CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS WARFARE RENEWED

When Parson Brownlow turned journalist, he had no intentions of giving up his interest in the promotion of Methodism and least of all did he expect to forego that great pleasure of religious disputation. As has heretofore appeared, he gave over a considerable portion of his Whig, whether at Elizabethton, at Jonesboro, or at Knoxville, to quarrels with the enemy churches and to news of the Methodists. For certain periods he dedicated a special column or corner of his paper to some particular religious leader who happened to be his greatest enemy at the time. As the Baptists and Presbyterians were his chief antagonists, it turned out that a representative from each of these denominations began a combat with the Methodists and before the contest was over, each was forced to do battle against the Parson. The two clerical gladiators who crossed swords with Brownlow and who led him into the two most bitter religious contests he ever waged were Frederick A. Ross and J. R. Graves, Presbyterian and Baptist respectively. Warfare with Ross broke out first.

The Presbyterians were the best educated church on the frontier and perhaps it was for this reason that this denomination was devastated with more internal quarrels of a cataclysmic nature than were the other chief religious groups. Early in the century it lost its New Light wing and then soon thereafter the Cumberland Presbyterians split off. Next came the Campbellite or Christian Church, which did not follow a direct schism in the Presbyterian Church but which a former Presbyterian minister largely organized, and which thereby militated considerably against the Presbyterians. And then by 1840 the rock on which the old Church sat was split in twain, and out of it came the Old School and the New School. So it appears that to quarrel was a
natural proclivity of the Presbyterians, and when they found no family matter to dispute over, they began to attack the barbarian Methodists. In 1829, they started publishing *The Pedobaptist* in Danville, Kentucky, and every month religious disputation ran through its columns, especially on the subject of infant baptism, which they strongly upheld. The next year *The Presbyterian Advocate* sprang up in Lexington and carried on a very particular quarrel with the Methodists. The Campbellites were born in controversy and grew up making quarrels. Their *Millennial Harbinger* was started in 1830 at Bethany, Virginia by their chief leader Alexander Campbell. But not all the Presbyterians thrived on controversy; in Columbia, South Carolina in 1847 they started the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, a quarterly, which was dignified and scholarly and which bespoke a directive power and a clientèle of culture. Of like dignity was a publication begun in 1855 and edited by Stuart Robinson and Thomas E. Peck of Baltimore, called *The Presbyterian Critic*.

But in East Tennessee people lived more vigorously than in any other part of the South, and they fought more desperately, both religiously and otherwise. Whether the champion represented the Presbyterians or Baptists or Methodists, he would likely become so reckless before the fight was over that he would find himself disowned by certain ones of his own brethren who lived in less belligerent regions. The Presbyterian terror who roused Brownlow to a greater boldness and rashness than any other religionist ever succeeded in doing was Frederick Augustus Ross. Ross was born at Cobham, Maryland, on Christmas day, in 1796. His father was a wealthy landowner, and on his death the son came to East Tennessee to look after some of the property. Here he became a gay irreligious dandy, building a handsome home at Rotherwood, near Kingsport, where his lavish entertainment became famous. Now and then he went to church either out of curiosity or for company, and by accident he was converted by the Presbyterians in 1823. Two years later he became an evangelist and made his home at Kingsport, where he preached for the next quarter of a century.¹

¹ Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-22.
As has been previously noted, he was one of three who began the *Calvinistic Magazine* at Rogersville, two years after he began preaching. He dedicated the first number to controversy and soon had declared war on the Methodists, because this denomination was charging the Presbyterians with a plot to unite church and state. The Holston Conference had retaliated by setting up the *Messenger*. The *Calvinistic Magazine* ran for five years and then gave up the fight, having defeated the Methodists according to Ross. About this time the Eleven Years' War broke out inside the Presbyterian Church. This resulted in the Old School and New School divisions, and while this civil war was in progress, the enemy outside the gates were allowed to rest. But in January, 1846, the *Calvinistic Magazine* was revived on the grounds that the Methodists had renewed hostilities, especially in their *Episcopalian*, published at Knoxville. Ross was aided by Isaac Anderson, James King, and James McChain, and the publication was now issued from Abingdon, Virginia.

