

Neill Johnson
Autobiography

Filmed from the original
Loaned by Neill D. Hall.

Mr. Hall wishes to be notified if any portion of this manuscript is incorporated into a published work.

Neill D. Hall
1225 E. 95th
Seattle, WA

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Transcriber's NOTE:

This transcription is a copy of a transcription made by Robert N. Jack, Portland Oregon from the Oregon State Archive film #96 done in 1955. Robert Jack's transcription was done prior to 2002. It contains most of the information that was filmed, but unfortunately a part was omitted ... Mr. Jack referred to that information as "some religious materials...." in the event I am able to obtain a copy of the film in the future, I'll add the "religious materials" as an addendum to this file.

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Index to the following autobiography

- Object in writing ... 5*
Birth & parentage ... 5
Brother & Sisters all born in NC ... 6
Except brother Archibald Presbyterian stock ... 6
Education & preaching I heard ... 7
(Illegible) Advice of Rev. J. (Illegible) ... 10
Difficulties in (illegible words) ... 11
(Illegible) expenses ... 12
(Illegible) in the church ... 14
Call to the ministry ... 15
Went to school to D. W. McLin ... 16
Of the young man in attendance an account of ... 17
Joined presbytery ... “
My attendance of college & promotion ... 18
Return to Illinois (illegible words) ... 19
On ministerial support then & now ... 20
Reforms brought about by C. Presbyterian (illegible) ... 21
The fathers on ministerial education ... 22
Mysteries of the decree ... 27
No such a character as unbelieving Elect ... 31
Shoal Creek circuit & with whom operated ... 33
My first appointment in Vandalia ... 35
Conversation with Joel Knight about the CP organization ... 32
Col. Lee D. Ewing ... 33
Circuit riding descriptions & difficulties ... 34
J. M. Berry ... 36
One that to me seemed repulsive ... 37
John Barber Jr., John Knight, J. Barbor Sr. ... 37
Marriage ... 38
Remove to Pleasant Grove, Tazewell Co. ... 38
Peoria 1st preacher there funerals views on ... 39
Ordination ... 41
Visit from an old schoolmate ... 41
Unpleasant state of feelings on my past work ... 41
How I got rid of them ... 42
My brother Archibald ... 43
James McDowell & James E. Davis ... 45
Bible agency sore affliction ... 46
Removed to McZern congregation state of affairs there ... 47
2nd year through difficulties sickness &c ... 48
My labors in that congregation ... 49
Church house & camp meetings ... 50
Some of the good sisters there ... 50
Return to Tazewell ... 51
My Yankee neighbors ... 52
Organization of Winaw pres ... 52
Formation of Sangamon Synod ... 53
Elected to judicial office held 8 years beat at 3rd election ... 55
Removal to Iowa ... 56

Condition of the church there ... 57
White & Bonham case ... "
One bright spot there Cedar County my 1st visit ... 58
Preparations for going to Oregon ... 61
Trial of J. Howard ... 61
Colony for Oregon ... 61
Appointment as missionary for Oregon ... 62
Travels over the plains, farewells &c. ... 63
Unpleasant meeting ... 64
Company ... 65
Two young men taken in ... 65
Crossing the Platte & loss of oxen ... 66
A company (illegible words) ... 66
Stampede, killing dogs, company leaves us ... 66
Part of team recovered ... 67
Rain & difficulties on the mountains ... 67
Starting on foot after help (illegible) Foster ... 68
Meeting (illegible) additional kindness ... 69
Dr. Chandler & Mr. Craft ... 69
Arrival in the valley ... 70
My finances ... 70
Condition of the church ... 70
(Illegible line) ... 71
First sight of Cornwall & A. W Sweeny ... 71
My view made known ... 72 73
Resolutions in pres ... 74
Constitution of Oregon ... 75
Statistics of the church at the time ... 76
Charge of (illegible) ... 76
2nd session ... 77
Money to buy me a horse ... 78
Book fund raised ... 78
Pastoral relations ... 78
Charge of Cornwall that I got money that I ought not ... 78
A list of those that did help me ... 79
B. F. Musi[d] ... 79
Camp meetings ... 79
Preachers not to blame for camp meeting being desecrated ... 79
What I did in camp meetings ... 81
Cornwall's talents & hobbies ... 82
My opinion of Bro. Small ... 83
His Antislavery sentiments Sermon at Chehalem ... 83
Resolution at LaCriole & Cornwall's at Spring Valley ... 84
Cornwall's object in his resolutions at Spring Valley ... 85
Banner of praise ... 85
Copy of a letter to J. A. Cornwall ... 86
Circuit riding ... 89
Revivals ... 90

Written in 1873

At the solicitation of a number of friends I have consented to commit to writing a ketch of the incidents connected with my life. I commenced this in 1854; now about 20 years ago. I begin this morning to transcribe and revise what I then wrote and what I added from time to time and still what ever may appear of any interest, as long as I may have time & opportunity.

I cannot feel that there is much in my whole history from first to last, that will be of interest to posterity, be that as it may, I will leave it for others to judge. It may be that my offspring of generations yet unborn, will like to know something of the history of one of their ancestors, and again if God has any use for C Presbyterians in this Coast he will preserve our denomination and in that can a future church well like to know something of one that aided in constituting the first presbytery in Oregon.

Without any further preface, or apology I will begin. I was born in North Carolina Cumberland County on the 7 day of September 1802. My father was John Johnson son of William Johnson who emigrated to America from the North of Ireland, Tyrone county. This family of the Johnsons were of Scotch descent. I have met with a great many of the name that have a strong family resemblance to each other that could trace their ancestry to the North of Ireland, but we could not say certainly that we were of the same family or if we were, what of kin we were. The whole connection were of a bilious complexion with dark hair and often the males had very black hair & beard. My Grandfather had several brothers that crossed the Ocean at the same time he did. One by the name of James settled in Virginia; one by the name of Thomas in Pennsylvania and my grandfather William in North Carolina.

My grandmother was Marian Buie, from Jura, Scotland; my grandfather died at an early age but my grandmother lived to near 100 years old. I have a very distinct recollection of her. She was a woman of an excellent mind, and well versed in the scriptures. My mother was Sarah McDuffie; she was born in Jura in the north of Scotland. Grandfather McDuffie died in Scotland when my mother was a child. My grandmother McDuffie's maiden name was Patterson, and my great grandmother was a McArther. My mother had two sisters and one brother; one sister, Margaret, was older than herself, married Daniel McRae. They removed to Mississippi and their descendants became quite prominent men in the South & took an active part in the late rebellion. Catherine was younger than my mother, never married but lived to a tolerable old age. Duncan, the youngest child, never married but lived to middle age. He died June 1 1808. Grandmother McDuffie was married a second time and lived to be quite old. My father had five brothers who lived to manhood and one older named Hugh, four younger, Daniel, William, Malcom, and James. He also had a younger brother named Neill for whom I was called; he drowned in childhood. He also had two sisters, Catherine and Marian; the former married John Kennedy and the latter Thomas.

My ancestors were all Presbyterians. I was born in the congregation of Barbac[ue], and was baptized in infancy by Angus McDermid. My father and mother had five sons and three daughters who lived to maturity; their names are as follows beginning with the eldest: William, John, Catherine, James, Marian, Mary, Neill (myself), & Archibald. All were born in N Carolina except Archibald; he was born in Christian County, Kentucky. They were all living when I left for Oregon, but now in May 1873, I am the only one of my father's family living. My father died Aug. 30 1820; my mother died I think Aug. 24, 1834. My parents removed and settled in Christian Co., Ky, in the year 1806. We lived on the head of the Sinking fork; the last of the family left there in 1821; and all settled in Illinois.

All the family got the rudiments of a common school education, that is of such an education as could be obtained in a common school at that day, but it was very superficial in my school boy days. If a person could read and write & understood the ground rules of

arithmetic , he was thought to have education enough, and but few teachers pretended to teach any further than these. English grammar or Geography I never knew taught in common schools in that day.

I will remind the reader that the time my parents settled in Ky those scenes were transpiring that gave rise to the Organization of the C Presbyterians in that entire region of country. My recollection is that my parents were not overly friendly to the revival measures for years after their settlement in that country. My brother Archibald was born April 26 1807 and Fa[r]is Ewing the only Presbyterian preacher that operated in all that region, and he at that time under censure of the Commission of Synod baptized him. My eldest brother some time previous to this time made a profession of religion, and joined the Methodist with whom he lived and died; my parents seemed a good deal troubled over this. I recollect a conversation between my parents about this time about what they had better do – fall in with the revival part whom they considered rather disorderly or remain out of the church. My mother argued in a favor of the former saying: the children in all probability would either fall in with them, or if not with others still more disorderly. The children however as they grew up all, except the older brother aforesaid, inclined to Presbyterianism and to the revival part, for indeed there were no other of the Presbyterian order for many years in that vicinity. My parents however did not unite with them till I think about the year 1813, or '14, and until several of the children had professed and joined. My prejudices were strongly in favor of the revival part, so much so that I could scarcely believe that any others knew so well what religion was. The preaching at that day was generally of an experimental type, showing first man's depravity, second the Atonement, universal and free, 3rd diving influence producing conviction and legal repentance, following the convicted sinner till he was brought generally to a state of mind bordering on despair and then fourth on laying hold of the offers of Salvation in Christ, and from this deep and almost despairing condition to a full clear and sure evidence that his sins were pardoned; most generally insisting upon the person knowing both the time and place of his conversion, and so fully satisfied was I of this being true and scriptural, that I greatly desired to have just such a state of feeling of conviction, and without this I could not believe or hope for conversion hence for years I sought for conviction instead of seeking religion, and to produce this, I thought much of the terrors of the law, the wrath of God, and the eternal pains of hell; when I could weep and tremble, I seemed to think I was making some progress, but often my heart felt as hard as the nether millstone, and my eyes could not weep. I verily thought there was something peculiar in my case, and I often felt that if I had all the world, I would give it all if I could know that as a sinner as hard and unfeeling as I was, had ever been brought to the Lord Jesus Christ. Again I expected that when a sinner was converted that the evidence would be so sensible and overwhelming, that there could be no room for doubting it. In this confused and troubled state of mind, many would come to talk with me, some of these I could have no confidence in whatever, and I greatly desired they would stay away, and it seemed impossible for me to understand the preaching or the directions offered to me on this subject. I was urged again and again to believe, only believe, but for the life of me I could not understand what was meant by believing, or to have faith. It seemed to me that I always did believe. I at that time never doubted that Jesus Christ was the Savior of the world, and that the Bible is true, and all this, and yet I felt sure that I was an unbeliever in the scriptural sense of that word. I labored much and long to possess that state of mind and feeling, I always heard described as preceding faith and regeneration. I thought if I could only weep and tremble and feel that burden of guilt and dread of punishment, I heard others speak of, I would be making some progress, but seldom could I weep or tremble.

Our family in August in the year 1820 camped at Antioch as they had done for many years past, and in this state of mind I went to the camp meeting and determined that I would then and there, go forward when ever mourners were called for, whether I had any feelings or not and seek as best I could; this I did till the last night of the meeting. On the last night of the

meeting J. M. Berry preached; I have no recollection of either text, or sermon. But this I do remember, I took my seat on a rough bench near the stand. I fell into the following train of thought: different from any I had ever had before. Now I have been seeking religion in this way for years and now I have less feeling that I had when I first set out, and I am not likely ever to have any greater, deeper, or more powerful, and what shall I do? Is it possible for one so blind and hardened to come to God and experience pardon? The answer seemed to come up, "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners." Yes, sinners of every class, even the chief of sinners, and I am surely embraced in this expressed errand, and I will trust my case to his hands, and go on to take my cross and discharge what duty I find to do, while I live and through I did not experience any sudden transition from distress to "joy unspeakable and full of glory" as I had heard others speak of, there was a calm confidence that Jesus came to save just such sinners as I felt myself to be, and He would do it. I prayed that I might not take up false hope, or be deceived, but I felt a firm trust that if I were not already pardoned I would be. In this state of mind I got up and went to the [] alone. On returning to the stand I met one of the old preachers, Rev. John Barnett; he asked me the state of my mind and I told him as near the way I have here recorded as I can now recollect, he gave me what I know think good counsel, assured me I had nothing to fear in enjoying any peace of mind that come to me from trusting my case in the hands of God, through Jesus Christ, and he had no doubt in a very short time I would feel fully satisfied that I had obtained pardon. I will here state up to this time near fifty four years, I have never enjoyed any pain from my first, or past experience, or from any sudden or radical change I have felt. But all my peace arose from the fact that Jesus Christ came to seek and to save lost sinners, and I as poor lost sinner have taken and do now take him as my only Savior, and that at his own offer, and when I can do this, I feel a peace, if not an overflowing peace or calm and comfortable confidence, that all is well and will be well at last. I will state here that for many years and at times to the present time, I have doubted my conversion, on the ground that at first and all along, I had not that full and overpowering and overflowing cup of joy I heard others speak of, and 2nd, that I never felt ready and anxious to die, as I heard others express themselves. One of the old fathers satisfied my mind on the subject. Said he, grace is promised to us according to our day what we want now is grace to live with, and with this we ought to be satisfied and never doubt but that we will have grace to die with. Dying grace will banish all earthly cares, and anxieties, but while we live, this would disqualify us for those active duties that God required of our hands while life, health and opportunities continue. One great difficulty in my way in seeking religion was to understand the clear distinction that exists between faith as an intellectual exercise of the mind or feeling assured that such and such scriptural propositions were true, and a confidence in God or trust that He would do for us what He proposes to do. The first is the faith of Deeds and is indispensable as a starting point, to all that will come to God "for he that cometh to God must believe that He is and that He is a rewarder of all those that diligently seek him;" the latter is trusting in God or confiding in what He proposes to do for us and it produces good works, "it works [(missing)] love. The 11th chapter of Hebrew is very plain in this subject, and we have only to ensure what was the exercise of mind of the antcent [ancient] workers that were said to do so and so by faith to know what their faith was. Sarah's faith is described in seven short words, "She judged Him faithful Who had promised." Another serious difficulty was in my way. It was this: in hearing an experience of religion generally a great many incident and exercises were told that did not necessarily belong to an experience in every case there are a few things and but few that are found in every true experience of religion. To illustrate what I here mean, I will relate an incident that occurred while at Princeton studying for the ministry. It was proposed that in our prayer meetings that the young men studying for the ministry should in turn relate their experience and close with an exhortation. One young man, and no one doubted his religion, said to this effect, "I have nothing to relate that will be interesting to a congregation, my experience is short and soon told. It is about as follows: I went one morning to a Camp meeting near my father's house. I went a careless, thoughtless,

unconcerned sinner. I listened to a sermon that pointed out the danger of living and dying in sin. I felt alarmed and distressed at my true condition. The way of Salvation was pointed out through the Lord Jesus Christ. A call was made for all who felt willing and desiring to forsake sin, and go to Heaven, to come forward and join in prayer with God's people. I went. I then and there trusted my guilty soul on God through Christ Jesus the Lord for Salvation. I took Him for my Savior. I then felt and believed that He pardoned me and that He would save me. I yet believe it." All this, said he, occurred in a few hours at most.

I have studied much and long upon the experiences related in the Bible. Paul, the jailor, Zacheous, 3000 on the day of Pentecost; they are all related in few words and although conviction, repentance & faith are found in every experience there is but little told of these in detail. Paul, or Saul, as he was then called, was a very self righteous young man. He had an approving conscience, which is sometimes called a good conscience. He doubtless thought with most of his countrymen that Jesus was an impostor. God saw fit to show him his mistake in this matter in a miracle. When he was shown that his course and great zeal was displeasing to God, and that Jesus was truly the promised Messiah, nothing could be more natural than that he should feel deep bitterness and distress and that he should make the inquiry, "What would thou have me do?" The 3000 on the day of Pentecost were similar to Paul, of the same nation, of the same belief in a promised Messiah. When convinced by Peter's preaching that they had rejected and crucified their Messiah, the Lord of Glory, how natural that they should inquire, "What shall we do?" The directions given both to Paul and to the 3000 were the same. In Paul's case, however, it was withheld for the present. He was left in darkness, both of body & mind, for three days, all the direction immediately given was to go into Damascus, and let it be remembered that he went. He complied as far as the directions were given. I think it quite probable that there was a wise design in leaving him in the dark, mainly as to his pardon and further duty, that he might reflect on the great evil that he had done to Jesus and His people, whom He informed Paul that in persecuting them, he was persecuting Him, and then to humble him that one of those that he went to bring bound to Jerusalem should be the one appointed of God to give him further directions.

Theologians are not agreed as to the time and place of Paul's conversion. Some suppose it was when he inquired, "What would Thou have me do?" Others still when he was baptized. In reading and meditating on the matter, I cannot find that Paul ever did that knowingly and allowedly that he thought wrong. He says to the contrary himself but there was a time when his heart was set against the Lord Jesus Christ, and his zeal prompted him to do many things contrary to Him, but when he became convinced that Jesus was the Savior of the world, he loved Him and labored and suffered for Him, and finally laid down his life in His cause. Those 3000 on the day of Pentecost had from the same ignorance crucified their Messiah, but when God's Holy Spirit touched their hearts and they saw their mistake and their great sin in putting Him to death, they truly repented, and took Him for the promised Messiah, and trusted in Him for eternal life and love must follow that repentance and trust, their love prompted them to obedience & this first act in their case, overt act, was baptism.

The Jailor. It is more than probable that the Philippian jailor had heard Paul preach at Philippi, for he had been preaching and a great revival followed it, but he was not convinced nor felt no disposition to enquire what he should do to be saved till the Earthquake came and in connection with that, witnessed the Christian Spirit, manifested by Paul & Silas; they were happy, though in the inner prison, though cruelly treated, and though open doors by the earthquake seemed to invite them to make their escape, they did not leave, but manifested the kindest spirit to their persecutor. These overcame all his opposition to Christ & he became alarmed in view of his sins which he had heard from Paul. This cruelty to Paul & Silas as well as a whole lifetime of sin and rebellion against God was [] by the Holy Spirit on his heart, and conscious and strongly prompted the inquiry, "What shall I do to be saved?" It is certain that it was the Salvation of the Soul for which he inquired and Paul answered, "Believe on the Lord

Jesus Christ and though & thy house shall be saved." This direction to believe was given so often; there is no doubt that it was understood by all who ever heard the apostle preach to mean trust, entire trust or confidence in the Lord Jesus Christ for Salvation.

Conversion of Zacheus. From the account given by the Evangelist of the conversion of Zacheus – Luke 19.

From the narration it appears pretty certain that Zacheus at first was prompted by mere curiosity to see Jesus, but being low of stature, he could not get sight of him by looking over the heads of the multitude that surrounded him, and taking advantage of the Sycamore tree that stood in the way He was to pass. He climbed that he might look over the heads of the multitude and have it afterwards to say, "I saw the man that opened the eyes of the blind, raised the dead, and performed such great wonders." How surprised was he when the Savior called him by name, as though they had been intimate, and proposed to be his guest, and the record says he came down and received Him joyfully. Now however much we may systemize religion, by preaching conviction, repentance, conversion & regeneration, all is implied in this short narrative; the genuineness of which is declared by our blessed Savior, who said in unmistakable terms, "This day is salvation come to this house." His love to the Savior was manifested by receiving Him joyfully to his heart and house and his true and genuine repentance by making proclamation to the multitude his readiness to undo any wrong he had done, to any and every man by restoring him four-fold, and his benevolence by giving at once half of his goods to the poor. Oh how different is this experience from many that now profess religion who, like Zacheus, can tell us of their joys in receiving the Lord Jesus, but unlike Zacheus, never propose restitution, but remain as worldly minded and as covetous as before!

Reception into the Church. I was received into full communion of the CP church in Bethel congregation, in the year 1821; removed this same year to Illinois with my mother, sister, Mary, & bro., Archibald, to Illinois & settled in Washington County, where we had no intercourse with our own church for several years. The religious society was composed of Methodists & Baptists, mostly the former. I heard much from the Methodist on the doctrine of apostasy. Many of their sermon, I thought then and think yet, were preached for our especial benefit. I was mainly ignorant of theology at that time. But one consideration kept me from falling in with the doctrine of apostasy. It was this: if our justification was on the ground of works, either in whole or in part, it seems to me as there were no small sins, in the sight of God, but every sin deserves God's wrath & curse, every sin would forfeit our justification. Nor did it meant the matter to say that we were "justified by faith" if it was understood that a constant exercise of faith was implied; for according to this rule, every sin forfeits our justification, then another exercise or act of faith before we could be pardoned or justified anew. In a word, if this doctrine is true, it seemed to me a great accident if any would ever be saved. My mind remained very dark on this subject until I became more fully acquainted with the doctrine as taught in our standard works, then it was all plain. Justifications of our persons before God by the active and passive obedience of Christ, justification of our profession before men by obedience to His commands. "Make the tree good and its fruit will be good." This making the tree good is regeneration by the Spirit of God, and thus the fruit of the Spirit is "love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, faith, meekness, temperance." Gal. 5:22. Then if this work of the Spirit and the advocacy of the Savior is the cause, and perseverance is the effect, I saw or thought I saw plainly perseverance would follow and the doctrine of final perseverance was not only scriptural but philosophical. The doctrine of perseverance is not affected by any coercion on God's part. I feel much opposed to such expressions as that, "the Christian can't fall from Grace" – it seems to imply that there is or will be an effort on his part to fall away, but some physical effort on God's part will be put forth to hinder him. Neither of which is true.

