDS
| Allen's Chapel (Fannin County) | Jamestown (Smith) |
| Alvarado (Johnson)            | Jefferson (Marion) |
| Anderson (Grimes)             | Lake Creek (Limestone) |
| Anna (Collin)                 | Lexington (Lee) |
| Bear Creek (Tarrant)          | Liberty (Burleson) |
| Bellville (Austin)            | Liberty (Collin) |
| Belton (Bell)                 | Lonesome Dove (Tarrant) |
| Bethel (Bastrop)              | Macedonia (Panola) |
| Bethel (Ellis)                | Macedonia-Hix (Burleson) |
| Bethel (Henderson)            | Marlin (Falls) |
| Black Jack (Fayette)          | Milford (Ellis) |
| Blanca (Refugio)              | Mill Creek (Austin) |
| Blue Ridge (McLennan)         | Missionary (Bell) |
| Bold Springs (McLennan)       | Montgomery (Montgomery) |
| Brenham (Washington)          | Mount Pisgah (Leon) |
| Brushy Creek (Williamson)     | Mt. Antioch (Hill) |
| Bullard (Smith)               | Mt. Antioch (Limestone) |
| Caddo (Milam)                 | Mt. Zion (Houston) |
| Caney Creek (Fannin)          | Oakland (Colorado) |
| Carmel (Smith)                | Old North (Nacogdoches) |
| Chappel Hill (Washington)     | Old Union (Titus) |
| Concord (Fayette)             | Onion Creek (Coryell) |
| Concord (Leon)                | Palestine (Anderson) |
| Concord (Liberty)             | Parker (Parker) |
| Concord (Red River)           | Pennington (Trinity) |
| Dove (Burleson)               | Perry (McLennan) |
| Ebenezer (Walker)             | Pilgrim (Anderson) |
| Enon (Cass)                   | Pilot Point (Denton) |
| First (Denton)                | Pilot Grove (Grayson) |
| First (Ellis)                 | Pleasant Grove (McLennan) |
| First (Galveston)             | Plum Grove (Fayette) |
| First (Gonzales)              | Port Lavaca (Fayette) |
| First (Harris)                | Prairie Lea (San Augustine/Caldwell) |
| First (Harrison)              | Prospect (Lee) |
| First (Jasper)                | Providence (Bastrop) |
| First (Rockwall)              | Providence (Nacogdoches) |
| Five Mile (Dallas)            | Refugio (Refugio) |
| Friendship (Denton)           | Rock Creek (Johnson) |
| Greenville (Hunt)             | Rowlett (Collin) |
| Hamilton (Shelby)             | Salem (Burleson) |
| Hardin (Hardin)               | Salem (Cherokee) |
| Hickory Creek (Denton)        | Salem (Limestone) |
| Honey Grove (Fannin)          | Shiloh (Robertson) |
| Houson Bayou (Sabine)         | Shiloh (Williamson) |
| Huntsville (Walker)           | Society Hill (Navarro) |
| Independence (Washington)     | Spring Creek (Collin) |
| Indianola (Calhoun)           | Springfield (Limestone) |
Sterling (Robertson)
Stewart Creek (Denton)
Sulpher Springs (Hopkins)
Tehuacana (Freestone)
Tres Palacios (Matagorda)
Trinity (Trinity)
Union (Williamson)
Vineyard Grove (Fannin)
Waco (McLennan)
Wallis (Austin)
White Rock (McLennan)
APPENDIX C

COUNTIES
Anderson *
Austin **
Bastrop
Bell
Burleson **
Caldwell
Calhoun **
Cass
Cherokee
Collin **
Coryell
Dallas
Denton *
Ellis
Falls
Fannin **
Fayette **
Galveston **
Gaonzales
Grayson **
Grimes **
Hardin
Harris **
Harrison
Hill
Hopkins
Houston
Hunt
Jasper **
Johnson
Lee
Leon
Liberty **
Limestone
Marion
Matagorda **
McLennan
Milam
Montgomery
Nacogdoches **
Navarro **
Panola *

Parker
Polk
Red River **
Refugio **
Rockwall
Robertson
Sabine
San Augustine *
Smith **
Tarrant *
Titus
Trinity *
Walker
Waller
Washington **
Williamson **

* Denotes countes used in data set.