Ross started a major offensive immediately. In 1846, besides reviving the *Calvinistic Magazine*, he wrote a book which was published in Philadelphia, entitled *The Doctrine of the Direct Witness of the Spirit, as Taught by the Rev. John Wesley, Shown to be Unscriptural, False, Fanatical, and of Mischievous Tendency*. A great amount of disputing went on over the simple doctrinal point that God's spirit and the individual's spirit bear witness to the latter that he is a child of God. These foolish zealots attempted to tear each other to pieces over impractical metaphysical distinctions while needy neighbors might freeze in the winter or die of starvation—but thus did they gratify their pugnacity and fight the battles of the Lord.

Having announced his offensive with this piece of heavy artillery, Ross laid down a barrage with lighter guns. In the eleventh number of the first volume of his *Calvinistic Magazine*

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2 *Calvinistic Magazine* (new series), vol. II, no. 1 (January, 1847), pp. 21-46. This publication later became the *Presbyterian Witness*, a weekly paper published at Knoxville. The last issue of the *Magazine* was vol. V, no. 12 (December, 1850).

he began a series of articles which he called "The Great Iron Wheel" and which continued intermittently through eight numbers, lasting from November, 1846 to April, 1850. These articles made up a consistent and sustained attack on Methodism, from almost every imaginable angle but emphatically on the despotism of the Methodist form of church government. It was a great iron wheel which would run down and crush the liberties of America. He declared the Methodist Church was, therefore, a menace to the country and ought to be put down by the sword. Furthermore, Methodists voted only for candidates for public office who were followers of John Wesley. Methodists could not be patriots for they were largely descended from the Tories of the American Revolution, made so by the teachings of John Wesley, the greatest of English Tories.4

Having been Tories in the Revolution, they were now naturally of the lower classes, "the wool hats and coperas-breeches gentry," who in camp-meetings whipped up the unsuspecting hearers to such a pitch of madness that they joined the Methodist Church. They had their "amen corners" and their "anxious seats," and they went through the barbaric custom of "shouting" like red Indians. All of this great excitement and display was worked up not only to secure new members but also to make the old ones forget that they had lost their liberties. In fact, according to Ross, camp-meetings were highly vulgar and often downright immoral.5

Not only was the Methodist Church tyrannical in government and unattractive in membership, but its doctrines were worse. Wesley, its high priest and founder, believed in witches, spooks, signs, and omens, and naturally all Methodists believed likewise. Methodism was a "debauched pietism, in which the imagination has run wild, and passion, bodily sympathy, and mysticism are supreme, while true moral character is subordinate and degraded."6 The Methodist band and class-meetings were so

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6 *Calvinistic Magazine* for August, 1846, quoted in Brownlow, *Great Iron Wheel Examined*, p. 139.
coarse and vulgar, that Ross declared he found it necessary to print in Latin the questions asked. The Reverend Mr. Ross in the early part of the fight declared that he had routed the Methodists and subdued their proud spirit—that they “walk softly, in flannel socks, before Presbyterians in Abingdon, Jonesboro, Greeneville, Rogersville, Kingsport, Athens and Knoxville.”

Ross not only wrote against the Methodists, but he preached against them also. He had a special address known as the “Turnpike Sermon” which he dedicated to the Methodists and used against them on numerous occasions. The followers of Wesley might have excused the Presbyterians of blame for the wild and intemperate charges made by Ross had not certain of the synods endorsed this warrior and his “Iron Wheel.”

Some Methodists would ignore Ross, but others believed to do so would be to admit his calumnies and to acquiesce in their endorsement by organized groups of the Presbyterian Church. Francis Hodgson immediately set about writing a book in answer, which he called *The Great Iron Wheel Reviewed: or, A Defense of the Methodist E. Church Against the Caluminous Assaults of Rev. F. A. Ross and Rev. A. Converse, D.D.* Ross and his henchmen could now be considered answered, book for book, but the pounding effects of periodicals like the *Calvinistic Magazine* must be met and returned. The Methodist Episcopalian in Knoxville carried on, and after its demise, its successor the *Holston Christian Advocate* struck many licks. Down in Georgia, Russel Reneau fortified one of the hills at Rome, set up the *Armenian Magazine*, in January, 1848, and answered Ross blow for blow.