On a Call to the ministry. For several years after I joined the church, my mind was considerably exercised on the subject of preaching and very often texts of scripture would be impressed on my mind, and I would think if such preachers as I had heard would take such a text and would insist on such and such points as appeared to present themselves to me what an effect it might and would have! But all this time I do not think that it once came into my mind that God was calling me to this work and such was the high standard of holiness, that I conceived to belong to a true minister of Jesus Christ and feeling myself to come so far short of it, that I could not conceive that it was possible for me to be called to the great work. Again I was comparatively illiterate. In view even of what our discipline required as indispensable to a minister. At this time I could not have told the difference between a noun and a verb.

In the early part of 1825, in the providence of God, I attended a school taught in White County by D. W. McLin for the benefit of young men preparing for the ministry. The following young men, all candidates for the ministry, were in attendance: John Knight, Benjamin Bruce, James S. Alexander, Alexander F. Trousdale, & Marmaduke Ferguson.

Bro. McLin, or as we familiarly called him Uncle Davy, was one of the young men that was under the care of the Council, and I became a candidate at the first regular presbytery after the reorganization of the Cumberland pres. At this time he was about 50 years old., was prematurely bald; he was heavy built, had a dignified appearance, much of the revival fire of 1800. Something, however, in his manner and gestures that distinguished him from any other man I ever knew. He had some favorite revival songs, tune and choruses, that he could sing as I never heard any other sing. A stanza of one I will here record:

“Savior, I do feel they [merit], sprinkled by atoning blood, And my weary troubled spirit,
Now finds rest in Thee my God. Chorus: Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory to the Father.
Give Glory, Glory, Glory. Sing his praises all that live!”

But it is impossible to describe the power and effect of those old revival tunes and songs, to one that never witnessed them. When thinking of Father McLin’s prayers and some other of the old fathers, I have been forcibly reminded of the description of prayers by the apostles. Acts 4:31. And again, their preaching, especially Bro. McLin, in his applications were described. Eze. 6, 11. But as I am not writing his biography here, I will only say he was one of the first Pioneer[s] of Cumberland Presbyterians in Illinois. He had his failings and weak points, but never the less he was a great and good man, and well suited to the work Divine Providence opened up for him, and he being dead, yet speaketh.

Of the young men above noticed, I will now give a brief account: John Knight was a widower about 30 years of age with two children; he was licensed in the Spring of 1825, and subsequently ordained; he was a very humble man, a good deal inclined to be low spirited, not very deep in doctrine, but quite a [safe] man and in exhortation, he had but few equals. I doubt not God used him in doing much good.

James S. Alexander was licensed at the same time that Bro. J. Knight was; he became an able preacher, was instrumental in doing much good, but was unfortunate in matrimonial relations; divorced his first wife for scriptural reasons, married again, but never was very prominent afterwards; never recovered from the trouble it brought him; he has been dead many years.

Benjamin Bruce. He is, I think, still living. I will let another write his biography. A. F. Trousdale, I believe, is still living in California; was licensed in the fall of 1825, might have been ordained long ago, but refused to C. [?]

Marmaduke Ferguson, licensed in the fall of 1825, I think; he never preached much, and I think gave it up entirely.

I converted with presbytery at Bear Creek in the Spring of 1825, and was received a candidate. My determination then was to follow the directions of presbytery as near as I could, and in pursuing this course, I have run a race of near half a century, and it is yet surprising sometimes to me, that I am what I am, doubts have arisen more or less almost every day since, that I have mistaken my calling. I spent the winter of 1825.6 in the family of Bro. McLin, attended presbytery in the Spring of 1826, near Edwardsville. My case was canvassed afterwards in that body there whether I should be then and there licensed and put on a circuit, or be advised to go to Cumberland College. The latter was finally decided on, and I and A. F. Trousdale, who was licensed, & John Barber, that was looking to the ministry, but had not yet joined presbytery, went to College in company with D. Loury & J. W. Ogden. The summer after I joined presbytery, I spent on the circuit with A. F. Trousdale. It was not uncommon in those days for Candidates to ride the circuit, sometimes alone & sometimes in company with another. I spent the year 1826 at C. College, studying those branches required by our discipline, and at the end of that year got a certificate signed by President Co[ss]ett of my proficiency in those branches. The president was very reluctant for me to leave. Said I should never be turned of or for want of means. I have never been sorry that I had not taken him at his offer.

Return to Illinois. I returned to Illinois in May 1827, took a school at very low figures for six months; got my pay nearly entirely in trade. In winding up my school, I paid off a little debt I owed my brother-in-law, Turner Nichols. I owned a horse but no saddle, was quite bare of clothing and what I had was of very inferior kind, and mostly worn considerable. In Oct. I was licensed and ordered to ride on the Shoal Creek circuit. I started with 75 cents in my pocket; all the money I had. I went passed my brother-in-law's, Neill Kennedy's, who gave me another dollar. Next day I passed by Brother John, who accompanied me a few hundred yards, and he asked me rather delicately if I had any money. I told him I had one dollar and 75 cents, and it would probably bear my expenses to my circuit; he then gave me another dollar. I reached my first appointment at Joseph McAdams' on Christmas day, preached to a small attentive congregation. Next morning, Mr. McAdams gave me two dollars, which he said he had promised for circuit riding. I am particular in naming these pecuniary matters from the facts that matters have so wonderfully changed. Our people were then generally poor and thought they had but little to spare; it is easier today to raise ten dollars than it was then to raise one, and yet store goods were higher then than they are now. A young man in that day never thought of asking how much he would likely get for preaching. There was a pretty general impression that all that was given him was a charity, or a free will offering. And still an impression was common, that if God had called a man to preach, it was his duty to go and trust in God and He would see that he was supported. At the present day, it is quite common for men that have entered in on the labors of these self sacrificing men to say the "fathers started wrong that they ought instead of preaching for nothing; they ought to have shown the young converts, and churches, their duty and required them to support their ministers." I have this much to say on this subject: it is quite easy at this distance to look back and find fault, but I cannot see that our early ministers could have done much better on this subject than they did. I will say that our people were gathered from high ways and hedges, and from the outskirts of civilization. They in very few cases had any training on this subject, and Satan and outsiders were very ready to charge that the preacher was influenced by worldly considerations and they preached because it was easier to preach and thereby be fed than to work for a living. For similar reasons, Paul preached to the Corinthians, the richest city at that time of any that he ministered to, and received nothing for his services from them but was supported partly by contributions from other charity and partly by the labor of his own hands; see Cor. 4:[11] chapters. Again, a goodly number of our preachers, nearly all in that day and still quite a number even now, not only refuse to ask anything for their ministerial services, but throw their influence directly or indirectly against any reform on ministerial support. To illustrate my idea here, I will give a case of a young man in Oregon: in a conversation with myself directly

after my arrival here, he told me of his labors here. He said wages were good and labor in demand, and he had worked for wages until he had accumulated enough to fit him out for preaching for a few months and then had gone on preaching until he had spent that and then he had hired out again, and again spent that in preaching, and so had done for years. I then asked him if there could not be a reform in his opinion effected on this matter that the preacher would not have to bear all the burden; can't we in private talk this matter over to our lay brothers, get them interested in contributing and presenting this matter to the friends of religion generally, so that the preacher could spend all his time in ministerial services? His reply was substantially as follows: "I consider my services too poor and I feel myself too unworthy to ask anything for my poor labors!" Still another case: a preacher of respectable talents owns a good farm, labors on it all the week, preaches generally every Sabbath, but asks nothing & generally gets nothing for his services, and if he were to ask anything or his elders were to ask anything for him in the present state of public opinion, the reply would be, "Why I see no use in giving Bro. Anything. He does not need anything. He today making more off his farm than I am. If I give anything, it will be to a preacher who needs it!" Can't everyone see that the course of those preachers that thus labor for their own support and declare their independence of the church stand in the way of any reform on ministerial support? Some by their influence without openly offering ministerial support, yea, even going so far as to say they favor ministers being wholly supported, their course in asking nothing and getting nothing, paralyze any effort that a brother may make in the bounds of their operations to live wholly by the Gospel? A case in point in one of the largest congregations in Oregon presbytery and one fully able to support a pastor, and never miss all it would cost. One of the Elders (they have but two) said to the other, "Had we not better try and get a preacher to come and take the pastoral charge of our congregation, who will preach and exercise discipline in our church, giving his whole time to this work?" "No," said the other, "I think it will cost too much. Bro. K. will preach to us once a month for nothing and we can get another to come and assist him occasionally with a protracted, or Sacramental meeting & make a collection by handing a hat around and do well enough without a regular pastor. I am opposed," says he, "to making any promises on a subscription paper."

A retrospective view on pastoral work and ministerial support. After an experience and observation of near half a century, I have made up my mind fully on the above subject. I verily believe that God in His providence called and brought into ministry a class of men that He intended to work a great reformation in the Presbyterian church, and in this providence, He overruled many wrongs to bring about that reformation and with regard to the future, I will venture the prediction that when this reformation is complete, there will be an organic union take place & so far as Presbyterians are concerned, "there will be one shepherd and one sheep fold." A few things I will name that need reformation: 1st – a Call to the work of the ministry clear scriptural view of experimental religion it was [?] feared by McGready and many other of the revival[ist?] preachers that many only had the form of Godliness, but were destitute of the power. The preaching on this subject eventuated in the great revival of 1800. In close connection was reformation in regard to a call to the ministry. From the surroundings, it was impossible at that day that the churches organized and continually organizing could be supplied, or the destitute regions be reached by the few ministers that the Presbyterian church could then educate as the discipline of the church contemplated. Here I wish to correct a wrong impression often entertained and charged even to this day, that the revival preachers were opposed to an educated ministry. This is not true, nor did they intentionally violate the discipline of the Presbyterian church. The discipline did allow the license and ordination of men who had not obtained a collegiate education in "extraordinary cases." The opposers of the revival party construed these extraordinary cases to mean when the candidate possessed extraordinary talents and abilities above what was common. The revival part construed it to embrace just such surrounding as then and there existed, to wit a great demand for ministerial labor, over and above what could be met in ordinary circumstances. That the need and

demand was extraordinary, no friend of the revival could deny. Again here were men of undoubted piety somewhat advanced in life encumbered in many cases with large families, and no institution of learning in any reasonable distance and yet these men by exercise of the gifts they possessed, had already done much in carrying on and extending the revival & scores and multiplied scores of persons brought to a knowledge of the truth through the instrumentality of these men petitioning for their licenses and ordination, I ask, "Was not these 'extraordinary cases'?"

Again there was little, if anything, doing in the Presbyterian church, as least in the great West to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of our Zion, and these men felt the work of the Lord as "fire shut up in their bones," whole scores of sinners were perishing for lack of someone to warn them of the wrath to come, and here and there over a large scope of country, some of God's dear children were calling for the bread of life. In these cases instead of waiting for the slow operations of missionary societies to collect money and to send ministers, or waiting for those destitute places to guarantee so much to the man the presbytery might send, there was not a question asked on these subjects but the question was asked, "Whom shall we send and who will go for us?" and many responded with Isaiah, "Here am I, send me." Still another reformation effected was in doctrine. The doctrinal differences however was not so great as people in this day are apt to suppose nor was it in the main cause of the division. It is true that some of the anti-revivalists insisted on the doctrine of the decrees in the ultra sense and some of them were charged with preaching infant Damnation, but I never heard it preached and I have seriously doubted that it ever was preached, but this much is certain, many of them labored for hours at a time to prove that God fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass. But anyone reading our confession of faith under the head of decrees will see that the compilers of that book spoke with much diffidence on that doctrine and expressly disapproved any attempt at giving a clear exposition of it, terming it "darkening counsel with words without our knowledge." It is true some in their licenses and ordinations did expressly except to the doctrine of fatal[ity], that seemed to be taught in that book under the mysterious doctrine of "predestination." No one can fail to see how modestly they except to this doctrine. They do not say it is taught in that book, but only as "it seems to be taught." I will say here if it is not taught there, then they & we except to nothing; if it is taught, a large majority of the Presbyterian church think it is not, and of course do not believe it. W. Grady & Hodge never took any exceptions to the Westminster Confession and yet they neither believe nor preached fatality, but they and these men who conscientiously took exceptions to that book, preached and labored together to the last. True, it was made a pretext for censuring our fathers that they adopted the confession no farther than anyone might adopt the Coran of Mohamed [sic], but this was only a pretext for it was well and fairly understood that this seeming to teach fatality was all that was excepted to, and now however the loose manner of accepting the confession could be objected to before our own confession was adopted and clearly pointed out wherein we did except, there can be no mistake about it. And today I cannot see that there need be any continued separation on the ground of doctrines. The old Confession maintains "that God is not the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creature, nor is the liberty or contingency of [second?] causes taken away, but rather established." We say God did not foreordain Sin. That He permitted it or did not hinder its coming to pass is certain. That He foreordained the remedial system in full view of sin coming to pass I cannot successfully be denied, nor can I discover any serious objection to the phrase He determined or decreed to prevent it. If sins exist at all, He must have permitted it, or it came to pass in spite of His power to prevent it, and if anything comes to pass that is impossible for Him to prevent, then it appears to me His is not All-Mighty and there must be a power somewhere greater than His, such a thought is blasphemous and dishonoring to the great and glorious Being Whose power is infinite. If it be asked: If He could prevent its coming to pass, why did He not do it? I answer, I cannot tell. In the winding up of the whole affair, I doubt not it will appear and all holy beings will acknowledge, "He hath done all things well." I

have no doubt more has been asserted by theologians on the doctrine of decrees than ought to have been and if people had been content to have take the revealed decrees without trying to give the reason for everything that exists, where that reason is not revealed, there would have been far less bickerings and disputing in the world, and in church, than there is. A great many things that exist and many things that are revealed, the reason why they exist or why they were not permitted is not revealed; for instance, why was Satan the great enemy of God and man permitted to enter the garden and seduce our first parents from their allegiance to God, and thus destroy their and our happiness? We cannot tell; it is not revealed. Again, why was the whole race of Adam permitted to come into the world under such unfavorable circumstances, that without exception, "they go astray as soon as they are born?" I answer, we cannot tell, but we do know it is so.

The remedial System. Like the doctrine of depravity or the existence of our sinful state, many question are sprung touching the atonement that I am not at all ashamed to say I cannot answer; if the reasons are revealed at all, they are not clear in my mind.

This much however is clearly revealed beyond a doubt. God did not leave all mankind to perish in a state of sin and misery into which the fall brought mankind, but He did provide Salvation by sending His only begotten Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. It is clearly stated that He died for our sins and rose again for our justification; that we are justified by His blood, that He by the grace of God tasted death for every man. Passages to this effect are abundant, but we need quote no further. But quite a number of questions have been sprung and controverted on this subject; 1st as to why an atonement was necessary, or why did God require that Christ die in order that men might be pardoned. I have heard many reasons assigned, that to some seem plain and reasonable, but I must say not one of them but involved mystery and I think the reason is not given. In close connection with the latter question, it is asked what did God design to effect by the atonement? Some say He designed it to bring all mankind back to a state of holiness & happiness. Some say he intended to meet the demands of the law against a certain definite number called the Elect, but another certain definite number called the reprobate have no part or lot in this matter, and none of them can be saved by it.

Some represent the atonement as a mercantile transaction requiring so much suffering for so much sin, and consequently, if any thereafter are lost and God inflicts suffering on them for their sins, it will be unjust because it would be exacting pay twice, first from Christ as Mediator and then from the impenitent sinner. This class who hold to the doctrine of a limited atonement and take the aforesaid mercantile view of the matter contend for eternal justification, and that the elect sinner as they say is just as much in favor and love in the sight of God before regeneration as after it takes place. The Westminster Confession says, "They who are elected being fallen in Adam and redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by His Spirit, working in due season are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto Salvation, neither are any others redeemed, by Christ effectually called justified, adopted, sanctified and saved, but the elect only. The rest of mankind God was pleased according to the inscrutable counsel of His own will, whereby He extendeth, or withholdeth mercy as He pleaseth for the glory of His sovereign power, over His creatures to pass by and ordain them to dishonor and wrath, for their sin to the praise of His glorious justice." Confession 3 chap.

I would not willingly misrepresent the [] those divines who penned and those who subscribe the above articles, hence we would allow them to explain that though God did ordain sin for it has come to pass, yet He ordered in such a manner that He is not the Author of it, but that the criminality of it is chargeable on the sinner himself, that the ordaining it was nothing but His determining to permit it, or not hinder its existence, and this is as true as it regards the sins of the elect as it is the sins of the reprobate, all seems clear

enough that both the elect and the reprobate were brought into the same state of sin and misery by the fall; that God intended by the atonement, calling, justifying, adopting, and sanctifying a portion of the fallen sinners to manifest and glorify His mercy and in passing by and ordaining unto wrath this other part (termed the reprobate) for their sins to glorify His power and wrath to the praise of His justice.

Mysteries of the decrees. That there are things decreed by the Almighty I think none will deny. If God be a perfect being He certainly knows yea always did know how He would act in every case. Men lay plans, but seldom work up to those plans, If for instance he goes to build a house, how often he changes his plans, and if he builds it, how often he sees some defects, that he sees too late to remedy. God lays His plans and works up to those plans; He is of one mind and none can turn Him; He does what He pleases. Our confession says, "He has foreordained to bring to pass what shall be for His own glory; Sin not being for His glory, therefore He hath not decreed it." Again, God has not decreed anything respecting His creature Man contrary to His revealed or written Word which declares His sovereign over all His creatures, the ample provision He has made for their Salvation, His determination to punish the finally impenitent with everlasting destruction, and to save the true believer with an everlasting Salvation; Confession of faith, Chap. 3. I think there is no impropriety in saying God has decreed or determined beforehand to do all that He ever has done or ever will do, but in all this, He has never purposed to do wrong, He never will do wrong, yea further, He cannot do wrong. Again our books says God executes his decrees in the works of creation & providence. In the exercise of His providence, He preserves, governs all His creatures, and overrules all their actions. It is not said that He originates or determines all their actions, but He overrules them, making them contribute to bring about His own divine purpose. For instance, it was God's purpose that Joseph should be sent into Egypt to save the lives of his fatherland, his brethren; the touching history is familiar to all Bible readers. God could have been at no loss for means to have him conveyed there without any sinful acts on the part of his brethren; he certainly was not beholding to the anger, jealousy, and envy of his brethren. Again, God could [have] given him favor with Pharaoh, if Pontifar's wife had never been born, but anyone can see now the wickedness of his brethren and Pontifar's wife was overruled to bring about his exaltation in Pharaoh's court, and the removal of his father and his brethren and the preservation of their lives, &c.