** Denotes subset of twenty counties used for statistical analysis--distributed by region.
APPENDIX D

BLACK ASSOCIATIONS
(As listed in Baptist Year-Book, 1879)
Black Bayou
Bethel
Central Missionary * **
Cypress
East Texas *
Fourth District
Friendship, Waxahachie
First District
Guadaloupe *
Good Hope, Waco
Lincoln
LeGrande
Northwestern
Palestine
St. John *
St. Paul
Second District
Trinity Valley *
Third District
Texas and Louisiana
Unity
Walker County
Zion

* Denotes those with extant records used in study.

** Central Missionary was not listed in the yearbook but some records were found.
WORKS CONSULTED

Primary Sources

Associational and State Records

The Articles of Faith, and Minutes of the San Marcos Association Held with the San Marcos Church, Caldwell County, Texas, September, 1865. Gonzales, Texas: Office of the "Gonzales Inquirer," [1865].


Baptist State Convention, of Texas. Session of 1862. Houston: E. W. Cave, Publisher, 1863.

Minutes of St. John Baptist Assn., Hill's Prairie, Bastrop County, Texas, July 11, 1879.

Minutes of the Austin Association, Held with Round Rock Church, Commencing August 19, 1876. Round Rock, Texas: Headlight Book and Job Office, [1876].

Minutes of the Austin Association, Held with the Church, Burnett County, Texas, in July, 1858. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1858.

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association Held with Lampasas Church, August 14th, 1875. Austin: Democratic Statesman Book and Job Office, 1875.

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Liberty Hill Church, Saturday, August 16, 1873. Austin: Statesman Book and Job Office, 1873.

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Love Creek Baptist Church, Burnet Co., Texas, August 18, 19 and 20, 1877. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1877.
Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Perryville Church, September 8, 1866. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866.

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Round Rock Church, Williamson Co., Texas, Commencing on Saturday, October 18th, 1879. Houston: Office of Texas Baptist Herald, 1879.

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held at Round Rock, August 19th, 1876. Georgetown, Texas: Sentinel Print, [1871].

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Walnut Creek Church, September 12, 1868. Austin: Walker and Lane, 1868.

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Webberville Church, Travis County, Commencing on Saturday before the Third Sabbath in August, A.D. 1872. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1872.

Minutes of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with Webberville Church, September 7, 1867. Austin: Joseph Walker, State Printer, 1867.


Minutes of the Cherokee Baptist Association, Held with Knoxville Church, Cherokee County, Texas, October 13th, 1860. Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist, 1860.

Minutes of the Cherokee Baptist Association Held with Larissa Church, Cherokee County, Texas, October 10th, 1863. Tyler, Texas: Reporter Book and Job Office, 1864.


Minutes of the Colorado Association, Held with the New Providence Church, Gonzales County, Texas [1858]. Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist Book and Job Office, 1858.

Minutes of the Colorado Association held with Old Caney Baptist Church, Wharton County, Texas, on Friday the 15th of September 1859. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1859.

Minutes of the Colorado Association, Held with the Shiloah Baptist church, Fayette County, Texas. Beginning Friday, 14th, and closing Tuesday, 18th September, 1860. San Antonio: The Herald Steam Press, 1860.


Minutes of the Convention and First Annual Session of the San Marcos Association Held with Elm Grove Church, November, 1858. And Shiloh Church, September, 1859. Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist Power Press, Print., [1859].

Minutes of the Convention and First Session of the Austin Baptist Association, held with the Baptist Church at Austin, Texas, [1857]. Austin: "Intelligencer" Book Office, 1857.

Minutes of the East Texas Colored Baptist Association held with El Bethel Church, near Jamestown, Smith co., Texas, Commencing October 3d, 1874. Houston: The Office of the Baptist Herald, 1874.

Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the New Bethel Baptist Association Held with Beech Creek Church, Tyler County, Texas, Commencing Oct. 14th, 1879. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1879.
Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the Trinity River Baptist Association, Held with the Lost Prairie Church, Limestone County, Texas, September the 8th, 9th, and 10th, A.D., 1866. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866.

Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the Union Association, Held with Bethany Church, Grimes County, Texas, Commenced October 2d, and closed October 5th, 1857. Anderson, Texas: The Office of the Texas Baptist, 1857.

Minutes of the Eighth Annual Session of Little River Association of Baptists, Held with Prospect Church, Burleson County, Texas, on Friday, 23d of September, 1862. Houston: Texas Book and Job Printing House, 1862.

Minutes of the Eighth Annual Session of the Neches River Baptist Association, Held with Liberty Church, Houston County, on Saturday, October 25, 1873. Houston: Texas Baptist Herald Print., 1874.

Minutes of the Eighth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association, Held with the Baptist Church, Little River, Milam County, Texas, Commencing Friday Before the Second Sabbath in September, And Closing Monday Evening Following. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Office, 1855.

Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Mount Zion Association, Held with the Holly Springs Church, Rusk County, Texas, September 13th and 14th, A.D., 1867. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1867.

Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Neches River Baptist Association, Held with the Antioch Church, Houston Co., Texas, Commencing on October 21st, 1876. Houston: Office of the Baptist Herald, 1876.

Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Saline Baptist Association, Held with Shiloh Church, Henderson County, Texas, October 16th, 17th, and 18th, A.D. 1869. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869.

Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with Salem Church, August 26th, 27th and 29th, 1870. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870.
Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Bethlehem Baptist Association Held with Concord Baptist Church, Angelina County, Texas, October 13th and 15th, 1866. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1866.

Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Rehoboth Baptist Association, Held with Pittsburgh Church, On Saturday before the First Sabbath in October, 1870. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870.

Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the San Antonio Baptist Association Held with Union Church, (Gonzales Co., Texas,) Commencing Friday, August 7, 1874. Pleasanton, Texas: The Stock Journal Office, 1874.

Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Sister Grove Baptist Association, Held with the Pilot Grove Church, at Pilot Grove, Grayson County, Texas. September 13th-16th, A.D. 1867. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1867.

Minutes of the Fifth Annual Session of the Colorado Baptist Association, Held with the Macedonia Church, Travis County, Texas, September 12, 13 and 15, 1851. Austin: Cushney and Hampton, 1851.

Minutes of the Fifth Annual Meeting of Little River Association of Baptists Held with Elm Grove Church, Williamson County, Texas, on Friday 16th of September 1859. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1859.

Minutes of the Fifth Annual Session of the Alvarado Baptist Association of Texas, [1869].

Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the Eastern Missionary Baptist Association Held with the Border Church, Texas on Friday before the Fourth Lord's Day in December, 1847. New Orleans: Office Southwestern Baptist Chronicle, 1848.


Minutes of the First Annual Session of the San Antonio River Association. Held with Cibolo Church, Gaudalupe County, Texas, Commencing on Friday the 12th of August, 1859. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1859.
Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Mount Zion Baptist Association. Held with Shiloh Church, Rusk County, September 16th, 1870. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870.

Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association of the United Baptists Held with the Sterling Church, Robertson County, Texas, September, 1861. Anderson, Texas: John H. Wilson, Book and Job Printer, 1861.

Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Little River Association, Held with the Lexington Church, Lexington, Burleson County, Commencing on Friday before the Fourth Sabbath, August, 1858. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Book and Job Establishment, 1858.


Minutes of the Fourth Annual Session of the Navasota River Association. Held with Kickapoo Baptist Church, Madison County, Tex., commencing on Saturday September 1st, and ending Monday, September 3d, 1877, inclusive. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1877.


Minutes of the Little River Association of Baptists, Held with Port Sullivan Church, Milam County, Sept. 15th, 1865. Navasota, Texas: The "Ranger" Book and Job Office, 1865.

Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association. Held with Knob Spring Church, (Burleson County, Texas,) commencing Friday, September 23rd, 1870. Houston: The Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870.

Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Liberty Baptist Church, Burleson County, October 25, 1866. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald Office, 1866.

Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Little River Church, Milam County, Sept. 24th, 1869. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869.

Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Macedonia Church, Burleson County, Texas, September 25th, 1868. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1868.

Minutes of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Providence Baptist Church, Burleson County, September 20, 1867. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1868.

Minutes of the Mount Zion Association, Held with the New Prospect Church, Rusk County, in November, 1858. Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Book and Job Establishment, 1858.

Minutes of the Neches River Baptist Association, convened with the Friendship Church, Houston County (1875). Houston: Office of the Baptist Herald, 1876.

Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Session of the Union Baptist Association, Held with the Mount Zion Church, Washington, County, Commencing October First, and Closing October Fourth, A.D. 1858. Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Book and Job Office, 1858.

Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the Central Baptist Association, Held with the Bradley Spring Church, Shelby County, Texas, in September, 1858. Anderson, Texas Baptist Book and Job Office, 1858.

Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the East Texas Baptist Association, Held with Antioch Baptist Church, Rusk County, Texas, October 1st, 1880. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1880.
Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Dove Church, Caldwell, Burleson County, Texas, From Friday, September 19th, to Monday, September 21st, 1863, inclusive. Houston: Galveston "News" Book and Job Printing Office, 1863.

Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the Neches River Baptist Association, Held with Sardis Church, Cherokee County, Texas, Commencing Saturday, October 24th, 1874. Houston: Office of the Baptist Herald, 1874.


Minutes of the Red River Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church at Clarksville, Red River County, Texas, Beginning on Saturday before the 1st Sabbath in September, 1872. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1872.

Minutes of the Saline Baptist Association Held with Bright Star Church, Van Zandt County, Texas, in her Sixteenth Annual Session, Convened on the 26th day of September, A.D., 1874.

Minutes of the San Marcos Association, convened at Hill's Prairie Church, Bastrop County, Texas, Friday before the first Sabbath in September, 1866. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866.

Minutes of the San Marcos Association, Convened at Seguin, Guadalupe County, Texas, on Saturday Before the First Sabbath in Sept. 1867. Seguin, Texas: "Journal Print.," 1868.

Minutes of the San Marcos Association, convened with the Clear Fork Church, Caldwell County, Texas, On Friday before the Third Sabbath in July, 1871. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1871.

Minutes of the San Marcos Association, Held with the Black Jack Church, Fayette County, Texas, Commencing on Friday, before the Third Sabbath in July, A.D. 1873. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1873.
Minutes of the San Marcos Association, Held with the San Marcos River Church, Caldwell Co., Texas. Commencing on Friday before the 3d Sabbath in July A.D. 1875. LaGrange, Texas: Fayette County Record Printing Establishment, 1875.

Minutes of the San Marcos Association, Held with Shiloh Church, at Prairie Lea, Texas, on Friday before the First Sabbath in September, A.D. 1868. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869.

Minutes of the San Marcos River Baptist Association, Held with San Marcos River Church, Commencing on Friday, July 25th, 1879. Seguin, Texas: John L. Stephenson, Book and Job Printer, 1879.


Minutes of the Second Annual Session of the Navasota River Association, Held with Rogers' Prairie Church, Leon County, Commencing Saturday, November 5th, 1875, and ending Monday, Nov. 8th, 1875. Houston: Office of the Baptist Herald, 1875.

Minutes of the Second Annual Session of the Richland Baptist Association, Held with The Bush Creek Church, Formerly Providence, Navarro County, Texas, in October, 1852. Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Power Press, 1852.

Minutes of the Second Annual Session of the San Marcos Association, Held with Bastrop Church, Hill's Prairie, September, 1860. Seguin, Texas: "Union Democrat" Office, [1860].


Minutes of the Seventh Annual Session of the Colorado Baptist Association held with The Church at Seguin, Guadalupe County, Texas, September 9, 10, and 12, 1853. Seguin, Texas: The Texas Mercury, 1853.

Minutes of the Seventh Annual Session of the Navasota River Association Held with the Sweet Home Church, Madison County, Texas, Sept. 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1880. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1880.


Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Tryon Baptist Association, Held with Moscow Baptist Church, Moscow, Polk Co., Tex., on Saturday before the Third Sabbath in October, A.D. 1873. Houston: Texas Baptist Herald Print., 1873.

Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting of Little River Baptist Association, Held with Providence Church, Burleson County, Texas, on Friday, September 14, 1860. Anderson, Texas: The "Texas Baptist" Book and Job Office, 1860.

Minutes of the Sixth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention, of Texas, Held at Huntsville, in June, 1853. Galveston: The Civilian Office, 1853.


Minutes of the Sixth Annual Session of the Little Brazos Association Held with Heard's Prairie Church, Robertson Co., commencing on Saturday, October 18, and Ending October 20, A.D. 1880. Kosse, Texas: The Local Office, 1880.

Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of Central Baptist Association, Held with Providence Church, In Melrose, commencing the 24th of September, 1859. Anderson, Texas: Texas Baptist Book and Job Office, 1859.

Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Little River Baptist Association, Held with Providence Church, Burleson County, Texas, from Friday, Sept. 16th, to Monday, Sept. 19th, 1864, inclusive.
Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Mount Zion Association, Held with the Mt. Zion Church, Rusk, County, Texas, September 14th, to the 17th, A.D., 1866. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1866.

Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association of United Baptists. Held with the Baptist Church at Waco, McLennan County, Texas, September, 1857. Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Book and Job Office, 1858.

Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with the Cow Bayou Church, August 20 and 21, 1869. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869.

Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the Judson Association, Held with Zion Church, Anderson County, Texas, commencing November 3d and closing the 7th, 1855. Palestine, Texas: Office of the Trinity Advocate, 1855.

Minutes of the Third Annual Session of the Alvarado Baptist Association of Texas, [1867].

Minutes of the Third Annual Session of the Lavaca River Association, Held with Live Oak Church, Gonzales Co., Texas Commencing on Friday, the 4th day of July, A.D. 1879. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1879.


Minutes of the Third Annual Session of the Mount Zion Association Held with Mount Carmel Church, Rusk County, Texas, September 1859. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Power Press Print., 1859.


Minutes of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Annual Sessions of the Waco Baptist association, Held with the Churches at Bosqueville, Antioch and Searsville, respectively, in 1862, 1863 and 1864. Houston: Richardson and Owen, 1865.
Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Mount Zion Association, Held with The New Salem Church, Rusk County, Texas, September 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th, A.D. 1869. Henderson, Texas: Office of the Henderson Times, 1869.

Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the San Antonio Association, Held with the Cibolo Church at LaVernia, Wilson County, Texas, Commencing Friday, Augu. 2, 1872. San Antonio: Herald Job Printing and Book Binding Establishment, 1872.

Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session, of the Tryon Baptist Association, Held with Mt. Ariel Baptist Church, (Livingston, Polk County, Texas,) on saturday before the Third Sabbath in October, 1870. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870.

Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with the Union Church, Falls County, Texas, Commencing on Friday before the Fourth Sabbath in August, A.D. 1872. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1872.

Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Navasota Church, Walker County, Texas, commencing September 10th, and ending September 13th, 1869. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1869.

Minutes of the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association held with Independence Church, Washington County, Texas, commencing Sept. 9th, and ending September 12th, 1870. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870.


Minutes of the Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association: Held with Willow Creek Church, Harris County, Texas, Commencing August 18th, and ending August 21st, 1871.

Minutes of the Trinity Valley Association, Held with the Live Oak Neches Church, Beaumont, Texas, August 19th, 1875. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1875.
Minutes of the Tryon Association, Held with Laurel Hill Church, At Cold Springs, Polk County. Commenced on Saturday, Sept. 3d; Closed on Tuesday, Sept. 6th. [1864].

Minutes of the Tryon Association, Held with Mt. Ariel Church, at Livingston, Polk County, commenced on Friday, September 5th; Closed Monday, September 8th. Houston: Telegraph Book Office, 1862.

Minutes of the Tryon Baptist Association, Begun and Held with Bethel Church, Polk County, Texas, on Saturday, September 2d, A.D. 1865. Being the Eighth Annual Session. Houston: E. H. Cushing and Co., 1865.