But where was the Fighting Parson? It would be unthinkable to have such an attractive religious war going on with the Parson absent. No one in East Tennessee, in the Southern Highlands, or in all America could surpass the Parson in the extreme abandon with which he could use sharp cutting words and vulgar

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8 Among those endorsing Ross was the Athens Synod, in southeast Tennessee. Brownlow, *Great Iron Wheel Examined*, p. 104; *Jonesboro Quarterly Review*, vol. I, no. 4 (October, 1847).
phrases and innuendos. Some of the Methodists were already trying to answer Ross but not according to the Parson’s style or ability, and others who were to come later in the fight were never able to equal him. On May 12, 1847, Brownlow announced in the *Jonesboro Whig* that he was preparing to declare war on Ross for his attacks on the Methodist Church, and he claimed that this degenerate Presbyterian deserved capital punishment “for his wanton assaults on the dead body of JOHN WESLEY.” The Parson was going to set up the *Jonesboro Quarterly Review* and he announced that “if he does not make Mr. Ross sick of his wicked and uncalled for assaults upon the Methodists, and his friends sorry for him, in one short year, he will agree to quit all controversy, in all time to come.”

The first issue appeared in June, 1847, and though the Parson held it up as a religious publication, he also let it be known that this periodical was designed definitely against Frederick A. Ross. He was entering a rough and ugly war with Ross, and he would not consciously swerve away by any attempts to be nice and polite. In fact the Methodists already had a publication which was answering Ross in that fashion, but it could not use Brownlow’s methods, for it went into the homes of refined people who “would be disgraced, were it to lay hold of Ross and his extremely vulgar charges, and hold them up to the public gaze.” Hence the necessity of the Parson’s *Review* to deal out justice to a man “whose insolence, insults, and unmitigated villainy ought no longer to be tolerated.” Some of his friends had suggested that it be a monthly but he disagreed, for “one such publication every three months, will be as much as mortal man can bear!” But once in the heat of battle the Parson changed his mind, and quickly bringing his first volume to an end within less than six months, he began the *Jonesboro Monthly Review* in December, 1847. He bound the first volume and made a repulsive caricature of Ross the frontispiece, stating that he was preserving the review in this fashion for posterity “when I am dead and gone,” that they might know the charges he had brought against Ross.

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In beginning the monthly, he promised that it "shall be less smutty than our Quarterly has been, having disposed of the obscene items necessary to be noticed." Yet, he promised, it would be severe. Ross had announced that he had enough ammunition to continue the war another twelve months against the Methodists. Brownlow replied that he had enough munitions "for a twelve years war, and promised, to serve 'during the war,' making new and extraordinary disclosures every month!" He reported in early 1848 that he had already 1,200 subscribers.10

Through his Review, quarterly and monthly, the Parson printed such scurrilous charges in such open and direct language as would have led in another age to prosecution of the editor and denial of the publication's rights to the mails. The Parson issued this declaration of war in the first number, "War he would have, and now that war exists by his own acts alone—he shall have it to his heart's content. No mysteries [sic], no secret plots, no private relations, or domestic delicacies connected with his past and present history, which shall not be brought to light, before we are done with him."11 Some of the Methodists had made the mistake of treating Ross as a "dignified Christian minister"; Brownlow would make no such mistake: "I take the slanderer by the throat, and drag him forth from his hiding-place, and shake him naked over hell, in all his deformity!"12

Ross was "a low-bred, false-hearted, adulterous, and unprincipled free negro";13 he was a "ruffian by birth and instinct—a practical amalgamator—and habitual adulterer—a loathsome blackguard—a notorious libeller—a common liar—the son of an old Revolutionary Tory—the degraded offspring of a Negro wench. . . ."14 "His admirers shall know, that there are better men in Hell than he is! He shall be shown up—he shall."15

If the Reverend Mr. Ross wanted to deny these charges, let him prosecute the Parson in the courts for libel, for Brownlow

12 Brownlow, Great Iron Wheel Examined, p. 108.
13 Ibid., p. 131.
gave warning he would “rake, pound and pummel” him.

Brownlow pressed his charges regarding the ancestry of Ross, both as to Tory and African antecedents, and he often referred to him as “Frederick Africanus Ross.” He charged that David Ross had begat Frederick through a Negro slave belonging to Governor John Page of Virginia, and that he had secretly bought her and set her free; but this did not make F. A. Ross a free man. He quoted the Virginia law concerning Negro preachers, called forth by Nat Turner’s Insurrection in 1832, and declared that if the law were enforced Ross would receive thirty-nine lashes for preaching. The Parson now and then slackened his fire sufficiently to deal in the supposedly more gentle art of poetry:

“Lay it on him, Billy Brownlow,
   He gives you cause enough,
   You’ve got ‘de nigger’ down low,
   And treat him mighty rough.”