Again, it is repeated again and again that Jesus Christ was foreordained to be the Savior of the world, that His blood was to be shed, this is and was the great foundation of our hope. Now His blood was shed in part before the arrival of Judas and his cruel band, Luke 22:44, and for aught, we know His death might have been accomplished and His blood been shed without the interference of the Jews, Judas & the Roman Soldiers. But God saw the part that wicked men would take transaction, if He permitted them to do it, and He determined to permit it. This all being present to His omniscience, He inspired His prophets to foretell many generations beforehand, and to describe very minutely the acts of wicked men, in the whole transaction and after these things were written in the scriptures, they had come to pass "that the scriptures might be fulfilled" and as far as certainty was concerned, they could not be otherwise, we may say, and we do say, the same of all events that do come to pass, He knows them as certainly and beyond the contingency of a doubt, just as well before they take place as He does afterwards, and yet the actors in everything acts as freely & voluntarily, as if he did know then and just at this point the difference begins between Ultra Calvinists and Ultra Armenians, being unable to discern any difference in effect between foreknowledge and decrees. Calvinists contend there is no difference, and Doctor Adam Clark, a very decided Armenian, seemed to admit this, and that anything that God did foreknow, He must have decreed, and to get out of the difficulty in his way on this subject, maintained that omniscience did not consist in God knowing everything, but in His ability to foreknow everything; He maintained that God could foreknow everything, if He had chosen to do so, but some things

He chose not to foreknow. The story is told of the Affri[c?]an, unlearned and ignorant as he was, clearly saw the absurdity of such a position; after hearing the foregoing position by a disciple of Dr. Clark, remarked he could not see how God could choose what to know, and what not to know, unless He knew all things. We may apparently get clear of at least part of the difficulty by taking into view one important fact, there is a vast difference between God's foreknowledge and his decrees, the former is a perfection of His nature, the latter is an act of His will. And there are many things [that] takes place by the will of other intelligent beings that He does not approve, to deny this is to deny the existence of Sin altogether; Sin has come to pass and if God foreordains whatever comes to pass, He must have foreordained Sin, but He did not foreordain what He did not approve. Therefore He could not foreordain Sin, further than to allow, permit or nit hinder its coming to pass. In His Sovereignty, He determined to bring into existence other intelligent beings beside Himself, endowing them with liberty to act freely, voluntarily and to hold them accountable to Him for their actions in the exercise of this volition. Some of His intelligent creation sinned, or did the things that He did not approve; He must have foreseen this, and yet as a Sovereign, He brought these intelligent beings into existence. The great remedial system will, it is supposed, bring greater glory to the Godhead than anything of which we have any knowledge, but in the execution of this great work, how many very wicked things stand connected with it – the sin of Judas, the perjury of false writings, the malice of the Jewish priests and people all would seem to make part & parcel of the whole. Neither did any of them take place by accident. I think there can be no doubt but that His suffering and death was foreordained for He “was a lamb slain from the foundation of the world.” Now there was a necessity for His death, there was an object to be accomplished by His death and a great many particulars mentioned beforehand pertaining to His death; some good, others very wicked. Now as to how the great event could be before determined and scores of incidents mentioned attending this great and glorious event of the atonement which must need be fulfilled, how could they be so certain if they could be otherwise, and if they could be otherwise, how could they be free, voluntary and the actors held accountable for the guilt of them? He was to be betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, neither more or less, and yet there was a bargain made by two contracting parties, acting freely & voluntarily; He was nailed to the cross, He was to be mocked and scourged, the very language used by His murderers was repeated as it had been foretold centuries before. He was to died, with malefactors, He was to be buried by the rich. The money for which He was betrayed was to be used in the purchase of the potter's field. I will here mention one more prediction that had been settled and decreed and enjoined in the sacrifice of the paschal lamb of which He was the antitype: “not a bone of Him was to be broken.” In the fulfillment of this, God restrained the Roman soldiers, contrary to the order and decree of the governor; see John 19:32-33. Once more it was a custom of the executioners to take the clothes of the malefactors, in pursuance of this the soldiers divided His garments, but His seamless coat could not be divided without destroying, and in that cast lots for it. Mat. 17:35, Psalms 22:18. In all these transactions, there could have been no collusion, the parties acted freely, voluntarily, without any constraint; and it seems plain enough that they might have acted otherwise, if they had chosen to do so, and yet they must have acted as they did or the scriptures would not have been fulfilled. Now the knowledge of God being infinite, it extends to the smallest as well as the greatest units and things in the universe, not only to worlds, men and Angels, but to Sparrows, & the hairs on our heads! Luke 10:29, Matt 10:29, Luke 12:6, Matt 10:30, Luke 12:7. And they must come to pass in accordance with this knowledge, just as certainly and infallibly as if they were part of divine revelation.

He must permit the falling of the sparrow before it can fall, Matt 18:29; yet the mischievous boy that kills the sparrow, robs it nests, or destroys its young, acts freely, voluntarily, is held as accountable for his wicked mischief as if it was not foreknown, and the permissive decree did not exist. Now I ask, is there no mystery in all this? Truly, such knowledge is too wonderful for me! Psalms 139.6. With regard to Election and reprobation, I

will venture the assertion that if there is a character as the unbelieving elect, I never have seen it. That God knows who will and who will not be saved is undoubtedly true. But that the unbeliever, not matter whether he shall ever become a believer or not, in the future is never termed the elect; but as to the reprobate, I will venture the assertion he is not eternally reprobated, nor is he termed a reprobate in consequence of any foreknowledge, or act of God with regard to his future, but he is termed a reprobate is such because Christ does not dwell in him. 2 Cor. 13:5. There is a common saying that Christ came and died to save the elect, but not to call nor save the reprobate. Just the contrary of this is true; He came to seek and to save them that were lost – the reprobate was lost, the elect are saved (blotted out) the elect are righteous, Mat. 9:13, Mark 2:17, Luke 5:32 [the reprobates?] are those in whom Christ does not dwell, walk or rule [missing] it follows then that all men are legally reprobates, but than God they are not yet unchangeably and hopelessly so. Christ came to seek and to save them, the Holy Spirit is calling them, all that will hear, answer and obey that call and call themselves on the name of the Lord shall be saved. If this call of the Holy Spirit on the reprobate sinner is not effected, it is not from any defect in the call, but is because the reprobate will not hear, that is, will not obey this call. Prov. 1:24-25

Somewhat after this manner, the fathers preached and expounded the doctrines of man's sinful state and the remedial system. It is true, the ultra Calvinists objected, tried to make it appear that they discarded the confession of faith, and had introduced [?] Armenian Salvation, or justification by works &c &c, but the true ground of the opposition they met with was opposition to the revival and revival measures. But the revival men such as McGready and Hodge, in their Ordination vows, never took exceptions to the Confession of faith, but in their preaching, preached as did the others who modestly excepted to what seemed to them to teach fatality. Then I repeated it was not mainly because of a difference in doctrine, nor was it because as was and sometimes yet is charged that our fathers were opposed to an educated ministry, but it was mainly on the ground that a very large portion of the Presbyterian church were being carried off by these revival doctrines and revival ministers, that they scornfully turned [?] unlicensed [?] men and some them expressed their fears that they would be left without a pastorate or salary!! Which to some extent became true.

My own life & history resumed. I feel called on in writing my own life and history; I have to stop and turn aside from some errors that yet prevail to some considerable extent with regard to our history as a denomination. I will now add in connection with what I said in the last chapter that I consider that God has overruled this schism for good. Had there been no division, one of two things would have been the result: either the revival party would have been overpowered by the efforts of the Antirevival party until they would have sunk in discouragements and measurably have given up their efforts and zeal. Or probably their fire and zeal would have spread and kindled the same spirit in the whole Presbyterian church throughout the length of the land; if the latter then a greater good would have been effected than was by the separation. I will here record a conversation I held with brother Joel Knight when on my first circuit, touching this matter when talking over our history as it then appeared, I asked his opinion. Now would it not have been better upon the whole if our fathers had all done as did the Hodges & McGready, submitted to an examination, individually they would doubtless have been cordially received, on explaining on examination wherein they excepted to the words of the Confession of faith. Bro. Knight remarked that he thought it "probable from the fact that their own history recorded that the mother church had not enjoyed revival for twenty years, in that region of the country embraced in which the division took place, and for the same lengths we had not College nor a school of any kind where a candidate could have got a liberal education." On this opinion we were both agreed, but it came to my mind and I then and there suggested it. It was this, "But Brother Knight, if this course had been pursued, is it possible that you and I would have been in the ministry or even in the Church?" The thought seemed to strike us both with such force that the conversation

there ended, and I think it was never resumed. On meditating on this subject, it is now my decided opinion on the whole that the division stirred up an emulation in the Presbyterian church and today they as far as I know offer a full and free salvation to all the fallen race and take about the same views of the decrees that we do.

My narrative resumed. I rode on the Shoal creek 6 months; cooperated with Joel Knight and occasionally with John Barber, Sr. My first list of appointments was made by Joel Knight, I suppose. Some of them sent by second hand and had failed to reach the places. One was sent to Vandalia, then the seat of government. When I arrived there, I did not know a single resident of the place, I went to the tavern kept by a Mr. McLaughlin, introduced myself and told my business; he received me very genteelly and kindly invited me to call and make his house my home at any time I should find it convenient. This was about the middle of the week and I left an appointment for Sab., which he promised to have circulated. So I returned on Saturday evening. I found the tavern full, it was a public [?] time when non residents lands were being sold for taxes, and capitalists & speculators from all parts of the land were there. Mr. McLaughlin took pains to introduce me to a great no., spoke of me as Rev. Mr. Johnson, and that I was to preach that day in the state house, I felt sure I saw a sneer on the countenance of very many, that seemed to say "that a preacher he can't preach." Among the rest, I was introduced to Col. Lee D. Ewing, a son of Rev. Finis Ewing. I had seen him frequently in years gone by, but was never intimate with him, always supposed he felt himself above me, and I never tried to shove myself into his notice. On this occasion however, he treated me kindly & respectfully. He was far from being religious, but he had a great partiality for Cumberland Presbyterians, and relating this occasion to a friend afterwards, he trembled for the cause, when he heard I was to preach! In the morning, before preaching time, I got a private room where I tried to pray and study, and prepare myself as best I could. The hour arrived and I found a crowded house. I arose, read and sung & prayed. I never from that day to this felt less embarrassed. The people generally seemed astonished. I discovered in the congregation two persons that attracted my attention. One quite an aged man, I never learned his name or where he lived, but felt sure that while many were watching with a critical eye, he was sincerely praying for me and I felt in my heart that God was hearing & answering his prayer. The other person was a Mrs. Allen, whom I had never seen before; she seemed deeply affected. I subsequently became acquainted with her and we kept up Christian communion with her ever afterwards. She did not then make herself acquainted with me, but sent word by a friend for me to call on her, which I did; was kindly received by Mr. Allen and invited by both husband & wife to make their house my home; a good many years afterward, I fell in with them in Bloomington, where I think they both died. I learned afterwards that quite a number of the aristocracy after being introduced to me as before stated held a counsel, agreed to go and hear me preach, meet afterwards and compare notes (which they did) and set a price on the sermon, the result was they unanimously agreed it was much better than they expected. And my friend, L. D. Ewing, remained a fast friend of mine ever afterwards. Poor man, he greatly departed from the way of the Lord God of his father; he has long since gone to his final account, how far he changed and left off his wayward course I never learned.

Circuit riding. We often now hear of circuits & circuit riding, and many efforts have been made to revive the old plan as it then existed, but it has always proved a failure and always will unless there should be a similar state of society in general as it then existed. I know of no circuits nor circuit riders, nor have I known any for many years. Even the Methodists whose church policy is built on itinerancy, though they still retain the name circuits, have nothing of the system left the name the policy is all or nearly all changed, except the change of ministers. They have been compelled to contract their circuits so as to do pretty much all their work on the Sabbath day, from the fact that congregations cannot be collected on week days as in bygone days. There is but one exception to this fact, and that is where a considerable excitement is got up and a revival takes place; then the congregation is sometimes assembled

from day to day while the excitement lasts. The reason of this state of things is preaching is not now so great a novelty as it was in that day. Even here in far off Oregon, there are few localities where any family may not hear preaching of some kind by traveling five or six miles. The time I now speak of it was not so. I have frequently preached to persons so nearly grown that had never heard a sermon before. I have now in my recollection a place in the Hurricane fork of Ocaw, where I was informed I preached the first sermon that had ever been preached in that community, and young persons nearly grown that had never heard a sermon nor perhaps a prayer before. And such places they would turn out on week days about as well as on Sabbath from the fact that the main distinction between Sab. And other days was the men spent it hunting and mothers & young folks in visiting and playing and romping &c. I recollect a case in my early days, my father obtained a Negro woman, who was very ignorant about almost everything, and when Sabbath day came, she was asked if she had ever been taught that this day was to be observed in a different way from other days. She said yes; her mistress had always made her sweep the yard on Sunday! A man was inquired if he had a Bible. He said yes; and then if he made any use of it. He said yes, he used it on Sunday morning to strop his razor! I will now describe my circuit: it took me four weeks to make one round. The appointments were from five to fifteen miles apart, in one place, however, I had what was called a "ride day" which was in an unsettled prairie, for a good many miles. With the exception of this ride day, and sometimes after a two or three days' meeting, a rest day, when I stopped and rested while the good sisters washed and done up my clothes. I preached everyday and sometimes two or three times a day. I mentioned the Hurricane fork. I was the first to preach there, but not the last. When I parted with them, it was with many tears; often I have thought of them. After I left them, a congregation was organized and many years afterwards I understood was in a flourishing condition. My circuit lay on the headwaters of Shoal creek on the west and the Ocaw on the east. It was a wet warm winter, the streams were very high and scarcely any bridges. Often I had to swim my horse, carry my saddle and saddlebags over on a log, and where there was not already a log, I have had to cut down a tree across the stream for that purpose and, it may seem to some like boasting, but I never lost an appointment on account of high water. I this day recollect swimming my horse five times to reach two appointments. This may seem extravagant at this, but it was not extraordinary in that day. My venerable father, John M. Berry, informed me, that too after he had preached many years that he never missed an appointment on account of high water and yet he could not swim himself. He told me that once in leading his horse across the Illinois river on the ice, his horse broke through or slipped in, through an air hole, and he choked him until he rose to the level of the surface of the ice and then slid him out on solid ice, and the reader may ask what was the pay or reward of that good man in undergoing all this toil, danger and labor, I answer: nothing at all pecuniary, barely his expenses, sometimes not even that. But for many years he has rested from his labors and no doubt his works have followed him, and I do not entertain a doubt but scores have welcomed him into everlasting habitations! O what a joyful meeting when this good old father arrived in glory and met those whom he had been instrumental in saving, and how joyful many more who have followed him and will yet follow him will be when they meet him in the embrace of their common Lord and master. The poet sang appropriately when he said,

O could I reach that happy place and ne'er return again; I should not think the seasons long that I had suffered pain; Ten thousand years may roll around and we have just begun; To wear our robes and golden crowns bright shining as the Sun.

My co-laborers on this circuit was principally Joel Knight. I generally managed it so as to have a two-days meeting when in the bounds he occupied. Less frequently I had the cooperation of John Barber, Sr. and John Knight, there were also several good exhorters at the head of whom was John Kirkpatrick. He was one of the old exhorters of 1800. He lived several years after this and exhorted prayed and labored to the last and died triumphantly.

There was one candidate for the ministry. There was something exceedingly repulsive about the man; I could not tell what it was. I often feared it was all in myself; but I could never enjoy his conversation or his public efforts, nor even his prayers. He was subsequently licensed and ordained, stood quite fair with many for several years, perhaps more than a dozen; but finally got into difficulty, left the church and joined another denomination.

Brother Joel Knight I always esteemed as one of the nobles of the earth; he was a man of far greater talents than the common class were able to appreciate. One remark on his manner was made by some of the worst and the best of his brethren; perhaps justly he used too many words to express his ideas, but his ideas when perceived were always deep and interesting. J. Barber, Sr., was generally considered an original and self-made man; he entered the ministry late in his life, perhaps over fifty but labored extensively and was very useful. I mentioned before in this particular, he had but few useful. John Barber, Jr., was still at college, while I rode in this region. He and I went to College together, roomed and slept together during my stay there; he was a conscientious good man of a superior mind. I love him as a brother and I have reasons to believe our friendship was reciprocal. I believe he died in 1838. Just at this point I am hesitating about naming some private members that filled an humble station in the church; most of them have "passed over the river" and if any of them are alive, they have just arrived at the margin. True, none of them were perfect; all had their weak points, and all needed the Advocate with the Father. There are too many, however, to name them all and it might seem invidious to surviving friends to name some and omit others. This much I will say however, when called to part with the people on this circuit, it seemed like parting with fathers, mothers, brothers & sisters, and their memory will be dear to me while this pulse continues to beat. Some few I subsequently met after many years in Iowa and even in Oregon.

Labors in 1828. In the spring of 1828, the Presbytery ordered me to spend half my time in the Shoal creek district and half in Sangamon. I think I left Shoal creek about the 1st of July, making 9 consecutive months in the Shoal creek in all. Sangamon was a new field. I have very few acquaintances, but I soon found many warm friends, and here in this region I subsequently spent twenty years of my ministry operating in Sangamon, Morgan, Tazewell, McLean, & Macon; though mostly in Tazewell.

When operating in the Sangamon district, I had the cooperation of J. M. Berry, Thomas Campbell, Gilbert Dodds, and for a while, John Porter. There were but few organized congregations, Sugar Creek was the oldest. Then there was Lebanon and Moristure [?], besides several others that was partially organized. The last named flourished for a few years, but from deaths, removals and other causes they suffered reversals, and I think has long since ceased to maintain an Organization. In this congregation, John Hamilton, one of the able exhorters of 1800 lived and died. He was quite an able, divine and very warm exhorter and did much to keep the cause alive while he lived, but he was far advanced in life when I first became acquainted with him.

Marriage & removal to Sangamon. I was married to Esther Roelofson in White County in 1828 on the 7th of October where I had a School engaged and continued teaching for a year. In January 1830 I removed to Pleasant grove, Tazewell County. At this time, we had only one Organization in the entire region that now compose the Winaw [?] Presbytery. This was organized by J. M. Berry in the fall of 1829; it was organized in Stouts Grove as the center point where most of the members resided. The Elders were scattered over a large territory now embracing three or four counties and they never all got together more than once in twelve months at Camp meeting, which was held in Stouts Grove. The elders and their place of residence was as follows: Thos. McClure, Stouts Grove; Robert Bird (father of Milton Bird), Walnut Grove; Joel Hargrove, Sand Prairie near where the city of Pekin now stands; Ebenezer Craig, Randolphs Grove; and a man by the name of Guthry, who lived on Money creek. The latter and his family living at a remote distance from any of the brethren & not supplied with

preaching joined the Methodist, one of his sons subsequently became presiding Elder in the Methodist Church; all the others are dead, some of them many years ago, except Joel Hargrove. He is still living in Walla Walla, WA [sic—WA]. The different points here named where those elders resided, mainly bounded my operation for some twenty years, but in this period I sometimes preached in Peoria. When I first preached there, it did not contain more than a dozen families; some of the old pickets of Fort Clark was still yet standing, and I preached in the Clerk's office, a little frame near those old pickets that could hold perhaps 50 persons, but was hardly ever full. My first introduction to that place was [that] I was called on to preach the funeral of a man that died of drunkenness. A text was selected by the widow; it was Ecclesiastes 23 [9:12], "As the fishes that are taken in an evil net and as the birds that are caught in the snare so are the sons of men snared in an evil time when it falleth suddenly upon them." This was I believe the first sermon preached in what is now the great city of Peoria. I am sure it was the first temperance sermon. I was called on and preached the funeral of a Mr. Sharp that died below Peoria on the 27 of Dec[ember?], 1830. This was the day the deep snow commenced falling that will long be remembered in that part of Illinois. 1832 – again I was called on to preach the funeral of a man that was killed in the Peoria bottom; it was a tragic affair and the family tried several others before they came to me to preach his funeral, but when they applied to me, I could not refuse. In the early part of my ministry, I entirely declined preaching funerals ...

[Added at the top of the page --] The matters related here occurred in 1832 but is here inserted to follow in connection, not of time, but somewhat similar to the preceding subject of funeral in the case before related.

... on the ground of attaching superstitious notions to the funeral. I fully believed that the custom originated in superstition, but I did not like to be singular and as all or nearly all other Ministers preached them, I thought the best way to correct the evil was in preaching and showing that it was not for the benefit of the dead, but the living that we preached funerals, and with this view, I felt as much bound to preach the funeral when there was little or no hope that the deceased was saved as where the evidence was clear. My text was 2 Sam. 14:14: the woman of Tecohah's words to King David, "For we must needs die and we are as water spilt upon the ground that cannot be gathered up again, neither doth God respect any person, yet he deviseth means that his banished be not expelled from him." There was a very large congregation; the house would not hold them, and we went out under the shade of the grove, a common thing – not uncommon in that day. The argument 1st part in behalf of the recall of Absalom by this cunning woman, was fallacious, that as we must all need die, it was little matter when, or how we may die; so if Absalom had not killed his brother, Amnon, Amnon would have died anyhow. This seemed to be her first argument for his recall, but the 2nd argument was from God's example which was good & sound: That He did not respect any person so far as to exempt them from Death, yet He devised means that His banished should not be expelled from Him, and that we were all in a state of banishment from God and the means of our return had been devised and executed and we were all now graciously invited to return. As to the tragic affairs of our friend's death or that of Amnon and all other tragic affairs, I should only say Sin has brought it about and God had wisely held from human view the state of the dead, His word forever informs us in general terms that their state was unalterably fixed beyond the possibility of a change, & that nothing we could say by way of censure or applause could alter it. One consolation to all lovers of God was that He is a God of infinite perfection of justice, and goodness, mercy & truth; and in according these glorious perfections, He ever will act. The widow told me there publicly that she was a believer and a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ and as such, she desired me to baptize her children. My recollection is that there were some half dozen of them from that of a babe to the age of eight or ten years old. I baptized them all; one of whom afterwards became an elder in the church

and I have seen his name in the Judicatures of the church in presbytery and also in the General Assembly.