Minutes of the Tryon Baptist Association, Held with the Bethel Baptist Church, Louisiana Settlement, Polk County, Texas, on Saturday Before the Third Sabbath in October, 1871. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1871.

Minutes of the Tryon Baptist Association, held with the New Salem Baptist Church, Polk County, Texas, in August, 1860. Anderson, Texas: Office of the "Texas Baptist," 1860.

Minutes of the Tryon Baptist Association, Ninth Annual Session, Held with the Calvary Church, Trinity County, Texas, Beginning Saturday Before first Sabbath in September, A.D. 1866. Houston: Office of Texas Baptist Herald, 1866.


Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the Mount Zion Association, Held with Beulah Church, Rusk County, Texas, Commencing on Friday, 18th September, 1868. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1868.

Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association of United Baptists Held with Salem Church, Limestone County, Texas; September, 1859. Anderson, Texas: "Texas Baptist" Power Press Print., 1860.

Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association held with the Post Oak Grove Church, Grimes County, Texas, Commencing Sept. 30th and Closing Oct. 3d, 1859. Anderson, Texas: The Texas Baptist Power Press Print., 1859.
Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Providence Church, Chappell Hill. Commencing August 16th, and ending August 19th, 1867. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1867.

Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Montgomery Church, Commencing September 16th, and ending September 19th, 1864. Houston: Galveston "News" Book and Job Establishment, 1864.

Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Session of the Rehoboth Baptist Association, Held with the Greenwood Baptist Church, October 1st and 2d, 1880. Dallas: Texas Baptist Publishing House, 1880.

Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association Held with the Bellville Baptist Church, Austin County, Texas, Commencing August 17th; and Closing August 21st, A.D. 1860. Anderson, Texas: Office of the "Texas Baptist," 1860.

Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Rehoboth Baptist Association Held with Glade Springs Church, Franklin Co., Commencing September 29, 1876. Dallas: "Texas Baptist" Publishing House, 1876.

Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Trinity River Baptist Association, Held with Bethel Church, October 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, A.D. 1869. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869.

Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association; held with Plantersville Church, Commencing August 14th, and ending August 17th, 1863. Houston: Galveston "News" Book and Job Establishment, 1863.

Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Session of the Trinity Baptist Association, Held with Bedais Church, Grimes County, Commencing Saturday, October 12th, and ending Tuesday, October 15th, 1872. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1872.

Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association. Held with Huntsville Church, Walker County, Texas, commencing September 11, and ending September 14, 1868. Houston: The Texas Baptist Herald, 1868.

Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Session, of the Trinity Baptist Association, Held with Mount Pisgah Baptist Church, (Freestone County, Texas,) on Saturday before the Second Sabbath in October, 1870. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1870.

Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Session of the Tryon Baptist Association, Held with Rural Shade Church, Liberty County, Texas, commencing on Saturday before the Third Sabbath in October, 1879. Houston: Texas Baptist Herald, 1879.

Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with the Brenham Church, Commencing on Friday, August 17th, Ending Monday 20th, 1866. Houston: Gray Smallwood and Co., Book and Job Printers, 1866.

Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with Washington Church, Commencing September 15th and ending September 18th, 1865. Bellville, Texas: J. F. Osterhout and J. T. Kimbrough, Printers, 1865.

Minutes of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with the Brenham Church, Washington County, Texas; Commencing on 11th July, and closing on the 13th, 1862. Bellville, Texas: Office of the Bellville Countryman, 1862.

Minutes of the Twenty-Third Annual Session of the Rehoboth Baptist Association, held with Pittsburg Church, Commencing October 4, 1878. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1878.

Minutes, San Antonio Baptist Association, New Salem Church, DeWitt County, Texas, 1856. [San Antonio: Daily Herald Office, 1856].

Proceedings of the Austin Baptist Association, Held with the Bethlehem Church, Travis County, Day before the second Lord's Day in September, 1864. Austin: Confederate Office, 1864.


Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Session of the Soda Lake Association, Held with Walnut Creek Church, Upshur County, Texas, September 25th, 26th and 27th, 1869. Houston: Office of the Texas Baptist Herald, 1869.