Ordination. I was ordained to the whole work of the ministry in October A. D. 1830, at Mt. Zion Campground by Dana Foster [?], Thomas Campbell & Gilbert Dodds, at the same presbytery. A. M. Wilson became a candidate for the ministry.

I was not settled in Pleasant Grove, Tazewell County. I taught school part of the time and part of the time labored with my hands and still preached all I could under the circumstances. Our people were but few and none of them wealthy and all they did for the minister, they seemed to think was on the ground of charity. Nothing in our entire presbytery was paid in the shape of salary unless it could be said that Lebanon Congregation paid Bro. Berry about fifty dollars a year. At Camp meetings, there was a Collection made by passing around a hat and when this came to be divided out; it seldom amounted to more than \$2.50 to each preacher and quite a number seem to think that this was fully their share in contributing to ministerial support till Camp meeting came again. I will here record an incident that occurred about this time, perhaps it was sometime subsequent to this date; I am not certain as to time, but as to what it is but of little importance.

One of my old friends with whom I was quite intimate at Princeton College came to visit me. He had turned his attention to the study of medicine and had been promoted to a professor's chair, in a city in a medical institute at a salary of some \$15 or 2000.00 per year. After his departure, I was on my way to the grove for a load of wood where I fell into the following train of thought. I said to myself, "What a fool I have been. Here is my friend, M., whose natural abilities are not any superior to my own, who turned his attention to medicine and is now in a fair way to fame and fortune; all honoring him, no one envying him. And here am I, what have I done and what am I doing? Well, I have spent my little, all of this world's good, to get an education and a respectable knowledge of the theology that I might serve the Church, and do some good, but my talents are not appreciated. What little I get is often given as an act of charity and in many cases, grudgingly at that. And I am often reproached as a poor mendicant who had rather preach and beg for a living than to labor. Well, I know this is not true, but I have to bear all this reproach, and thus live hard and work hard, get little and be thus reproached. If I had the means of living, I would never receive another cent from anyone for preaching!" These thoughts to me were distressing and I have often felt ashamed of myself forever having indulged them, but like Jonah was when his g[o]urd perished, I like him, became angry. God said to Johan, "Doest thou well to be angry for the Gourd?" And at this particular time, He seemed to say to me, "Doest thou will to be angry at the Church?" Has the church done nothing for me? I called to mind the parental instruction and the unremunerated labors of the minister that had labored for my Salvation, yes, and the cries and prayers that had been put up for me, and what you have been only for these? I would probably filled a drunkard's grave and my poor soul would have probably have been irrecoverably lost, and lost forever! No, the church with all her faults, is my mother. My mother may and doubtless has her weak points, and her imperfections; but she is still my mother, my dear kind and tender mother. Yes, and I have been quarreling and finding fault with God's arrangements and plans He has ordained "that they that preach the Gospel shall live by the Gospel" and my proud heart rebels at this appointment which, if lived up to, would have and affects as no other plan can, do to unite and live, both pastor and people!

At this point my tears flowed copiously and I repeated, "Yes, the Church is my mother and if ere my heart forget her welfare or her woe let every joy this heart forsake and every grief o'erflow, for her my tears shall fall, for her prayers ascend, to her my toils and cars be given, till toils and cares shall end.

This has been more than forty years ago. I do not think I have ever found fault or been angry with God for His appointment or the Church for her delinquency since. And I will here

give it as my opinion that anyone and everyone whom God has called to the work of the ministry, if they will in faith trust Him and do their duty faithfully, He will provide for them. I will say further that it is my firm conviction that anyone whom He has called to this work will never prosper in any other; such at least has been my observation for near 50 years.

My Brother Archibald. My brother Archibald was the youngest one of the family, he was born April 26, 1807 in Christian County, Kentucky; was baptized by Finis Ewing. In childhood, he had very severe convulsive fits, which followed him for several years, but never injured his intellect. In early youth, he had but very little inclination for learning, but about the age of eight or ten, a great change came over him. He took a great liking for books & study, which followed him to his death. He was quick to learn anything, and ever afterward retained it. Until about fourteen years of age, on the subject of religion, he was generally careless. He related however, as was the first lasting impression made upon his mind, was about the age of twelve or thirteen years. We had been from early childhood required by our parents to memorize the Catechism and it was common in that day to appoint public examinations, and one of the ministers examined both children and adults. The adults on theological questions predicated on certain questions in the catechism and the children on the catechism, and offer such explanations as the preacher [missing] proper. My brother went promptly through the answers to all the questions as far as asked and seemed no little elated that he excelled in this particular. It is probably this was noted by the minister, Rev. Thos. Barnett, who in the close, addressed each child with some personal question, to my brother, he said in a very solemn manner, "My son, do you ever pray?" The boy's countenance changed, he shook his head and immediately dropped it, and seemed afraid to look up. The preacher then followed with a very impressive exhortation. In the year 1822, at a Methodist Camp meeting after a very severe struggle, he embraced religion. His evidence like that of my own, at first was not very clear, but soon it became quite clear, and he seemed from the start, to have impressions to warn sinners to seek Salvation. He was very pious and exemplary all his life. Afterwards, he converted with presbytery and was received a candidate in the fall of 1827; the same evening I was licensed. He was of rather a melancholy turn of mind and easily discouraged, and was a good deal inclined to want of confidence in himself. He made considerable proficiency in theology and understood all the Schisms indispensable by our book, and in the Spring of 1830, when it was expected by most of his friends and, I suppose, by himself that he would be licensed, for some cause or other, the presbytery at the suggestion of one of the old ministers, they voted not to sustain his piece and ordered him to write again from the same text! This had a very bad influence on him; he was greatly cast down and discouraged, and secretly determined he would give it all up, wend home, made an engagement to get married, and through he would never attend presbytery again. In the fall, following at presbytery where I was ordained, I was asked by Bro. Dodds why my brother was not there. I told him I thought he had about given up the matter that he said he had written as well as he could and the presbytery would not sustain it, even as part of trial, and he thought it useless to try again. Bro. Dodd seemed much mortified at hearing this; assured me that the presbytery had no thought of dropping him and if he was there, he had no doubt but that he would be licensed; and urged me to get him to attend the next time, which I did. And he was licensed in the spring of 1831. Before he was licensed, he took me out and told me he did not wish to deceive the presbytery and that they would probably order him to ride, as was common to do in that day, and now says he, owing to the course of the presbytery has taken with me and to the effect it had on my mind, "I have an engagement to be married." And now says he, "I want you to tell me what to do." He said he did not wish to disobey the presbytery, nor act in bad faith to the lady to whom he was promised. I gave him such advice as I conscientiously thought was proper. He was licensed and was ordained in the fall of [not stated], labored on faithfully till July 17, 1872. He left the world in peace and confidence in the great Savior of the world. He was truly a great and good man but never passed for his full worth in point of talents. He was extensively useful and very many claimed him as their spiritual father.

James McDowell. The next spring after my removal to Tazewell, I was joined by James McDowell. Bro. McDowell was a good man and sound, divine, never passed for his full worth. He was rather blunt in giving reproof, but he seldom gave reproof. There was no envious or jealous feeling about him, his labors were to some extent blessed. We always agreed together well. His wife was much younger than himself when they were married. He was 32 & she 16; they were rather ill-paired, at least I thought so. He died in 1846.

J. E. Davis [Davies?] was a good man; entered the ministry late in life; was the senior of all of us (some 15 years or more); his literary attainments were limited. He never could have been ordained if the discipline had been exacted to the letter. He had few sermons. He presented tolerably well, but he repeated them so often they ceased to be interesting. He was able in prayer and was useful in revivals. Some of us felt awkwardly situated with him. He seemed to claim preeminence over us on account of age, and yet his ability as a Presbyterian theologian was decidedly inferior to any in our bounds. He was rather irritable and somewhat envious and jealous-hearted. Physically, he was industrious; mentally he was not, a good deal inclined to be worldly minded. McDowell and he lived near each other. The families and family connections were not on good terms; there was rather a coldness between them as ministers, but no outbreak while I was there.

My Bible agency. In the year 1832, I accepted an agency in the Bible cause under the Bible Society. I was to receive 8 dollars per week and my expenses bourn during my agency. The Black Hawk War broke out, and called away many of the prominent men of the state, which greatly impeded my work, and my success in the cause. I attended the general assembly this year in Nashville, which was the only general assembly I ever attended. I did not charge the time I attended the assembly to the board of the Bible Society. A good many things contributed to make my mission in the Bible cause unsuccessful, but here I will not transcribe what I first wrote – but till just say some envious, meddling persons I believe reported some things unfavorable to me, and I sent in my resignation and I never learned certainly, and I should not be surprised if they placed my name on the black list. I nevertheless worked on as best I could to extend the Bible interests up to the present time, using the old proverb “it is better to suffer wrong than to do wrong.”

Sore affliction. In the winter of 1834, I was taken with the blind piles and suffered greatly. Once in crossing an icy fence, the parts being swollen, I slipped and fell astride the fence and severely bruised the parts, which confined me to the house all winter, so that I was unable to cut or carry in my firewood or sit on a chair to take my meals. It became as fistula inanno and thus remained to the present day. I have had two operations performed, but with little benefit. Sometimes however, I am nearly sound and well, and then again it will break out and become very painful and annoying. I have suffered however far less in latter than in former years & far less in Oregon than in the Atlantic states.

Removal to Mt. Zion congregation. While thus afflicted, I received a call from Mt. Zion congregation, in Macon County, lately left vacant by the death of Rev. David Foster. I accepted the call supposing that God in His providence had probably opened the way and was saying to me walk in it. But to the present day, I have not been able to decide whether or not I did right in going there; but I will give a brief account of my sojourn there, and leave it for others to judge. There was not definite sum promised me, but the Session agreed to furnish me a house to live in and support my family, and furnish feed for my horse. There were some sixty members in communion, but like most of our congregations, they were considerably scattered, and they seldom, perhaps never, all came together unless it was for Camp meeting. I found also that they were far from being united in cooperation & love & indeed, they were composed of such materials as can scarcely ever be united in a way to work profitable. About half the families were well to do in the world, were economical and industrious, and could, if they chose to do so, have supported a minister and never been any the worse for it, but they

were not trained to any system , and generally felt that they ought not do any more than their equal part. The other half were poor, had nothing to spare to the minister and could barely make a living for their family. It is well known that pride is the besetting sin of the rich or well to do in the world, and envy the besetting sin of the poor and indigent. Never was this more manifest than in this congregation. They were jealous of each other in the extreme in this state of affairs. They came together, made a pretty close calculation about how much I ought to live on, and then proceeded to raise it by subscription. The highest sum promised by anyone was ten dollars, and from that on down to fifty cents and nothing at all. The next thing was to furnish me a house to live in. This they did by putting me up a log cabin with clapboard roof and puncheon floor, capboard door, stick and clay chimney, but no dobbing in the cracks, no joice or anything above head between the floor and the roof! How we wintered in such a house is to me today a mystery, but it was about as good as a majority of my members had. They also put me up a small stable for my horse and fenced me in about a half acre of ground for a garden. All that felt able paid up their subscription at a pretty early day; some others contended that they had liquidated theirs by work on the house, garden & stable. Thus I got through my first year, but had to fall back on my own limited resources for a good part of my sustenance.

I will here record that my dear help meet who, while I am writing thing, her remains sleeps in the cold grave, did much toward sustaining the family though she was the mother at this time of five children. She not only clothed them, and had them dressed for church on the Sabbath day, but the year we lived there, with her own hands, made a web of forty yards of jeans (the common wear of men in that day), which we sold in Peoria for one dollar per yard. With this she bought dry goods, and groceries for herself & the family. Even this praiseworthy industry was criticized by some of our neighbors and invidious remarks made about pride and extravagance and how much money ought to be used and economized. One thing we never lacked for was advice, which was given freely without money and without price, and frequently when any trouble or even sickness came upon us, we were told afterwards how it might have been avoided! Quite a number rather clamed the right of being our guardians. Some may at this day wonder how we could pass an Illinois winter in such a house and not freeze to death. I will tell you that a good wife like that one described by Solomon, had before this time, by her own industry provided a good supply both of wearing and bed clothing & thus we suffered but little.

Second year. At the commencement of the second year, there was a meeting called to see what could be done toward raising my salary? I told them what I thought I could live on. Some of them thought it was quite extravagant. I then proposed that if they would make me up a school, I could thus earn that amount and support myself and I would still preached all I could to them. To this proposition, most of the poorer class seemed to favor. But three elders and two or three that were not elders said it could be raised and it must be done. They subscribed ten dollars apiece and with the other smaller sums, it was all paid. That summer, all my family were sick. Many of the congregation were sick and some died. My recollection now is that all that was promised for that did not exceed \$100. I had to supply 3 Sabs in the month at as many different places. In the month of Nov. I had already received and used all that was promised that I could have any reasonable calculations would ever be paid. The year for which I was engaged would not expire till March or April. The winter was not setting in. I had no provision made for it; no family provisions, no firewood, no food for my horse and withal laboring and suffering from my complaint before alluded to, now what was I to do? I sent for Bro. Scott & laid the matter before him. He seemed a good deal affected with it. Proposed to call the session together. I proposed that if the session would release me from obligation to fill up my unexpired time, and assist me to move back to my farm some 60 miles. I would release all of them and would try and provide for myself. I saw in a moment that Bro. Scott fell in with the proposition, and though I esteemed Bro. Scott and his worthy

family and had good reasons to believe he esteemed me and mine, we both under the circumstances, felt glad to part! One of the men that had subscribed ten dollars agreed to take his team and move me back for his subscription, so we set out about the 1st of December over frozen ground, to return to my farm from which I had been absent about 18 months.

My labors in the Mt. Zion congregation. The congregation was made up of members mainly from three settlements; Mt. Zion, the main center, and Big Creek on the north, and Robert Smith's on the west. I preached regular at these different points and one Sab[bath] in the month to the Bethany congregation, some 15 miles east of Mt. Zion, on the Ocaw in Shelby County. I was situated about a mile from the meetinghouse. It was built upon the Old Southern plan, or rather no plan at all; hewed logs, clapboard roof, and when I went there, no windows, nor floor, only the bare earth. For seats, there were broad rails laid across rough logs. It had been standing for years, and no one seemed to imagine but that it was good enough. There was a Campground contiguous to the church at which we held two Camp meetings during my stay; the first was attended by ministers Barber, Knight, Haynes and myself. It was a good meeting and quite a number of professions and accessions. The second one came on at a very sickly time, but was not an entire failure. It was attended by minister Knight, Berry and myself. We also held two on the Ocqaw, both good meeting[s], quite a number of professions and accessions. These were attended by J. Barber, Sr., and one of them by A. Lansden & W. Finley, John Knight and myself at both. I can't say whether any or not. The last year of my stay in that Country was very sickly and Andrew Bone and Thos. Lansden. Both died. They were mainstays of that church. I have frequently seen accounts from both these churches. They both seem to fill a rather prominent place in that region of the Country. I suppose scarcely any of the adult members of either of these congregations that were living then are alive now. Some of them left in triumph. Of the aged men in Mt. Zion congregation, I will name Andrew Wilson, father of A. M. Wilson, now of Kansas; James Scott, John Smith, Robert Wilson & Robert Smith. These were all somewhat advanced in age, active and zealous in religious meetings. Then of the mothers of Israel, there were Mrs. Foster, widow of Rev. David Foster, deceased; Mrs. Wilson, and Mrs. Scott; all these and many more have finished their course and gone to their great reward. Besides them, there were many more younger sisters that it might be said, as Paul said of some at Philippi, "help these women that labored with me in the Gospel." Philippians 4.3. No one who had labored in the revival in those days will fail to understand what is meant by women helping the minister. Their very solemn countenances helped; they helped by their prayers; but especially they helped by conversing with mourners and pointing them to Jesus the Lamb of God and Savior of the world. I might name many, but I would do injustice to my feelings if I were to omit the daughters, three in number of Rev. David Foster, deceased, named Isabel, Nancy, and Elizabeth. I have heard of the death of the first & last. I do not know whether Nancy is living or not, but one thing I am sure, a mansion is prepared for all of them and for many more I have in my mind but cannot mention here.

Return to Tazewell. I arrived at my farm and got possession in December 1835 and although I had been absent only some 18 months, very many changes had taken place. The open prairie that lay east of me that I thought would not be settled for fifty years all bought up by a colony from the east, and a flourishing town had sprung up only one mile from my farm, called Tremont. The county seat that had not been located till now was fixed at Tremont, and my place that had been thought an out of the way place, had now one of the most public roads in the county, passing immediately by it. Everything, people and all, seemed to have changed. Nearly all of them seemed to have made advances in worldly matters and left me far in the rear. About this time, I had a letter from my old friend & brother Joel Hargrove, proposing, without my asking it, to lend me one hundred dollars without interest, and went with me till I should find it convenient to pay it. This was a great kindness and I then looked on it as an immediate providence, and such I deem it to this day. May I ever feel thankful. I resumed

appointments at the old Pleasant Grove schoolhouse and also began appointments in Tremont among my Yankee neighbors, and here I will remark that I do not know that I was ever to any extent useful among them. They always seemed far more interested in my preaching than they did in their own ministers. They had some three or four ministers of as many denominations, but no organized church for several years. They generally called on one of their own preachers to solemnize their marriages, but not always, but in almost all cases they called on me to officiate at their funerals. Mr. J. C. married Miss S., Mr. D. was called on to pronounce the marriage ceremony, but in the few weeks, Mrs. C. died and although Mr. D. was in town, I was called on to attend her funeral. I inferred they thought me not refined enough for a Yankee wedding, but enough so for a funeral. Some of my friends observed this and asked why I did not retort on them and send them to Mr. D. to attend the funeral.

Organization or Constitution of Mackinaw Pres. In 1836, by order of Synod, Mackinaw presbytery met and was constituted in Pleasant Grove, near my place of residence. The ministers composing were James McDowell, J. E. Davis, Archibald Johnson, and myself. The licentiates were R. G. [?] Taylor, late from Tennessee, and Peyton Mitchell. We had nominally four congregations, but only one I think fully organized, that was Stouts Grove. They had three elders and perhaps the 30 in communion authorizing them to a representation in presbytery. The other congregations were Pleasant Grove, Randolphs Grove & Sandy Cree, and Sugar Creek, none of the latter I think had over two elders and perhaps some only one. In regard to representation in presbytery, if the letter of the book were executed, it is clear that no church would be entitled to representation in presbytery. Unless they had 30 members in communion, and were willing to support the Gospel as God had enabled them. Such as had not this number, by being united with others till they had that no [number] could in their united capacity be represented in presbytery. Our conclusions then was and my practice has ever been in accordance with that conclusion, that his discipline was gotten up for a thickly settled country where congregations were small and far removed from each other and the members personally unknown to each other, that if united nominally by an act of presbytery, there would be no real union in the sense the discipline contemplated, and consequently they must either be represented individually or not at all; but as the interests of all required that they should be represented in presbytery, and this was missionary ground, we found it better to get all our people interested in being represented in presbytery, whether they had 30 members or not. We could see no possible evil that could grow out of this plan unless such a state of things might come to act that the laity and ministry should become divided one against the other, then there might be danger of the eldership getting too much power in their hands. In that case, we might exact the letter of discipline. Another case, we found it not expedient to exact the letter of discipline on new and missionary ground. It would seem that a session can only be constituted with not less than three ruling elders, but we are here on missionary ground and the minister sometimes find persons desiring to join the church and be baptized, and no elder in any reasonable distance, what shall he do? Refuse such penitent persons the ordinance of the church until he can get a bench of elders, or shall we do as did Philip with the Eunuch, receive him on his profession of faith, and baptize him and each go on his ways. In a word, rules and regulations that were adopted to the situation of old and established state of society, cannot be exacted in new and sparsely inhabited country. In many instances the preacher and one or two elders and, in some cases, the preacher alone has performed the offices of the church session.

Formation of Sangamon Synod. Some of us felt a good deal opposed to the formation of Winaw pres., and were contemplating to petition to have it dissolved and still continue with the Sangamon presbytery, but before we could act in the premises, the General Assembly divided. I [blotted out] Sangamon presbytery and ordered the constitution of a new Synod to be composed of the Sangamon, Rushville and Mackinaw presbyteries, to meet in Rushville; I think in the fall of 1838. The order for the constitution of this Synod was passed by the

General Assembly in the spring of the same year. Mackinaw Presbytery was the only one represented in that Assembly and that by R. D. Taylor, who had only been ordained less than a year before. Taylor did not return to Illinois till after the constitution of said Synod. The presbyteries had no official knowledge of the Order at all was a report in the Revivalist and the Assembly called the name of the Synod Mackadow [?], but by a typographical error it was named in the paper "Mahaka." Some of us heard from a minister that lived in Tennessee who professed to know that the name was "Winaw." Under all the circumstances, some of us was opposed to constituting at all; but a quorum met at the time and place appointed and constituted the General Assembly to change the name to Sangamon, which was done at the next subsequent meeting of the Assembly.

This act of the Assembly, which I seriously doubted its constitutionality in creating a Synod without the consent or wish of any of the members except Bro. Taylor, created considerable sparring between Bro. Joel Knight and myself. He gave as his reason for his action in the premises that there was not harmony of feeling between Bro. Berry and some of the members of Illinois presbytery, growing out of the restoration of Woods M. Hamilton, who had been suspended and deposed from the ministry, by the Illinois presbytery before any division of said presbytery had taken place, and had been restored by said presbytery contrary to the views and feelings of several of the older members who had taken an active part in his deposition. But all the feelings that grew out of this matter had long since been healed, I suppose. And today, Bro. Knight, I suppose, is the only person living that had any part to act in said matter.

I remained and labored in this region of Pleasant Grove until 1848; saw two considerable revivals of Religion; saw a decent frame church house in Groveland, with about 30 members in communion. One great drawback in my case was a large portion of the members were more or less connected with my own family, and on that account was [?] reluctant to ask anything for my support, and the result was I got but little and had to depend on my own exertions in another direction for a support for myself & family. Not feeling able to labor much on a farm and sinking deeper & deeper in debt, I was induced to offer for an elective office, that of Judge of probate, or as it was termed in law, probate Justice of the Peace. I dreaded this as a man offering for an elective office sets himself up as a mark for every base to[rey?] to spit at, but I passed through the campaign safely without any, or at least much, opposition. I was elected over Judge Morgan, who had held the office many years. I held the office 4 years, and was again elected over W. Hl. Leonard, an eastern Lawyer, in 1843 by a large majority. In 1847, another election was to be held, and I was again a candidate. I felt sure and so did my friends, that I would be elected without any effort at all on my part, and so sure was some of my warm friends that they did not go to the polls at all, but I found out when it was too late to counteract, that there was a deep laid plot to defeat me. I did not find out this until the day of election after voting had begun and made considerable progress. The Whig party with whom I had acted was largely in the majority in the county, but I did not try to avail myself with this advantage; in fact, I had frequently said that a Judiciary officer ought not be elected on the ground of part or political principles. Such were my sincere opinions, but by exposing myself thus, I gained nothing from the opposite party, but I have reason to believe I lost some from my own. Another thing that operated against me was on the ground that it was well known I was an uncompromising temperance man, and my opponent was not, but he or his friends or both gave out free whiskey in abundance. But the main thing that caused my defeat was the following: sometime previous to the election a considerable number of persons and myself were in the office of Mr. Morrison, the Coun[t]y Clerk, and the subject of masonry was introduced and I remarked humorously I knew all about the mason secret. I had read Morgan's book and it was certain Morgan had told the true Mason Secret, or they would not have killed him. This caused a big laugh with all but the masons, but I observed at the time there was a scowl on all their countenances; from that time I was a doomed man. I do not think a single

mason voted for me! Up to this time, I was not anti-mason. My father was a mason and I was sure he was a good man. My opinion then was, and is yet, that masonry like all other combinations was a power that when in the hands of good men might and had effected good, but in the hands of bad men might be turned to a bad account. I had no intention nor expectation of using the anti-mason influence in my case, but my opponents made the impression on the masons that this was the case, and my opponent was a mason and he captured all the mason votes. Mr. Morrison joined in the laugh and though he was on of the most popular men in the county, he was beaten far worse than I was. He subsequently joined the masons to make up the breach and so did two others that joined in the laugh, but I was too stout for this. I probably would have joined the masons had it not been for this. When the votes were counted I was three behind. Had I know the combination against me, three days beforehand, I could have overcome all the combinations against me. At this point of time, witnessing all the influences growing out of the affair, I am led to look on the whole as a providential thing. Had I at this turn been reelected, I have no idea I would have ever been in Oregon. Nor would many others that came on my account.

Remove to Iowa. Being now thrown out of employment, and being somewhat involved in debt, having a good deal owing to me in the way of fees in small sums, I attended Synod in Cherry grove. I was making inquiry where there was an opening me to be useful. I was rather urged by J. M. Berry and J. G. White to go to Iowa. W. S. Viney, a ruling Elder from Mt. Pleasant was also there, and he manifested an anxiety for me to some and all seemed to think I could be easily and handsomely supported. I determined to go over and see. Accordingly in December, I crossed the Mississippi on the ice, visited Burlington, New London and Mr. Pleasant. The prospect did not seem as good as I had been lead to expect, but still I supposed I could live, and probably be useful; so I made up my mind to try it, went home, wound up my affairs as best I could. Started in April; sent my wagon and stock by land. Took the rest of the family by steamer to St. Louis, thense to Burlington; there met the boys, where they had been waiting for me several days. Mr. Viney had rented me a farm, 5 miles south of Mt. Pleasant. There my sons put in and raised a good crop. There had been a subscription gotten up for me, but how much I do not know, but one thing I do know, that in three years I stayed there with three good crops my sons raised, we did not make enough to live on and I had to spend considerable of my own capital.

I found the Church in Iowa in very wretched condition. The trouble that had arisen between J. G. White and B. B. Bonham had not yet subsided. After Bonham had been deposed from the ministry, he went into Mo., joined the Methodist church, was by then licensed to preach, then joined the Salt Run presbytery of the C Presbyterian church, as a licentiate, was by them reordained! Came back to Iowa, held a Sacramental meeting, administered baptism, &c &c. One of the largest congregations adhered to him, almost unanimously, and justified these irregularities in his case. Mt. Pleasant congregation generally took White's side. Several of the members in the other congregations were living disorderly, some drinking and using profane language, and living in a disorderly and disgraceful manner, and scarcely a possibility of restoring good order by the exercise of discipline. After laboring two years endeavoring to restore peace, and good order, I made up my mind that if in another year, God would open the way, I would leave them and go to Oregon.

One bright spot in Iowa. See this, the printed slip pasted on the next page. I will here state I think, yea I am sure, that I left Iowa in a better condition than I found it. I had the cooperation of Bro. Lyn [Syn?], Bro. Baird, both of whom I left there. We also had the cooperation of dear old Bro. Berry, & Bro. J. M. Stockton at several meetings of presbytery, and we had the help of Bro. J. G. White at one Camp meeting near Mt. Pleasant at which we had several professions, & accessions among whom were several of my own family. The Bonham & White matter was quieted by our bringing the case before the General Assembly.

(Clipping posted in the printed journal ... RNJ)

For the Cumberland Presbyterian HISTORICAL SKETCHES, No. 1, by REV. NEILL JOHNSON

One after another of the old pioneers of Cumberland Presbyterians are dropping off, and like the old Revolutionary soldiers, they will all soon be gone.

In the CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN of August 14, I noticed the obituary of William Graham, of Cedar Co., Iowa. In this notice is the expression, "He was the first to introduce Cumberland Presbyterianism to this part of Iowa." I know this to be a fact, and as there is probably not another living witness that could testify anything more than hear-say on this subject, it may be interesting to many of your readers, and especially the members of the church there, where God made him the instrument – not only in introducing the Gospel as believed and taught by Cumberland Presbyterians – but in building up an organization there, the influence of which it is hoped and believed will continue to deepen and widen, as long as the sun shall enlighten the world. I say it may be interesting to know something of the measures that our dear old departed brother took to get preaching of our order introduced in this vicinity. For the aforesaid purpose, I will transcribe from my memorandums, a brief sketch of the first introduction of our ministerial operations in that region [?].

In the Spring of 1849, I was living in the vicinity of Mt. Pleasant, and preaching under an order of Presbytery to the congregation of Mt. Pleasant, New London and Shinar, when a letter was handed to me signed, Wm. Graham, directed to the pastor of the Mt. Pleasant congregation of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, in which he made one of the most touching appeals in behalf of himself, his family and neighbors, I ever read. I read the letter to two of the elders of Mt. Pleasant congregation. They both seemed much affected at its contents, and proposed that I should send an appointment, and said they would get a carriage and both would accompany me. Whereupon I sent the appointment. His second letter gave me the directions how I should find his residence without []. When the time came to start for some reasons – not now remembered – both the elders declined going with me and I went all alone – a distance of about fifty miles. His house was a little distance from the main, traveled road, and my directors said when I got near the summit of the rising ground, to take a dim track to the right. My attention was drawn, however, by discovering a lone man on the summit and I had passed the turning-off point without discovering it. The man passed out of sight under a hill. After passing a little further, I met a neighbor of Wm. Graham, and on inquiry, I found I was in a very short distance of his house, but not in sight. He said Mr. Graham had just left the road and was going toward his house. Then I discovered he was the man I saw standing on the summit and he was on the look-out for me. I turned, and hastily drove down, and met him at his own gate, and feeling certain it was he, I addressed him as Bro. Graham, and he addressed me as Bro. Johnson.

From the Cumberland Presbyterian HISTORICAL SKETCHES, No. 2, by REV. NEILL JOHNSON

Bro. Graham seemed greatly rejoiced that I had come; stated that he had written quite a number of letters to different ministers, but never got any answer. A short time before this he had heard that there was a Cumberland Presbyterian minister in Mt. Pleasant, but did not learn his name, and this was the reason he had addressed the first as stated in my first number. Bro. Graham had quite a respectable congregation assembled, not one of whom, outside of his own family and one widowed sister, had ever heard a Cumberland Presbyterian preach. I preached to them several times before I left them, and I thought I discovered considerable interest; one thing, I know I had very good attention. Bro. G. insisted that I should leave another appointment, and that the next time I came I should appoint to give an outline of our doctrines, and wherein we took exceptions to the Westminster Confession of Faith. This I

promised to do so far as I was able; accordingly the next time I came, the little schoolhouse was full to overflowing. I preached as best I could; all seemed pleased with the doctrines advanced, so far as I could judge. Before my third visit a minister of another denomination came in and attacked the doctrines of our Church, and made rather an unsuccessful effort at an organization of his own sect. Only one family however joined. This minister I never saw, but from what I hear I suppose he was ultra-Calvinistic. When leaving, on this last visit, from the importunity of Bro. Graham, and from the interest manifested by the people generally, I promised to see Bro. W. F. Baird, who was then filling the mission at Burlington, and urge him to visit and preach to them. This I did, and Bro. Baird visited them, held a protracted meeting and organized a church, after which I visited them only once or twice before I left for Oregon in 1851. At the time of our introduction in Cedar county, our interests had suffered great reverses, growing mainly out of the trial and deposition of B. B. Bonham, but here in Cedar the people knew nothing about the unhappy affair, and our way was perfectly clear.

I will close this historical sketch by a few reflections of the over-auling providence of God. Bro. Graham was a man of nothing more than ordinary intellectual ability; had he, as influence and ability in introducing many others do, neglected to us his, our doctrines and usages in Pedee, Cedar County, it is certain the history of the Church would be different from what it is already. But more than this, the influence which he set in motion will deepen and widen, and will continue to affect the interest of the church and the world, until the whole work of the mediatorial kingdom is wound up.

And let me say to you, dear reader, little as you may think of it, the history of the church and of the world will not be the same that is would have been if you had not had any existence; and you and I will leave the world in a better condition, or in a worse condition, that it would have been if we had never been born. If this though were duly considered what watchfulness would it inspire.

For the Banner-Presbyteri[an], SUPPLEMENT No. 1, By REV. R. A. FERGUSON,

I WRITE as a supplement to the [ar]ticles of Bro. Johnson, of Oregon, co[n]cerning Wm. Graham, of Pedee, Ced[ar] county, Iowa. Rev. W. F. Baird, Burlington, organized the congregation, and usually visited them once o[r] twice a year. His labors were always highly esteemed by the people there and are to this day. Different ministers lived and labored there from time to time. Sometimes the meetings were held in a little log-house belonging to Bro. Graham – the one, no doubt, in which he lived when Bro. Johnson visited him – he having built a larger one for a dwelling. Eventually the congregation erected a small house on a lot donated for that purpose. The war came on, in its fury, bringing its full share of trouble and division to the congregation. For a long time the turbulent elements were beyond the control of Bro. Graham. But still he was true as steel to the Church. He was one of the first elders ordained in the congregation. In after years some trouble arose between the sessions and congregation. The other elders all favored the resignation of the whole sessions. Bro. Graham protested against this with all his might. The pressure was too great, and he at last yielded; but he then and there affirmed, that, while he would not relax his interested in the church, yet he would never serve the congregation in that capacity again. This he ever afterwards adhered to and regarded himself only as a private member. His reason for not wanting the elders to resign was that it would be a bad precedent and beget a restless spirit in the congregation, which would be calling for the resignation of their officers every time a little breeze arose among them. The subsequent history has proved that his judgment was not at fault. There are good brethren serving now as ruling elders in the congregation, who have resigned, the dear only knows how often. Every time a little trouble would arise the same remedy must be applied – all officers resign, and a new election be held. Bro. Graham opposed this every time. Although he was now only a lay member, yet none labored more faithfully for the church. He would build the fires, sweep the house, entertain the ministers, and do everything that was necessary.

As we said, the congregation was much distracted during the war. One noble elder had been called home to rest. The other elders and nearly all the members became greatly discouraged, and concluded the church was gone. Bro. Graham alone had faith and was willing to work. But what could he do? Bro. Baird, to whom they have always turned for human help in dark hours, was now far away in the South, engaged in the Bible work. To whom could Bro. Graham look? His most excellent wife had been gathered to her rest. His home, where the ministers had always been made welcome, was almost broken up. He has often told the writer that he made it a business to pray once everyday in secret to God for His beloved church. At last God directed him to Rev. J. R. Lowrance, then at Oskaloosa, Iowa. Accordingly he wrote Bro. Lowrance a letter urging him to visit them and preach for them, pledging him \$25 as compensation. I believe one or two others acquiesced in this request. In a few weeks Bro. Lowrance came and spent two Sabbath with them, preaching in this strong, clear manner. This visit seemed to encourage a few of the scattered ones. A few weeks afterwards Bro. Lowrance called the attention of the writer, then serving the South Henderson congregation, Illinois, to the point. At his request an appointment was sent, and in due time, we started to meet that appointment. Landing at the nearest railroad station early in the morning, we began to look around to see who was there to convey us the eight miles to the church. At last we espied a little old white haired gentleman driving rapidly down the street in a buggy. Stopping near where I stood, he inquired if a stranger had gotten off the train? Stepping up and taking his hand, I told him I was a stranger and had just landed from the train. He then informed me that his name was Graham and that he had come for me. His person was rather diminutive, yet he had a high intellectual forehead, a keen eye, and finely molded features. On the way out he told me how he had become a Cumberland Presbyterian in Pennsylvania; talked of Morgan, Bryan and Bird. I soon found that he was a great admirer of strong doctrinal preaching, and that Dr. Bird was a great favorite of him. He talked of the old church on the hill at Waynesburg, of which he had been one of the building committee. He then told me of his removal to Iowa, and of his struggles to get a church of his choice. He was not what might be termed a well educated man, yet he conversed well. His manners were dignified and graceful, his language chaste, and his voice agreeable. At times there would appear a little shade of self-importance in his manner, but I think this was only in appearance and not in reality. But my article is already too long and I will close until next week when I will continue.

PILOT GROVE, IOWA, for the Banner-Presbyterian SUPPLEMENT, No. 2, by REV. R. A. FERGUSON

Brother Graham spoke in the highest terms of Bro. Johnson's preaching, and the effect upon the community. One incident I remember he related, which I have heard mentioned by others: Bro. Johnson, in one of his doctrinal sermons, illustrated the sovereign dealing of God with man by means of the potter and the clay. I[n] the congregation was a potter by th[e] name of tarr, and one of the stiffest infidels in the country. He was so absorbed in the discourse, that as the preacher went on in his powerful manner, describing the manner in which the potter handled the clay in making vessels, he entirely forgot himself, and his hands and his foot were moving unconsciously as though he was turning off vessels from the wheel. This was plainly seen by most of the congregation.

Bro. Graham informed me that he would be under the necessity of placing me with Bro. and Sister Burnett, as his wife was dead, his children all married, and he himself boarding; but assuring me that I would be well provided for which I found to be the case. My visit at that time was necessarily short, but I followed it in about three months with another. On reaching there the second time, I found that some ministers of another denomination had got in ahead of me, and had a protracted meeting in full blast. It seems they had concluded our Church was dead there, and that there was a good opening for them to take the field and build up a congregation of their own order. The Lord overruled and brought good out of evil, and a glorious revival was the result, in which our membership was brought together and ninety-four

new members added. A unanimous call was then extended to the writer, which he accepted, and in three months entered upon his labors. None seemed to rejoice more than Bro. Graham. In a few months he was united in marriage to a most excellent lady, who still survives him. He said he was again a happy man, because he could once more open his door to the ministers of the Gospel, and have them with him. The little church was now found to be too small, and in a few months, it was replaced by a new one as large again. Bro. Graham was active and liberal in securing this. When the house came to be dedicated, the writer, with the consent of the session, invited his former co-Presbyter and esteemed brother in the Gospel, Rev. J. R. Brown, then of Abingdon, Illinois, now editor of the BANNER PRESBYTERIAN. This was especially gratifying to Bro. Graham. He said he had known Bro. Brown when a little boy at Waynesburg and was anxious to hear him preach. When the time came, he insisted that Bro. [B] must come first to his house. I w[ell] remember his warm greeting, standin[g] in the door as Bro. B. and the writ[er] came up. "Bro. Brown, you are w[el]come to Iowa and especially welcome [to] the house of Wm. Graham." It w[as] like the warm welcome of the orient[al] partriarch standing in the door of h[is] tent. This was the same man se[en] standing alone on the hill looking [for] Bro. Johnson. I have heard Bro. Ba[] say, the first time he visited them [] say, evening was bitter cold when he w[as] expected to arrive, and lo! there [was] Bro. Graham watching for him th[rough] the cracks in the fence. Well may we ministers of God rise up and honor the memory of such a man! Bro. Brown's labors were greatly enjoyed by the whole community, and he is yet fondly remembered by them. Time rolled on, and for more than five years, the writer continued his labors among the people until Providence seemed to call him to another field. Storms and tempests hurled their fury down upon the congregation, and yet the work of the Lord prospered. Another congregation grew up beside the old one, and they are just completing a splendid house of worship. Bro. Graham came out, on a dark stormy night, four miles and a half, to see the new congregation organized, and rejoice with them. He was then past seventy years of age.

Last fa[ll] we returned to again look on the faces of the people with whom we had labored so long. On Sabbath, close by the pulpit in a chair, sat Bro. Graham, pale, weak and suffering. A few days after, we visited him in his own home. When came to part, he said, "We will meet no more until we meet in heaven." He expressed himself ready and waiting to go. After a long and lingering illness, he at last fell asleep; and we are informed that he died trusting in Jesus. Well done, good and faithful servant! Thy work is done, rest in heaven! Bro. Graham had one settled principle and that was to stick to the Church. He told me that nothing could drive him from his Church. And now in conclusion, is this some noted man about whom we have written so much? Nay, verily, he was a poor wheelwright in Pennsylvania, and in Iowa a farmer in only moderate circumstances. But he was a man that loved his church, and worked for it, although only a private member of that church. Would to God we had hundreds of such men to find new fields for our Church, and invite ministers into them, and then stand by then as he did. Reader, go thou and do likewise. PILOT GROVE, IOWA.

(Pages 58, 59, and 60 are printed articles by Rev. Neill Johnson and others.)

The congregation that adhered to Bonham (Sugar Creek) nearly all sided with him, except brother Joseph Howard & family. Some of the leading members made an effort to censure Bro. Howard. They got up a list of charges against him, and we had a call presbytery to investigate these charges. The result of these proceedings was Bro. Howard for imprudence in using unguarded & exaggerated expressions, & they who brought the charge for illegal proceedings and manifesting an unchristian spirit in maintaining the charges. I was appointed to administer the rebuke. Bro. Howard was present & manifested a very Christian spirit, very few however of the prosecution were present at the hour appointed – I will say of this congregation, I believe it is entirely broke up, mostly by removals; a large portion of them came to Oregon.