Church Records

Church Membership Records and Minutes, 1847-1868. First Baptist Church, Gonzales, Gonzales County, Texas.

Church Membership Records and Minutes, Book I, 1852-1925. Black Jack Springs Baptist Church, Fayette County, Texas.


Church Roll and Minutes, 1840-1887. Plum Grove Baptist Church, Fayette County, Texas.

Church Roll and Minutes, 1844-1869. Concord Baptist Church, Red River County, Texas.

Church Roll and Minutes, 1845-1866. Macedonia Baptist Church, Carthage, Panola County, Texas.

Church Roll and Minutes, 1859-1871. Trinity Baptist Church, Trinity County, Texas.
The Covenant, Records, and Minutes, 1860-1883. Jamestown Baptist Church, Smith County, Texas.

Membership Roll and Minutes, 1855-1918. Refugio Baptist Church, Refugio County, Texas.


Minutes, 1854-1884. First Baptist Church, Port Lavaca, Calhoun County, Texas.

Minutes, 1857-1889. Liberty Baptist Church, Hookerville, Burleson County, Texas.

Minutes, 1858-1861. Redland Baptist Church, Nacogdoches County, Texas.


Minutes, 1863-1874. Rock Creek Baptist Church, Johnson County, Texas.

Minutes. First Baptist Church, Galveston County, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. Microfilm.

Minutes. First Baptist Church, Waco, McLennan County, Texas.

Minutes. Lonesome Dove Baptist Church, Grapevine, Tarrant County, Texas.

Minutes. New Providence Church, Wallis, Austin County, Texas.


Records, 1860-1879. New Hope Baptist Church, Cleburne, Johnson County, Texas.
"The Records of An Early Texas Baptist Church," Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association XI (October 1907): 85-156.

"The Records of An Early Baptist Church," Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association XII (July 1908): 1-60.

Government Documents


Deed Records. Red River County.


Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants) and Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants). National Archives. Washington, D. C.


Index to Deeds A 1835-1858, B 1859-1876. Red River County Clerk.

Index to Deed Records Direct 1848-1877. Williamson County, Texas.

Index to Deed Records. Williamson County.

Index to Probate Record. Red River County Clerk.


Probate Minutes. Red River County.


Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants) and Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants). National Archives. Washington, D. C.


Manuscript Collections


Perry, Laura L. Papers. The Texas Collection. Baylor University. Waco, Texas.

Newspapers

The Texas Baptist, 1855-1861.

The Texas Baptist Herald, 1865-1880.
Published Contemporary Books and Personal Accounts


The Life and Writings of Rufus C. Burleson. Edited by Georgia J. Burleson. N.p.: Georgia J. Burleson, 1901.


Theses and Dissertations

Douglas, LaNelle S. "Religious Work Done by the Texas Baptists Among the Negroes in Texas from 1836 to 1873." M.A. Thesis. 1967. Sam Houston State University. Huntsville, Texas.

Secondary Sources

Articles


Leath, Andrew L. "Smith County Elected Officials. A Potpourri," Chronicles of Smith County, Texas 19 (Summer 1980).


Wilkins, John W. "'A much easier country . . . than middle Georgia.' A Letter from Starrville, 1861," Chronicles of Smith County, Texas 20 (Summer 1981).


**Books**

**General Histories**


Fuller, B. F. *History of Texas Baptists*. Louisville, Kentucky: Baptist Book Concern, 1900.


County and Local Histories


Calhoun County Historical Commission. The Shifting Sands of Calhoun County, Texas. N.c.: n.p., n.d.

Deming, Bridge Cemetery 1850; Hawley Cemetery 1898; Tres Palacios Baptist Church 1852. 2d ed. Matagorda County: Hawley Cemetery Association, 1977.


*History of Panola County*. Carthage Circulating Book Club, n.d.


Lawrence, Augusta. *A Brief History of the First Baptist Church of Huntsville, Texas*. Huntsville, Texas: n.p., 1941.


Miscellaneous

"100th Anniversary. First Baptist Church, Victoria, Texas, 1852-1952." Pamphlet. Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.


Historia. First Baptist Church, Greenville, Texas. Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.