Sometime in the Spring of 1850, several communications published by Hon. Thurston fell into my hands in which he gave a glowing account of Oregon. After reading these and consulting with my family, not neglecting to seek divine direction, I determined to make preparations until the 1st day of April 1851, and if the Lord would prosper these efforts, I would take it as evidence that He favored the move and I would start on that day for Oregon. Having some knowledge of the plan of moving and settling colonies, I thought it probable that it would be a good plan to thus settle in Oregon. I accordingly drew up a constitution for a colony, had it published in two of the papers of our church. The whole being drawn up without any definite knowledge of Oregon. From this cause mainly, the Colony project fell through. No two of the members of the Colony settled nigher each other then 15 or 20 miles. But I succeeded in arranging my affairs and getting a comfortable outfit, and started on the very day I had fixed on more than a year before.

April 1st 1851. My outfit consisted of three wagons. One a family wagon, with elliptic springs, ten yoke of oxen, three brood mares, and four cows, and \$400 in gold to finish my outfit of provisions at St. Joseph, Mo.

I will be indulged here in making a brief statement of the colony project above alluded to. It was this: to raise a colony all to join and buy a body of land, lay off a town in the centre, sell out the choice lots, of lands & lots, to the highest bidders, to the colonist use the money thus raised, in building schoolhouse, and church. Such as did not choose to bid to take the lots & land left after the bidders had taken all the rest. It has been stated and published to the world, that said colony was to be composed of Cumberland Presbyterians alone and I was to be the pastor &c., all this false and slanderous. It was stated expressly that it was not requisite that the colonists should be members of the C P church, but the only prerequisite was a good moral character. Nor was it intimated who should be the pastor, but it was settled from the constitution that of our church how a pastor was to be chosen. The main reason of the scheme falling through was: there was not such a body of land to be found in Oregon, open to settlement, where such a scheme could be carried out; this fact was not known when the colony scheme was projected, but it was supposed that large bodies of prairie land, could be obtained at government price, like that in Illinois when Tremont, Delivan and other flourishing colonies had been located on the same or similar principals and had prospered.

My appointment as Missionary to Oregon. At the time I had fully made up my mind to come to Oregon. Rev. J. G. White was operating as a missionary in St. Louis, and Rev. W. F. Baird in Burlington, Iowa. Prior to this time, Rev. Levi Taylor had been appointed missionary to Oregon, and an appropriation made by the board in his behalf, but after he had received the said appropriation, either in whole or in part, he for some reason to me unknown declined coming, and through the influence of White and Baird, the Board opened a correspondence with me on the subject of the Oregon mission, the result of which was I was appointed missionary instead of the said Taylor, and the money that had been paid to him ordered to be paid to me so soon as it could be obtained from the said Taylor. The sum, if my memory serves me, was \$250. This was to enable me to get to Oregon. The board informed me that was all they could give me at present and no promise of anything further unless it was given by the donor for my express benefit. I was requested by the board to report every three months. This I did for the first year. All that I ever got through the board after my arrival in Oregon was fifty dollars from J. S. Martin, of Tennessee, a man I never saw, and ten dollars from some other persons whose name I never learned. The report reached Oregon before I did that I was coming as a missionary and the impression generally made that the board would support me. This operated against me in two ways: 1st that as I was employed by the board and they were bound to support me, therefore from this consideration I was bound to go and give all my time to the ministry, and secondly as the board was bound for my support, the churches and people where I preach were not or should not do anything toward my support!

At the second session of the Oregon presbytery I was ordered to ride & preach to all our organized congregations, and at the next presbytery, there was strenuous effort made to censure me for delinquency, in as much as I had failed to ride and preach regularly after the manner of the old circuit system. Of this I thought I had a just right to complain, as I had informed the presbytery at the start that I was just in the same condition with the rest of them, that I had spent all the board ever gave me in getting to Oregon, and I had no encouragement to expect anything more from them. That I had a large family, and that I came among them, both broke down & broke up, that I would preach all I could, or all that the people would enable me to do. I then informed the board of this state of things and requested that if they could do nothing for my support that I wished them to discontinue me as a missionary, and they took me at my word and accordingly discontinued me.

Travels over the mountains and plains and my arrival in Oregon. I will not attempt an account of my haps and mishaps in getting to Oregon, in full. A brief outline however will here be given. In the fall of 1850 I visited my oldest brother in Hancock County and my youngest brother (Archibald) in McLean County. Preached my farewell sermon when I preached at all. I seemed like tearing my heartstrings to part so many old and tried friends without any prospect of ever meeting them again in this world. This fall I attended the Sangamon Synod at the stone church in Illinois, where I took leave of many of my old friends and brethren with whom I had labored for many days gone by; among the rest, J. M. Berry, with whom I had been associated most of the time since I joined presbytery. It will be remembered he preached the night I made a profession of religion in 1820; he was a member of the first presbytery I ever attended, where I joined at Bear creek in 1825; and when I was licensed in 1827. To me he seemed a father and a brother. When I heard of his death several years after this, I could but exclaim as did Elisha when he saw Elijah go up, "My father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof." Here I parted with him and many others to meet no more this side of Jordan.

The day for starting having arrived, our company consisted of J. S. Starkey, Dr. John McCulla & wife, & Mr. Fisher, Fouts, McKinley, Smead & George Starkey. The 1st day, we crossed Skunk River and encamped on its banks. The 2nd day, in passing a narrow place in the road with thick brush on each side, I met a rough man with a team and wagon. I was driving my family wagon. I tried to turn my team so as to give half the road, a rule I have ever tried to follow, but our wagons struck wheels and partly locked. He seemed quite angry and bade me go to Hell! I replied, "No sir, I will not, lest we meet again under unfavorable circumstances. May our next meeting be a happy one!" With the company above named we traveled to St. Joseph, where we laid in our supplies, then rolled across the river – six miles & here remained in camp two days, which brought us to the 22 of April, when our colony was to meet; but none of them appeared. Here my eldest son insisted on my exchanging my mare, Fan, for another yoke of oxen, I was not clear in this, but finally did so. This laid the foundation of much of my subsequent misfortunes.

The next day, after I got the above oxen, the poorest one of them gave out and lay down. Had I known as much then as I subsequently learned, I would have gone on and left him, for I really did not need him, but we concluded to travel slowly and let him rest and in a few days, he would be as good as any of the rest of my team. My company however, went on and left us; and we were joined by a man by the name of Jones. Jones was an infidel, quite irresponsible; knew nothing about traveling. He had two wagons, three young men, and a sister in law, Mrs. Blanchard, who had a husband in Oregon. I forgot to name that on the 3rd day after I started, I was joined by a young man by the name of Harv[e]y Green. He was to go as one of the family, and I was to board him for his help. At St. Joe, we were joined by another young man, Hart Crosby. He was to furnish his provisions, I was to haul them; he was to assist in driving. All were to be treated as my own sons. Our company now were as follows: Mr. & Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Blanchard, Charley McClure, Wm. Lewis, & John Morgan, my

own family consisting of myself, wife, and ten children, five sons and five daughters, and H. Green and H. Crosby. With Mr. Jones' two wagons & my three, we traveled on till we arrived opposite the Winabago Swamps, 60 miles west of Fort Kerney. I will here state that Jonathan Keeney of Oregon was with us occasionally from St. Joe to Fort Kerney; he said he intended to cross the Platte at or near Fort Kerney; spoke of the good grass, good road, and abundance of game on the other side of the Platte. While we were at the above place resting at noon, we saw a gang of deer on an island. The boys took their guns, intending to get one, as the island was small, but while we were watching, we saw the deer leave it, and they made their way across the river. By this we saw the river was quite shallow and this determined us to cross upon the representations of Mr. Keeney, as above stated. This we did without any difficulty whatever except being very tired, some of us having waded the river several times. Our cattle had been restless for several days, and no matter how tired they were, they felt but little disposed to stop and eat, but when turned loose, would start off, take a beeline and travel right on without stopping to feed, so they required continual watching day & night. It was now the middle of May. Harvey Green was put on the 1st watch; he was to watch till midnight and John Johnson & C. McClure to watch the balance of the night. Green came in at midnight & spoke to the boys to get up in great haste, that the cattle were very restless, but the boys say they remember nothing of having waked at all; and slept till daylight and in the morning 14 of my best cattle and one of my meanest were all gone, and a whole team of Mr. Jones'. This detained us two weeks. Four yoke were entirely lost, seven were found about 60 miles below but some of them were so tired down when we got them, they never did us much good. While we were detained & waiting, a large Co. of emigrants came past, and I made an appeal to them for help. They seemed quite willing to assist me. Some of them lent me teams, some took in part of my load, and we again started on in pretty good spirits. I left John L., my eldest son back looking for my lost oxen. There were some 30 wagons in this company, entirely too many to make good speed. (Mr. Keeney had lost about 150 head of cattle the same night I lost mine.) We traveled on with the aforesaid company some 200 miles, but I soon found my chance for getting to Oregon with said company was quite slim. There was a good deal of quarrelling among them. At length, there was a stampede among the oxen. This made the matter still worse. Then another stampede, in which some cattle were entirely lost. I found the company were getting tired of helping me, and some were complaining that we were a burden to them. There were several dogs in the company among the rest; I had two. Some contended that the barking of the dogs was the cause of the stampede. Finally it was all laid on an old black dog of mine, quite a favorite of the family, but I told them that if they wished to kill all the dogs, I should not object, but others were unwilling to have their favorites killed and I objected to having Old Nig made the scape dog. So the result was none of them were killed and Old Nig lived to get into Oregon and live to a good old age and died a natural death. I found out however that there was a general understanding among the company to help me as far as Fort Laramie, and there leave me. I then told them if they were going to leave me, they need not take me any further, but to put out my provisions, and leave me at once, and this they did. I heard however the same day that part of my cattle had been found and would be along in a few days. So we hitched up what we had; rolled over a heavy sand ridge called Bluff ruins and here we remained till John arrived with seven of our cattle. We had now pretty good teams, rolled on and made good progress nearly as good as any on the road, overtook and passed several of those who had left us. A day's travel west of Laramie, Jones fell in with a Dr. Patterson & we left him. At the place where the road leaves the Platte, we overtook Mr. James & Foster, our Co. now was our own, Brown & Keeney, James & Foster; with these we traveled to the Umatilla. We out went Patterson & Jones, and at one time was, as we supposed, about 150 miles ahead of him. Nothing worthy of note took place till we got to the Umatilla. Here we were again deceived by an old interested mountaineer named Jackson, who induced us to take the Columbia River road, which we found sandy, mountains and otherwise bad, which greatly weakened our remaining poor cattle. We arrive at the Cascade Mountains at very

unpropitious time. It was raining when we got to Barlow's Gate, and continued to rain for several days; raised the mountain streams until the road became impassible. Hemmed in between two crossings of the Zigzag here were more than 20 wagons and teams, no food for beats and the rain still falling in torrents. We had left one wagon and team, and my two mares in the summit prairie, where there was what seemed to be good grass, with two of the boys to bring them on when the rain ceased, but on the summit the rain turned to snow and our two mares and our entire stock left there perished! Our team was not so far reduced that I found it out of the question to get my family out of the mountains without help. I started early the 6 of Sept. afoot to walk into the settlement, some 30 miles. The first night I camped with Mr. Cole and Mr. Froman, in one of the forks of the Sandy River. On the next morning, being the 7th of September, my birthday; I was today 49 years old, Mr. Froman kindly proposed that I might ride across in his wagon, but as his team was very weak, and he and his hands were going to walk, I thanked him and declined his offer, so I followed his wagon into the cold swift stream. I found it about waist deep and very cold, and swift, and if I had not caught hold of his wagon body, I should certainly been carried downstream and probably been drowned. A short distance before I arrived at the next and last crossing of Sandy, I met a man I have often regretted that if I learned his name, I forgot it. I inquired as to the crossing and learned it was deeper than the one I had crossed in the morning, and he kindly proposed to turn back with me and permit me to ride his horse across, and then turn him in and drive him across to him, which I did. This I have ever since looked on as one of the kindest acts I had received on the whole trip and an immediate providence. I arrived at Mr. Foster's a short time before sunset. This is the first house that the emigrant comes to in the valley. Here I saw the first signs of civilization since I left St. Joseph, some 5 months ago, such as poultry, hogs, fruit trees, &c &c.

Here I will record, as I have often heard Mr. Foster spoken of in very censorious terms, I take pleasure in recording my interview with him which I desire to set down to his credit. When I arrived at his home, they were at supper. He asked me politely, but in tavern language, if I would have supper. I answered him in the affirmative, and though I had not a red cent, I did not tell him so, from the fact that I intended to have my supper anyhow. After supper, I introduced myself, told him who I was, and what was my situation, and what I wanted and that I had left my family in the mountains without a day's provisions, and was going into the valley to try to get help. Mr. Foster had heard of me and of my colony. I told him I once had money but had none. I might probably have some again, but this I did not know. Now says I, "Mr. Foster, can you assist me?" He replied he had hired out all his oxen and mules and had none left at that time. "Well sir, can I get a horse from you to ride up into the valley to try and get help?" He replied, "Mr. Johnson, I have none but one favorite mare that I have allowed nobody to ride but myself, but stay till morning and you shall have her and you shall be welcome to make my house your home until you can get further." Accordingly, in the morning, a flat slick brown mare saw saddled at the gate that looked like she was indeed worthy of being a favorite. I mounted her and rode her some ten miles and met two men driving two men driving two yoke of oxen, fat, strong & stout, and an Indian pony well packed with provisions.

I said, "You are going, I suppose, to help some of your friends out of the mountains?" "Yes." "Any particular one?" "Yes." "Who?" "Johnson, a Cumberland Presbyterian minister." "Well, gentlemen, I am the man, what is left of me!" This was my first introduction to Wm. Jack & Thos. B. Allen.

(CROSSED OUT: [Mr. Craft, whom I before mentioned, had delivered the message aforesaid to Bro. Sam Allen, and this was the result he sent his son, T. B. Allen and the pack horse. Saw Mr. Jack who volunteered to come with the oxen.]

Record of additional kindness. I had become partially acquainted with Rev. Dr. Chandler, of the Baptist church at St. Joseph. He was coming to Oregon City to take charge of an

institution at that place. We had passed and repassed each other on the plains, but did not pretend to travel together. At the Umatilla, my provisions had run short; entirely out of meat. There was a man there that had meat but he asked fifty cents a pound for it and I had no money. I went to Mr. Chandler; told him my situation, asked him if he could assist me. He unhesitatingly answered, "Yes, how much do you want?" I told him I could probably get along with \$20. He said, "You better take 40." So he gave me 40 and Mrs. Chandler, in addition, sent some dried fruit and other [] to Mrs. Johnson. In the mountains, I became acquainted with Mr. Charles Craft, who lived in the valley. He proposed without my asking it that if I needed any assistance, to give it. Of him I borrowed forty dollars more. I inquired of him who in the valley would be likely to give me help out of the mountains. He named Samuel Allen, and proposed to go by his house and deliver any message I might send. I accordingly went by and he said to Mr. Allen; saying at the same time he thought me a fine old man, and if Mr. Allen would not help me, he would. This eventuated T. B. Allen & W. Jack meeting me as aforesaid. While in the mountains, my flour gave out. I inquired if any of the emigrants could spare any? Mr. Stott said he did not know that he had any to spare, but he would divide as long as it lasted, but would not sell any. After paying Mr. Stott the borrowed flour, and offering to pay Mr. Foster for his kindness (but he would not receive anything), I rolled into the Bute creek settlement. My finances were as follows:

Two Wagons worth one hundred and fifty each	\$300.00
Seven Oxen worth about	\$300.00
Two Cows worth	\$100.00
Clothing & bedding	\$200.00
Total	\$900.00
Owing as follows for oxen bought in the mountains	\$175.00
Borrowed Mr. Chandler	\$ 40.00
" " Craft	\$ 40.00
" " Jack	\$ 80.00
	\$335.00
Leaving my assets of every description	\$565.00

It was several years before I paid Mr. Chandler & Mr. Craft, but neither of them urged payment, nor would either of them receive any interest nor would Mr. Allen nor Jack have anything as compensation for their kindness.

Condition and state of the C. P. Church on my arrival. I learned before I started across the plains that Joseph A. Cornwall was the first C. P. minister that came to Oregon. He arrived I think in 1846. He united with the Congregationalists, and I think remained with them till after the arrival of J. E. Braby in 1847. I also recollect seeing a statement in the paper, that when J. E. Braby was about to leave a [daughter] of father Ewing saying to him, not to forsake our church in Oregon. From all I could learn & I have conversed with every prominent member in Oregon, I think there had not been any professions under the influence of our church prior to the year 1850, nor any considerable efforts made toward active operations until the latter part of the year 1850, one year before my arrival; nor can I learn that any attempts were made in that direction – only what was done in connection with J. E. Braby before he left for California. Brother Samuel Allen informed me that he became acquainted with J. A. Cornwall at a Methodist Camp meeting in the summer or fall of 1850, that he then gave him an appointment for sometime in the latter part of the summer, and from that time until my arrival monthly appointments were kept up during the year 1851, and the later of 1850.

Cornwall, Music, and Keene generally kept up two days' meetings at different points to wit: Abiqua, Waldo Hills, Luckamute, Yamhill, Tualiton, and some intermediate points. Cornwall report to our first Presbytery the no. [sic—number] of professions as being 70, and adult Baptisms 30. Soon after my arrival in Oregon, I saw an account of these revivals at which I then felt surprised at the egotism manifested. I could not but feel surprised at so much praise taken to himself. There was a connection with this, an attack on the Methodist church and mission in Oregon, which terminated in arraying all the prominent Methodist ministers against him. At a camp meeting afterwards, they took him to task for it and he promised to review what he had written and modify if he could, which he did, but only reaffirmed what he had said and added more which widened the breach, and to this day, I think not one of the Methodist brethren implicated will associate with him or even call him brother. This was the penalty incurred by him for disregarding the [negroes] 11 commandment for everyone to mind his own business. Some three days after my arrival on Bute creek there was a two days meeting in the Abiqua congregation, where for the first time I saw and heard J. A. Cornwall and A. W. Sweeney preach. The object of the meeting was to immerse five or six persons, who had joined the church and desired baptism by immersion. I had declined to immerse any for many years, and there were strong resolutions passed both by the presbytery and Synod to which I had belonged against immersion. I had written and published over a signature a [Cover] of consistency on the subject. The matter had been brought up and discussed in the general assembly, a resolution had been brought up condemning the practice, which had been disposed of by compromise, directing all our ministers to instruct our people on baptism. I as modestly as I could give him my views on the subject and a few reasons for them and he gave his, and his reasons which [were] mainly [that] it was the universal practice of the church, and that we would lose or fail to get many valuable members if we refused to immerse them. I argued that it was much easier to convince a young convert before immersion than afterwards, and if we could not convince him, then it was not likely we could afterwards. And if we failed to convince him, we had better let him go to the Baptists at once. But added – I have never known a case to fail yet when prudent steps were taken to set one of our converts right when they did not succeed. I saw pretty plainly he intended to claim a preemption over all Oregon, and rule the church and church officers. I had been in the habit of talking freely & confidentially with my brethren and I had no idea of anything I said to him now to be used to prejudice our people or the public against me, but I soon found that he told different ones that I was not a Cumberland Presbyterian in sentiment & practice, that I & Bro. Berry were about all but what believed & practiced immersions; as a consequence I was attacked by different ones, males & females for having abandoned the usages of the church! But I cannot be made to give any subject more attentions than its worth demands if I know it. Nor do I discuss it only what it seems to be called for. Though I am accused of exciting a great deal of prejudice against our church on this subject it is entirely without foundation. I am on the most amicable terms with the most prominent ministers of the Baptist church in Oregon. Professor Chandler is a leading Baptist, Hesakiah Johnson and Ezra Forbes are also prominent Baptist ministers. They have all called and stayed at my house frequently and we have labored together and our Christian friendship is reciprocal. The charge that I accused the Baptist or immersionist of being weak minded or ignorant is not true. I have often said and publicly and privately, I acknowledge them to be as honest as I claim to be myself. But I will here record one fact and I ask others to notice it: I have known many that have received immersion in our church and of that number quite a number have told me that if they had to be baptized again, they would not be immersed but if all that I ever knew who still held to immersion sentiments, I have never known one that was an honor to the church, or that the church would not have been as well off, if not better to have been without them than with them. I will say too while on this subject that some of our own people have accused me with inconsistency in fellowshipping with immersionists, when I did not believe they were scripturally baptized. My answer to such is first baptism is not essential to salvation. I have no doubt that many have been and will

be saved that never were baptized in any way. But secondly, immersionists have not denied or cont[r]avened the Ordinance, they have only made a mistake with regard to how it is to be performed. And for me to judge or condemn them for such a mistake is occupying the ground that the Baptists do, to exclude from the Lord's table such as I judge have made a mistake with regard to this ordinance; such a responsibility I dare not take. And finally, in my ordination vow, I have promised solemnly to study the [peace] of the church and in much as many of our members have been received by immersion and the church has recognized their baptism as valid. I cannot in good faith deny them Christian fellowship. Nevertheless, I have said this much and I here record it. The Baptist cannot think less of my baptism than I do of theirs, and if a brother or sister that had been immersed were to say to me that they were not satisfied with their baptism and that they desired me to baptize them "rightly" and scripturally, I would do it. The church had acknowledged the validity of that baptism, and as far as the right of membership is concerned, it answers the purpose as well as any other made, and as to how God looks upon it that may be settled by the subject the administrator and their Maker. I will not judge them but no earthly power can make me practice contrary to what I think honestly the Bible plainly teaches. And I am in candor compelled to say I consider the Baptist far more consistent than I do such as believe and preach one way & practice another. Here though I do not mean in this place to discuss the subject of baptism. I must say that I consider it entirely granting the Baptist too much to admit that the mode or manner in which baptism is to be administered is not taught in the Bible. I hold myself ready to show on a proper occasion that the manner of administering the Ordinance is so clearly taught there need to be no doubts about it. Cornwall has talked and preached and written more on this subject since I came to Oregon than all our ministers put together and because we did not endorse his views or kept entirely silent on the subject, he has severely censured us for interrupting the peace of the Church. In the fall of 1852, he introduced a resolution in presbytery, which required me to keep silent and keep my "peculiar views" as he called them "on baptism to myself." It did not pass however. This was introduced when he was in the habit of urging baptism is almost every sermon he preached! The subject was brought up by J. H. D. Henderson in a resolution presented in presbytery at Abiqua in the fall of 1853 as follows: "resolved that it is the sense of this presbytery that our book of discipline instructs her ministers to administer the ordinance of baptism by effusion and immersion." He and one other, A. W. Sweeney, advocated it lengthily but it was negatived by a large majority. When this was lost, the following was introduced by A. W. Sweeney: "Resolved that it is the sense of the presbytery that our book of discipline recognizes baptism by immersion as valid." This was passed and for the first time and only time, I entered my protest. It was signed by Joseph Robertson and Wm. Jolly, ministers, and D. H. Bellknap and Joel Hargrove, elders.

In April 1855, a resolution was introduced and passed by whom it was introduced, I do not know but it was passed unanimously, it reads as follows: "Resolved as uniformity in practice, is desirable in the administration of church ordinances, upon the part of any particular church, and even necessary to its peace and prosperity, that we recommend and request the ministers of this presbytery not to administer baptism by immersion." Presbytery book page 52. Immersion has fallen into disuse in our church ever since and I do not think we have lost a single member by our refusing to practice it that we would have gained by the opposite course.

Constitution of Oregon Presbytery. There were now three ordained ministers in Oregon, viz.: J. A. Cornwall, Joseph Robertson and myself. A. S. Sweeney was also here, but had not a letter of dismissal and recommendation, hence his name does not appear on our ministers' [list] till our second meeting. Licentiates John Dillard, William Jolley, Luther W. Kite, and B. F. Music, all of whom are noticed on the minutes. Cornwall in his sketches, says Music, was present but "positively refused to lay in his letter and come into the presbytery." The minutes do not show anything of this, nor do I know anything of it. The minutes speak of him as it

speaks of all the others, and this I am sure of, he was examined on theology with the rest of the licentiates.

Cornwall also gives the impression very clearly the Dell[?] Keene refused to join presbytery from some discouraging appearances he saw in the future. He made the same statements substantially in presbytery again and again. After my becoming quite familiar with Bro. Keene, I took the liberty of asking him if anything I had said or done was the cause of his declining to become a candidate, and he answered without hesitation in the negative, and went on to give me his reasons.

After being held up so often and in so many ways as the cause of Bro. Keene's backing out, I will here state what I otherwise would not do. Some months before he joined presbytery, I urged him to inquire prayerfully before God whether or not it was not his duty to preach? And he promised me he would. Subsequently, at Mary's River in the Spring of 1858, I preached before the presbytery on the text, "Feed my sheep," all seemed deeply affected, Keene especially. It was proposed immediately after I closed that the way should be opened for any to converse with the presbytery on their impressions on a call to the ministry. Bro. Keene came forward and was received.

State of religion and statistics at the time of our Organizations of presbytery. There were nominally five organized congregations. None of them had I think more than two ordained elders, and tow of them had only one each. None of them had a minister living nigher than 30 miles, except Yamhill and Twaletton. Cornwall lived in the former and Jolley then a licentiate in the latter. I was not yet settled but had made up my mind to settle on the east side of the Willamette, as all the preachers except Luther White lived on the west side and he did not make preaching a business, nor has he to this day. Had the letter of the discipline been exacted, not more than one, or two at the most, of the congregations could be represented in presbytery, for want of the requisite no. [sic—number] to entitle them to representation. The whole number in our entire bounds was one hundred three, and my own family, six members in all, were counted to make out this no. [sic—number]. And I think also Bro. Robertson's & Bro. Dodson's two in each so that besides these there were only ninety three. Cornwall very falsely charges Bro. Small and myself of supplanting him entirely on his labors & taking all the churches could raise for Sabbath preaching alone. For this reason I feel called on to record the following facts for which I expect to account at the judgment bar of God.

In the first place I will state that I asked Cornwall's advice as to where I had better settle. He named French prairie, where I finally did settle, and the Waldo Hills where Bro. Small subsequently settled. From my place of residence to the general place of meeting of the nearest congregation was ten miles, and there was but one member of the church nigher me than four miles. Nor had he ever preached nigher where I settled than four miles. At the distance of four miles there were four other members. Cornwall lived thirty five or forty miles from this congregation above referred to, and the Willamette river between them at that. A great part of the year it was difficult if not impossible to pass. Bro. Allen insisted on my supplying them with preaching. I told him and told Cornwall that I had no desire of preaching to them that I should like to spend half my Sabbaths at or near home and the other half I could spend in destitute regions where they had little or no preaching. I hinted to Bro. Allen that I feared Bro. Cornwall would not like it if I undertook to supply them. Bro. Allen remarked that "he thought they were under no obligation to hi that they had done a good deal for him and they would occasionally do more, that he was friendly to him but with other people generally he was unpopular, he had offended the Methodists attacking their missionary operations and that he had spoken very rough of the Campbellites saying 'they were all on the road to Hell.'" In view of all this, considering that Bro. Allen had helped me to get in out of the mountains, as before said, I felt in duty bound to comply with his request, and I did so mainly till the fall of 1855. Taking just what they were pleased to give, which was generally a hat

collection at the end of every six months and another hat collection at our Camp meetings and, of the latter Cornwall always got his full share; I never asked a stipulated sum nor I never got only as above states.

The Second Session of the Oregon Presbytery was held at Solomon Allen's in spring 1852. There had no orders been passed on any of us at the fall 1st session for the reason that our streams were generally unbridged and there were generally mud and rain and high water. At this presbytery, Bro. A. W. Sweeney handed in a letter and was received a minister and Thompson Gilliam was received a Candidate. I at this Pres. Stated to the presbytery candidly and truly the relation I sustained to the missionary board, that they had given me all I had any assurance I would ever get from them and that [] cent had been spent in getting to Oregon. That I had no horse to ride and a large family to support, but I would submit to any order the presbytery might pass on me, and would do all that I could to fulfill it. Cornwall proposed and it was so ordered that I should preach to the congregations of Abiqua, Santiam, and Yamhill; it was not so stated, but I supposed at discretion. I did preach to the Abiqua and Santiam, but only attended a Camp meeting in Yamhill.

At this meeting of presbytery, Bro. Allen proposed a subscription to buy me a horse and accordingly there was subscribed and paid about 150, for this purpose; when it was proposed, I remarked that if they bought me a horse, I wanted an American horse; that nearly all the Indian horses were so unmanageable in "bucking" that I was not willing to risk my bones on one of these. At this Cornwall complained bitterly that I ought that I ought to take any kind of a one they would please to give me, as he said he did. At this meeting, we organized a book fund and Cornwell was appointed treasurer between two and three hundred dollars was raised. The presbytery never realized but little from it. I think but one box of books. The constitution required the treasurer from time to time to have books brought on and sold for ready cash; I believe the funds were appropriated to pay for his own publication on baptism. At any rate they proved an entire loss to the church. At this meeting there was an order passed at the solicitation of Bro. Sweeney that each preacher preach a sermon on pastoral relations. This Cornwall charges on me for the purpose of further and entirely supplanted him; but it is not true. The object was that each congregation should have a preacher so far connected with them that would see that discipline was exercised therein. During the following summer there was raised by public collection mainly about \$900; which Cornwall charges in his sketches "that the old missionary (myself) if his memory serves him got about two thirds of it, which should have gone for circuit riding." Anyone can see that by this he intended to charge me with cheating or embezzling for more than my share, but the records will show that he always got his full share of all that was collected at the meetings attended, and got the book fund besides.

I will here record that all that was given me during the entire year over and above what others got, was given me on the ground of my getting into Oregon broke up, which if it had not been given to me would not have been given for circuit riding, nor for anything pertaining to the church.

To the best of my recollection it was about as follows:

To buy me a horse	\$150.00
Brother Tethrow a cow	\$ 50.00 (a cow & calf)
R. Robertson	\$ 10.00
A. W. Sweeney	\$ 11.00
Edward Long	\$ 4.00 (in groceries)
Samuel Allen	\$ 5.00

Mr. Hobson	\$ 5.00
Mr. Simpson	\$ 5.00
Mr. Harrison	\$ 10.00
Bro. Musick a pony	\$ 40.00 (an Indian pony worth about 40)
Bro. Musick Cash	\$ 15.00
Making in all	\$350.00

I hesitated about receiving the pony from Bro. Music, but he insisted on it; said he had no use for it and I found I had a chance to turn it in toward paying for the oxen I bought in the mountains, and I took it. I intended at some future time to make it good to him, and accordingly when I got into the nursery business I sent him word to come and get what trees he wanted but he never came, nor have I ever given him anything. I have reason to believe that efforts have been made to prejudice his mind against me; to that effect I do not know. There has never been any unkind words said between us; I am sure I entertain no unkind feelings toward him. It is true I at first opposed the order for his Ordination at the time it [blotted out] but not from any awkward feelings toward him; but on taking [the?] parts of trial I finally became []led and cordially took part with ordination.

Camp Meetings. There had been two Camp meetings held in Oregon by our people before my arrival one at Abiqua and one on the Luckamute, both in the summer of 1851. They [had] adopted the plan of giving a general invitation and inviting every person to eat free of all cost. There are in every country more or less of a loafing population who are glad and always avail themselves to live at as little cost as possible. Owing to the mines and some other causes, Oregon has her full share of this class. When I arrived and was told of this plan, I modestly remonstrated, told Bro. Allen that it would prove disastrous and in time break up camp meetings, that it would be a far better plan to insist on all to come prepared to take care of themselves and even then enough would attend unprovided to draw upon all the benevolence we could continue to maintain. But here I stood entirely alone. Even my good brother Small thought there was no danger, but he and a few others could stand it their lifetime. But in this, time has proved I was not mistaken, for this was the real cause of our having to abandon Camp meetings. It is true some might have been able to furnish the provisions for the yearly feast, and never materially miss it, but that was the smallest matter connected with the subject. The whole family of such as encamped had to enslave themselves, especially the females, in waiting on and cooking for a crowd that gave them neither thanks or pay. Brother Tethrow informed me himself he did not regard the cost of the provisions, but to enslave his wife who was at best a feeble and aged woman, he could not, not would not do it and who could blame him? To illustrate the impudence and impositions that campers had to endure that came under my own observations. At a camp meeting in the Abiqua in 1852, one man came with his wagon and family loaded with cakes and beer, stopped in the outskirts of the encampment and there continued to sell his stores, whilst he and his family ate their regular meals at my table. I was not apprised of this fact till the meeting was over. Another boarded with me during his stay without cost or thanks; a few weeks afterwards he ferried myself and Bro. M'cracken over Putting river, scarcely wider than two lengths of his boat and charged us full prices. At this same meeting neighbors that lived within a short distance would come with their families before breakfast and wait till after dinner before leaving. One young man at a camp meeting coolly remarked at table that if he had known they had no chicken, then he would not have sat down at the table. At one of the Camp meetings at the Waldo Hills, Bro. Small made proclamation from the stand after every meal that if any had been neglected to come forward and eat, and again and again published that if any person was unprovided for by making it known to him they should be

accommodated as far as he could do it. One night after trying to get all a place to sleep till he had none himself, but sat up by the fire all night, and yet some young men that claimed they had been neglected, amused themselves or took revenge by throwing stones on the camps, and whooping and yelling like savages. The preachers are blamed by Cornwall for Camp meetings being discontinued, but one thing is certain, if money had been our chief object in preaching as he charges, we would certainly been the last to give up Camp meetings for there our largest collections were made. They generally averaged one hundred dollars of which he always got his full share. I was informed that at Abiqua 1851, there his boys, as he called Music and Keene, allowed him to fob the whole amount of the collection. But as ware accused with putting down camp meetings, I hope I will be excused for recording that I otherwise would not. I camped at the Abiqua twice, fifty two and fifty three, distant 10 miles at the hills twice distant 20 miles, and once at the La Creole distant 25 miles; these are all except one at the [missing] La Creole that was held by our people until the fall of 1870, which will be noticed in another place, that were in any reasonable distance of me, say 40 miles. At some of these I fed and provisions that cost me fabulous prices. Cornwall attended all these with a portion of his family, but never camped [?] one held in his own neighborhood, but I desire neither to boast nor complain, nor would I record these things only for the sever and base charges he has penned against me. I consider them all originated in envy, and jealousy, and was doubtless intended to sink me in the estimation of the public. On the other hand, I can say I never did try to sink him in public estimation, but on the other hand, I have often said that I never knew a man whose talents were as much underrated as was those of Josephus A. Cornwall. One peculiarity about him was what phrenologists call "continuity." When he got into any subject he continued it, exhorted about [it], preached about it, till he g[enera]lly [t]ried everybody with it and he always had some[] or another subject on hand both to speak a[bo]ut. When I first came to Oregon, his Hobby was "the Covenant between the Father and the Son," from that he got on Baptism, and on this he wrote and published a book, during all the time he was at this, he generally begged [dragged?] it into ever[y]thing, exhortation, sermon, and prayer, as well as writing for the press. After the Civil war commenced he took strong ground on the side of the South and Slavery, called all that was said & written on the subject that did not justify slavery and the slave trade "Agitation" that he condemned in his strongest terms; never seemed to think that justifying slavery was agitating it at all. I tried all that was in my power to keep down any discussion on that subject whatever till after the war had commenced, and every person was compelled to take sides no matter how reluctant he might feel to do so. On the other hand, Brother Small was strong antislavery and so was J. H. D. Anderson [Henderson?]. Brother Small often talked with me on the subject. Said he was brought up by his mother to detest the institution, that his grandmother was violated and murdered by her own Negro man, and he left the slave states mainly to get out of sight and from under the influence of the institution he so cordially hated. Just at this point of my history, I will give my view of my worthy Brother Small. He no doubt has his imperfections as well as other men. Yet there is a nobleness about his character that I always from my first acquaintance with him both admired and loved; there was nothing mean about him. He was a true friend. He was honest, and honorable, kind and conscientious, and I fully believe he would suffer martyrdom before he would do anything that he considered sinful or wrong. He was jealous for his own rights but just as willing that others have theirs. He could be lead by reason, or what he judged to be reason, but he could not be driven. His dignity or self esteem was quite large. His approbateness not as large, but perhaps large enough. His parental love, and could not generally see the imperfections in his children that other people thought they saw. He was an acceptable preacher, and often preached with great pathos and power, and was extensively useful. He always passed especially in a strange place for all the talents he possessed. At a protracted meeting at Belpassi where I lived, he I think preached his first Sermon in Oregon against Slavery. I took some exception to the discourse, more to the untimeliness and inexpediency of it that the matter itself, but I understood the disposition of

the man too well, to say anything in opposition to it. But I tried and succeeded in drawing him off the subject, telling him that the great object of the meeting was the conversion of sinners and the revivals of God's work. From this time during the meeting he labored efficiently and successfully, and quite a number professed and were added to the church. After this, at a meeting of presbytery at Chehalem, Bro. Small preached the same Sermon that he had preached at Belpassi above alluded to; the text was 1st Sam. 2:30. "Those that honor me, will I honor, but they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." Three members of the presbytery were pretty strong proslavery, to wit: Cornwall, Gillespie, and Sweeney. Two, Small and Henderson, were Antislavery, myself and Bro. Robertson, were in heart opposed to Slavery, but did not feel disposed to go with abolition measures from the fact that we could not see that any good could be effected by agitating the subject. We could not justify it, as the proslavery party did, and the abolition measures seemed to us Revolutionary in their tendency. We still hoped and prayed that God would in His providence bring about the emancipation of the black race without revolution. With these feelings and views, I tried to calm the restless & fiery on both sides, but on this occasion the proslavery people were terribly excited, and Cornwall insisted on the presbytery call of the minds of the members of the presbytery, as I had done Bro. Small at Belpassi. I introduced a resolution to this effect that we all concentrate our efforts to bear upon the conversion of Sinners and avoid mainly all that did not tend in this direction. I believe the resolution passed, but not till Cornwall had discharged his heated [missing] Abolitionism. The next time it came into the presbytery was at the La Creole in a resolution brought up by Small to the effect that Slavery was wrong and condemned by the Bible. There was a motion made by John Watts and seconded by Baldwin to summarily lay it on the table, or postpone it indefinitely. I again tried for peace; I contended that if Bro. Small insisted on it, that he had a right to have it voted, but for the sake of peace, I insisted on Bro. Small to waive his right, and withdraw it, which he consented to do. Cornwall however insisted that before it was withdrawn, Small should state what he expected to effect by passing such resolutions, anyone can see at a glance that this would have resulted in discussion and agitation but it was finally withdrawn and that too I think I may say in deference to me and my feelings, whereas I think it certain if it had been disposed of, as the motion of J. Watts suggested. It would have brought on the crisis several years sooner than it soon did come. After this, Small published a piece in the Oregon Argus in which he came down in very strong terms against the institution which was the cause of Cornwall bringing up some very strong resolutions in a presbytery in Spring Valley, in which he referred to some acts of the general assembly, which he termed mild and conservative, and closed by recommending the adoption of those mild and conservative resolutions and condemning Abolitionism. By this time the fire had got up so high that neither side felt willing to evade a direct vote upon the subject, I tried however to have them withdraw, and then to have them indefinitely postponed, but signally failed in both. And they were lengthily and warmly discussed, but finally voted down. I said but little; my sentiments were well known and I had not changed on them for over forty years and can be summed up in a few words as follows: that Slavery was wrong, but like a great many other [] found it in the world and we all knew it could not be abolished in a day unless it was by a great revolution, and I felt opposed in my heart and feelings to such a revolution as well as to slavery itself. That many good people where it existed were opposed to it and to its spirit and practice, but how to remedy the evil, they could not yet see. That my judgment and feelings dictated to me, to be mild, and gentle, make the best of it, till God in His righteous providence will right in a way that will be for the best of both races, both white and black. Brother Small mainly agreed with me, only he thought that to clear himself, and the church, they ought to testify against it and hold it up as a wrong and be ready to fall in with any remedy that God in His providence might open for its abolition. On the other side, Cornwall & Gillespie contended that it was a divine institution, and that it was both for the good of the white and black race, especially the latter, and that those performed a benevolent act, who brought the Affrican [sic—African] from a savage land to this Christian land, where

they might learn of Jesus Christ and the way of Salvation and be saved. I asked him, Gillespie, if I understood him to argue, that if I were to go to savage tribes and kidnap such as I could and bring them to this Gospel land and enslave them, that God would approve of it and he answered in the affirmative if my object was their Salvation! On their way home, Oden Henderson asked Cornwall what he expected to effect by his resolution if he had got it passed. His reply was such as would not submit to its provisions, might be dealt with as contumacious. This answer showed clearly that if he could pass it, he would compel Small under pain of suspension or deposition to be silent on the subject while he could agitate and defend presbytery without any opposition.

The Banner of Peace. Cornwall wrote to the Banner of Peace giving a very unfair account of these proceedings – represented us all who opposed his resolutions as being ultra abolitionists and as taking ground against the expressed will of the general Assembly &c &c. I replied by an article headed “hear both sides” in which I gave a true and fair account of his famous or rather infamous resolution in which I said that he himself had said more to agitate this subject than anyone or perhaps all in Oregon. On reading this he wrote me one of the most scurrilous letters I ever got in my life.

After having a conversation with him in the presence of D. M. Keene and Jessu [sic— Jesse] Henderson we as I thought and as they thought we came to an understanding so far at least as to agree to drop all our difficulties and misunderstandings, and then and there burn these papers that passed, relative thereto, and a solemn promise that we would never allude to each other in the papers in an unfriendly manner. This covenant would I am sure have been kept my me, had he not subsequently in giving an account of this interview, in the Banner of Peace, renewed his attacks on me, in if possible a severer manner than ever before. I have not then attacks on me published in the Banner nor the scurrilous letter, but I have a copy of my answer to said letter which I will here insert. It is as follows:

“Brother Cornwall, yours of the 2nd last is before me. I have read it and reread it with astonishment and sorrow. Under any other circumstances I would not reply to a letter that dealt in such coarse and unchristian language toward me, as the following, “subterfuge, falsehood, false statements, all three of these lies.” Such language should not be tolerated among decent people, much less among Christians and ministers of the blessed Savior. But I have concluded to answer your complaints, and explain some things that you seem to have forgotten. You first complain that my whole article labors to make you the sole aggressor. I think not. I never intended to hold out the idea that you were the sole aggressor of the first that brought the matter before the public, but I sincerely believe that you are as much if not more responsible than any other man for the length to which this vexed question has been carried in Oregon. And so far as it has been noticed in presbytery, but they were not in a presbyterial capacity at the time. He expressed his views very freely which gave great offense to you and some others. I never considered the presbytery responsible for all the doctrines preached at his sessions, but you insisted that the presbytery should call on him for his reasons for preaching the sentiments there advanced and in this way, it came before the presbytery. I thought then it was not the best course; I think so still. He had preached the same sermon from the same text in the congregation where I live; I did not agree with it at all, but I let it pass. He has preached there scores of times since; he and I have labored together shoulder to shoulder and to God be the Glory. He has owned and blessed our poor labors in the conversion of sinners some of them our own children. Bro. Small has seldom alluded to this subject here since. Had you and your friends taken the same course the matter in my opinion would have mainly ended there where it began, but no you said that Bro. Small must be called on for his reasons for preaching on this subject, or we would all be considered abolitionists. This was the first introduction of the vexed question into the jubiliations of the church in Oregon. I do not call in question your motives but to me [] passing strange, that you and other proslavery [] arguments on the other side agitation at all [] long article proving the

divine right of [] and it is sober scriptural truth. But if Bro. Small or anyone else joins [] and undertake to show it to be morally wrong, it is dangerous agitation endangering the peace of the church and must be stopped at all hazards! The next time it came before the presbytery was at the La Creole in June 1857; where Bro. Small offered a resolution condemning slavery as wrong and sinful, and here your memory is or mine is greatly at fault. I deem your charge against me here of falsehood, as very unkind and very uncharitable as well as very absurd. For a man of my age, who has had a fair standing in the church for over forty years, and been in the ministry more than a third of a century, to willfully and criminally make a false statement in a case that if it were false where the whole presbytery would know it to be such, how ridiculously absurd! If I had no conscience, I have a character, and I value it too highly to sell it so cheap. I profess no infallibility. You and I are old; you alluded to this feelingly. Our friends, some of them say that we have grown childish; I feel this is too true. One or both of us may have forgotten and there may be no criminal falsehood, but if I have forgotten, others have, too, for we remember the matter both alike. My recollection is this: Brother Small introduced the resolution it was seconded by J. H. D. Henderson, either Bro. Balden or J. W. Watts moved to lay it on the table. One of them moved it; the other seconded it. You seem to think it was laid on the table; no one dissenting Bro. Small and Henderson, in this, either you or I am mistaken it; it was not laid on the table. I opposed laying it on the table and read from the discipline on privilege, and argued that if it was a moral question and it was seconded, and if the mover insisted on it, the presbytery was bound to put it to vote; here upon the mover of the motion to lay on the table withdrew it, and I then urged Brother Small to wave his right, and privilege and for peace sake to withdraw it, which he did. But Cornwall insisted that he should give the presbytery his reasons for offering it, and what he expected to accomplish by it. This course as all can see would cover the whole ground of controversy and from this, I felt authorized to say you opposed its withdrawal. And now is not this true that you did insist as you had at Gahalem that Bro Small be called on to state &c.

I come now to notice your complaint of me relative to your Spring Valley resolutions, your chief complaint is relative to the time when I tried to have them withdrawn, or indefinitely postponed. Now my recollection is this: I had heard before your introduced them that you intended to do so and I tried with individual members, to effect such a disposition of them as would preserve peace, but Jolley and others said you would never rest till the presbytery did take hold of them and I saw plainly that I stood alone and that I must submit, which I finally did but with great reluctance.

With these explanations, I remain your much injured &c,
Neill Johnson”

Cornwall gives the impression from first to last that from the organization of Oregon presbytery for then years we had little else than wranglings and disputings, but here I must say in truth we had peace as a general thing and no wrangling in this end of the pres. Only such as he caused, mainly because some of us did not feel willing for him to think and judge for us in every particular. And furthermore he often suggested both in speaking and writing that we never had anything that could properly be called a revival of religion only in the summer of 1851 before the rest of us arrived and of this he claimed to be the main instrument. He claims that there were seventy conversions within the year. Well, there may have been that many professions, but I never could count over half that number that became church members, and of these a very small percent ever were any credit or use to the church and fully one half of them and (I think I knew all of them) time proved their profession spurious, and only two or three of those thirty that he immersed were ever any honor to the cause of religion.

Circuit Riding. Cornwall claims that he acted somewhat after the manner of a presiding Elder, superintending his “boys” as he called Music and Keene. But the truth is, neither Music nor Keene, nor any other Cumberland Presbyterian ever rode a circuit in Oregon; not after the

manner that circuits were traveled in the Atlantic States. Whilst Keene was represented as riding the circuit, he told me himself that he taught a school five days in the week and during the summer of 1851, he generally attended meeting Sat. & Sabbath with Music and Cornwall, and this was all the circuit riding there was. He often said and wrote that there never was anything like a revival in Oregon only in the operations that was made, headed by himself, before we arrived in Oregon, and I distinctly remember once his saying in open presbytery that, if he and Music had been left alone, "they would before that time had carried the Gospel to the head of the valley." Saying thereby that we were a real hindrance to him. And in his sketches, he tells how we were hindrances namely: that "it took all the churches could raise to support us and our families, and pay us for Sunday preaching alone and that old stereotyped sermons." Now as to our never having any revivals, after the arrival in Oregon of myself, Henderson and Small, I shall not claim that I was instrumental in doing any good, or in getting up or carrying on any revivals in Oregon. I will leave all that to the revelations of the great and final day. There are several reasons for this, one of which will here name: I made a solemn vow before God in my coming to Oregon, that if God would only give me to see His work revive, I would claim none of the honor but would give God all the glory. Well, thanks to be his holy name, I did see His work most gloriously revive, on quite a number of occasions, I think our presbyterial records will how many of them but not at all. I cannot give dates from memory in many cases but I think one Camp meeting at the Luckamute in 1852, quite a number of professions, one the same or next year at Abiqua & another at Tualatan plains, at the latter one J. D. Foster made a profession who is now an acceptable preacher in Illinois. At that one on Abiqua, J. W. Rogers, who is one of the strong pillars in the church yet and quite a number of others. A protracted meeting was held in Mc [Mr?] Calpin's Barn for two weeks, quite a number of professions. At two different Camp meetings in the Waldo Hills, quite a number of professions, among the rest, two of Mr. Cornwall's children, one of my own children, that since that time has been called home to Heaven leaving a lasting testimony of the living religion of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, another I will name that is still a pillar and an ornament to religion in this place; I mean John J. Henderson. I will mention one more place that was visited gloriously; I mean the French prairie, where I settled and resided at the time of the outpouring of God's Holy Spirit, where quite a number were converted and added to the church, one particular meeting here lasted two weeks, another began with the meeting of our presbytery in this place, where several were brought into the church, mostly living yet. And Mr. Cornwall was so far from helping in this meeting that from the fact that what he called a black abolitionist was going to preach on Sab., he could not come to the house of worship at all, but remained all day at the house of one of the members distant only two miles. He says in his sketches that he did more preaching and for less remuneration than anyone of our church in Oregon. I will not attempt to say how much he preached, nor how well only from his own reports to presbytery, it will be seen I think that he can claim nothing over some others as to the no. [sic—number] of sermons and as to remuneration according to his own account, he got a great deal more after the rest of us came than he did before, and one thing is certain he always got a full share of what was obtained at our public collections and in proportion to the labor performed, he got I think as much as anyone of us, at least as I did, with the exception of the presents, before noticed that was given me the year I got into Oregon, on account of my being broken up, which was that I supposed that he charged was two thirds of all collected that should have been given for circuit riding!

Nursery business. For several years I was engaged mainly in grafting fruit trees, preached regularly on Sab., & frequently on week days, held two day meeting[s] with various success; our cause generally looking up and considerable number being added to the church. I had intended when I got into Oregon to look around extensively through the country and see for myself the best place for settling my family, but such was my losses on the way that I had not the means of traveling and providence seemed to open the way for me to settle in French prairie & through the influence of Samuel Brown, I bought a claim as good a one as any in that

part of the state. He paid for it and took my note for 500. Said I might see my own time to pay for it. I asked him what interest; he would expect me to pay on the note. He replied that he did not know that he would charge me any at all. My inference was that if I met with his approbation as a preacher, he would not charge me any interest. I commenced operations in the Spring of 1852 by grafting a quantity of seedling roots for him of apples, plums and cherries; gave him instructions about grafting and setting out trees &c., all of which was a great benefit to him, but of little to me. He had a store of goods and I, from time to time, bought provisions of him and dry goods for my family and continued to pay him as I felt able. Brother Keene circulated a subscription paper for my benefit for several successive years amounting to from sixty to seventy dollars. Mr. Brown would never sign the paper but always said there was a deal between him and me and that he would do more for me than anyone else. This satisfied me and all concerned, knowing that he still held my note for 500. Time rolled on and after several years he proposed that we look over our accounts and see how matters stood to this. Of course I agreed. He had said to me soon after I settled there that if they could have Sabbath preaching there twice a month that he would himself pay 50 per year, and from that time I kept up preaching two Sabbaths in each month for several years. When we come to settle, he had charged me with interest, allowed me nothing for the fifty dollars a year aforesaid, allowed me nothing for a whole winter's work of one of my boys (a boy 12 years old) nor for a lot of grape vines with I had let him have to take out south. I reminded him of what he had said with regard to interest and what he had repeated to Bro. Keene and others that he "expected to do more for me than any of them," I left it all to himself & he agreed to throw off half the interest, in that way we settled still leaving the note the same 500, as it was the first. Looking at it from my standpoint, I supposed it was fully paid, but as he had it, I was a clear loser of 500. The nursery business however seemed to prosper far beyond my expectations and seeing my friends and neighbors prospering in worldly matters, I confess now with shame and I trust with true penitence, that I began to indulge in a strong desire to become rich! At one time, besides having lived off of its profits, I had built me a comfortable house and trees and stock on hand that at the retail price at which I was selling, would have amounted to some four or five thousand dollars. Just at this period when everything promised fair for wealth, there came along a man, George Kittredge, who told me he was in the nursery business and was going to take his trees to California and proposed to buy my entire stock and pay me when he made sale and returned; referred me to different ones that would vouch for his honesty. Well, suffice it to say, I sold to him, got in hand a lot of seedling trees and on his credit got a lot of store goods amounting to something like a hundred dollars, the sum not now exactly recollected. He took the trees amounting in all to I think over \$2500. He promised to write from time to time and keep me posted as to how he was getting along. Months passed and no letter from him. Reports said that he was flat broke. In view of the whole matter, I concluded to go to California and see for myself, and went accordingly. I found him but failed to get much satisfaction as to how his matters stood. He said however that in shipping the trees, that 500 worth, was ruined by salt water while on the vessel and that the balance had been sold and he had notes on good men for the money and when he collected it, he would be able to pay off all that he owed me. I then proposed to strike off the 500 that he claimed to have lost by the salt water if he would give me up notes to the amount of the balance. He finally agreed to give me notes to the amount of 700 and give me his own note for the balance payable in one year after date and we settled in this way, as the best that I could do. Of the notes he turned out to me, I got about half their amount. Of his own notes, twelve hundred and eighty dollars, I hold it yet, since 1856 and have never got a cent on it, neither principal nor interest nor do I ever expect to.

I continued in the nursery & fruit business till the price of fruit went down to a mere trifle and scarcely any sale for trees at all. My children had grown up to maturity; the boys did not incline to follow farming; seemed anxious to try their 'luck,' as it was called, in the mines. All my once fair prospects for becoming wealthy, having now vanished and the boys, being

determined to go to the mines, and becoming quite disheartened about religious prospects, I sold my nice and valuable farm and we all set out for the mines in eastern Oregon in the spring of 1863. I record this as I now view it as one of the great errors of my life. I will here record a word of caution to anyone that may read these lines, it is this: never act in any important matters under either excitement, whether it be from depressed feelings or from sanguine feelings of prosperity. I have never done this but that I had to repent of it and in some cases, a repentance that has lasted me to this day will probably last me during this life. After selling my farm, I settled with Mr. Brown. I could have taken the gold and bought up legal tenders (green backs) for fifty cents on the dollars and thus reduced his demands to one half of what he claimed. But the question came up, "Will that be right?" I don't know, but my conscience would have allowed me to do it under the circumstances before related, but again he seemed to view the matter altogether in a different light from what I did and then the public did not nor could not know all the reasons in the case would probably charge me with taking an unjust advantage that the law allowed me to do to. So all in all, I thought of my oft repeated motto: "It is better to suffer wrong than to do wrong." I paid him in gold in full amount of all he claimed.

My stay in the mines. During my stay in the mine, I did but little in the way of preaching. I think I may safely say it was all lost time so far as that was concerned though sometimes I preached as but I could under the circumstances. Two years of the time filled the office of County Judge at a salary of 500 per year kept a poultry and dairy ranch, tended a garden, sold vegetables, took care of animals &c &c made a considerable quantity of money, but had to spend it pretty much all as fast as I made it. Lost quite a quantity of stock by death and being stolen in all about 2000 worth.

A brief account of some of my losses by theft. On my way to Auburn, near the Dall[e]s, I had a horse stolen worth 150, of him I never had any certain account. Another very mysteriously disappeared in Auburn. The snow was about four feet deep. She was turned out of the stable everyday and allowed to go and get water and she would then return to the stable. One day she failed to return. The snow was so deep that it was certain she could not have gone anyway but in a road that had been broken, all appeared a deep mystery what had happened to her. After several years there was a gang of desperadoes arrested for robbing the stage and a young fellow by the name of Bailey turned states evidence, said that in his first introduction into the band that he stole an animal for Dr. Labur to pack their provisions. The descriptions and circumstances related by Bailey satisfied me that it was my mare. Another case I had a very fine favorite horse; he was kind and gentle. One morning, he was missing. I had no doubt of his having been stolen. In just ten days afterwards in going along the road, I met a man leading him. I demanded of him where he got him. He said a man had just come into Auburn and got him to take him down to his Ranch to ranch him. I told him he was mine and to come back to Auburn and I would prove him; with some reluctance he complied and I got him at that time. Come to find out he had been stolen by a young fellow by the name of Welch who had been working in the neighborhood, knew me and knew the horse; took him down to the landing where he sold him for 75, just about half his value and there took water. The man to home he sold him came on business to Auburn and rode the horse and thereby I got him.

Still another, a splendid young horse that I could have taken for him 150 or 200 was stolen and had been gone some two months in traveling the road some five miles east of LaGrand I met a man riding him. I proved property next day in LaGrand and got him back. The next summer, however, the Indians commenced in good earnest stealing horses by wholesale. They stole two bands amounting to near or quite 150 head. I had taken great pains to keep mine after I had got them back as aforesaid; would turn them to grass in daylight and lock them up at night. One morning however in June 1866 [5, written over]. When I went to the stable as usual early to turn them out I found the stable door broken, the facing to which the hinges

were fastened pried off, and the horses gone. In the morning whilst I was tracking to see which way they had gone, I heard a gun go off mile or more distant and shortly, a wounded man came to the house, he had two horses. They shot him, took both horses. He however made his escape, pretty severely wounded as aforesaid. My prospects were now pretty well blasted; all my horses gone except one filly, a mile and a half from any other family. My cows, poultry, and garden vegetables there exposed and no other than myself and my wife there in this lonely condition. We remained for two months. I cannot say we were afraid for we were not, but I look back now and can see certainly we were in danger. Here I will digress to drop some thoughts that I had then and that I have entertained ever since relative to the Heathen. It is rather a popular idea that the Heathen that lives according to the best light they have are in a state of favor with God and will certainly be saved, but from all I know of the Heathen, not one can be found nor was there ever such a one as lived up to the light they had. Very different is the description given by Paul of the Heathen in the first chapter of Romans. Instead of this being true, the longer they are without revelation and the means of grace, the farther and farther they are getting from God and finally they arrive at such a condition in the downward road of degradation that there is no Salvation for them at least in this world. Such was the condition of the Canaanites when God caused them to be cut off by the Israelites. Here the reason God gave to Abraham for sparing the Amorites 400 years longer. "The iniquities of the Amorites is not yet full." Gen. 15:16. This accords with what we see of the Heathen in our day; it is notorious that they are fast declining in numbers and places in our own land, the Dall[e]s of the Columbia where in the remembrance of men now living there were great multitudes of the Indian race now only a very few are to be found. I am aware that I will be told that this is to be accounted for on the ground of their coming in contact with the vices of the white man. That this has had its influence I will not deny but the Dall[e]s Indians had greatly decreased in numbers before the white race came to dwell among them or they had any considerable opportunity to be influenced by his vices. And again the Sandwich Islanders came into contact with the white race under the most favorable circumstances perhaps that ever a heathen nation came in contact with a Christian nation and still they are melting away in the same manner of the Indians. To those who say the heathen shall be saved for doing as well as he can I will ask has God two methods of saving our race; the Heathen for doing as well as he can and men who have revelation by the merits of Christ. Tell me, is this orthodoxy if the heathen can be saved by doing, cannot others be saved by doing? And yet the Apostle says by the deeds of the law shall no man be justified. It is clear that they will not be required for that they have not and that it will be more tolerable for them than for those that abuse greater mercies and privileges and this is as far as the Bible authorizes us to go.

In reviewing my history about the time of my loss of property in this upper country, I became pretty well convinced that God did not intend that I should ever become rich and from observations as well as from Scriptures, I made up my mind that a man whom God had called to preach would never prosper ever in this world in any other pursuit. At several periods in my history, I seemed to be just upon the point of becoming at least as wealthy as any of my neighbors or associates but all at once my prospects were blasted and my hopes vanished and hearing from time to time our cause languishing in the Willamette valley, I made up my mind that I ought to return there and share the responsibility of trying to sustain and build up our sinking cause. I learned also that Mr. Cornwall had left McMinnville and that the members of the Church as well as many outsiders were anxious for me to come and settle in McMinnville or thereabouts. They had gotten up a subscription without my knowledge for my benefit provided I would come and settle in or near McMinnville. I made up my mind that there was no use in my making any worldly calculations for the future and if I could only get to a place where I could get enough to sustain myself and wife without laying up a dollar for helpless [?] old age if I should live to that I would be satisfied.

I arrived at Ben Hall's [Hale's] Oct. 1st 1866 and arrived at McMinnville on the 20. Called together as many of the church members as we could find and got together. Their number was few. The subscription before alluded to amounted to about @260 dollars. I brought with me about 600. I told them that I did not want to make any temporary arrangement for a year at a time; that I had a sufficient of means to build me a house, but I was unwilling to lay it out on uncertainties and if I bought property and built a house I did not want have to move anymore; that if they would keep up the subscription from year to year for time indefinite. I would lay out what money I had and make preparations to stay and if they were not willing for this to say so and there the matter should end. They promised to do this or at least try to do it. So the bargain was as I thought confirmed the persons present were Jessu [sic—Jesse] C. Henderson, Richard Booth, elders, Robert Henderson, J. W. Rogers and Wm. Hill, members, Bro. Rogers and Robert Henderson shortly after this elected Elders and Wm. Hill, Deacon, and the two last were ordained Robert Henderson had acted as elder in Missouri. There was no church book nor any official means of telling who were members. We got a church book and enrolled what members we knew who claimed a standing in the church.

(End of autobiography; some religious materials follow)

Robert N. Jack