The Parson having touched the depths of scurrility in his war against Ross, then resorted to a method of attack which he had employed before and would use again; he set out in pursuit of Ross’ kin. A brother had cut open a pair of saddlebags and “stole therefrom six thousand dollars”; his father, besides being a Scotch Tory, had “died as he had lived, a debauched old thief”; a niece had run away with a married man and the two were then “living together as man and wife”; a nephew had left his wife and child, eloped with a base woman, and was then living in the far West; another brother had committed suicide; and his son had at a camp-meeting been guilty of immodesty so gross that the Parson would not fully describe it. This charge led the son to threaten to shoot the Parson on sight. In retaliation the Parson devoted two pages of his Quarterly to young Davy Ross, and while disclaiming any intention of pushing the combat with either father or son, he announced the warning,

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"Let either of them, or any of the breed, dare move toward us, with a view to assault us!"17

Thus again did the Parson fight the battles of his Lord and of his Church. But this deluded crusader, perhaps, deserves more pity than blame, for he lived in an age which produced many other such figures who tried to be just as earnest as the Parson but who were less able and therefore not so successful. To those Methodists of his own generation who thought that he had lost his balance and that he had passed beyond the stages of good taste, he replied, "What! write lovingly about one who calls us all hypocrites—usurpers of man’s rights—robbers of men’s privileges and prosperity—tyrants in government—per­secutors of the innocent—slanderers of others—popes—friars—inquisitors—adulterers—slaves—vassals—dupes—fools! As soon would heaven form an alliance with hell, as for Methodists to have Christian fellowship for those who have thus accused them!"18

Parson Brownlow not only thundered out defiance against Ross in his Review, and not only set aside in the Jonesboro Whig an "F. A. Ross Corner," but he took to the dusty road, and like Peter the Hermit, preached a crusade against this calumni­ator of Methodism. He devoted much of the summer of 1847 to this sacred duty of carrying the war up and down the Southern Highlands from Knoxville to Abingdon, Virginia. Each day he spoke "three long hours and upwards," taking off "the mortal covering of the darkest subject ever discussed"; and he announced that all "who consider it Sabbath breaking to at­tend, are respectfully, but earnestly urged to remain at home, and read the ‘Calvinistic Magazine’."19 At Abingdon he talked to more than 1,000 people "for more than four dreadful hours,"20 and in an outburst of zeal nothing short of fanatical, he travelled in the course of four days 100 miles, talking at the top of his voice for a sum total of sixteen hours and forty min­

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17 Jonesboro Quarterly Review, vol. I, no. 1 (June, 1847), pp. 11, 19; no. 3 (September, 1847), p. 103.
18 Ibid., no. 3 (September, 1847), p. 99.
19 Ibid., no. 1 (June, 1847), p. 40.
20 Jonesboro Whig, July 5, 1848.
utes. In October, 1847, he announced three engagements to talk against Ross, each of which was to last four hours, promising "If in good health, and good trim, as I now am, I propose, with God's help, to make the wool fly!" The Parson, who delighted to use statistics in most unusual circumstances, reckoned that during the course of two years he had talked for thirty-three solid days to at least 50,000 people. But his message had gone even further for he had printed it in the Review, which had 3,000 subscribers. No churchman in all America had likely exerted himself more within an equal length of time, and the Lord had smiled on all this work, for "during all that time I have been but once interrupted by rain (at Greeneville, Tenn.), and never have had so much as a bad cold to prevent my speaking." Down in the highlands of Georgia, the Armenian Magazine looked on and applauded. It declared, "Ross in a wonderful oblivion of memory overlooked the fact that Brownlow was in Tennessee and was a dangerous customer."

So sure was the Parson of his ability to overwhelm Ross in a word to word combat that he issued a challenge to him to a joint speech-making tour. These were the specific charges the Parson would debate:

1. I shall charge you with wilful and malicious lying, in various instances, and prove you guilty. 2. I shall charge you with personal dishonesty, and give chapter and verse. 3. I will charge and prove home upon you, corrupt forgery. 4. I will charge upon you the awful crime of adultery, and give the proof. 5. I shall charge that none other than Tory blood courses through your veins, and as such you cannot be friendly to a Republican form of Government. 6. I shall charge that but for the worst species of immorality, you never would have been in existence, and that you are the last man in the world who ought to complain of a want of respectability among others!

And lastly he would prove that the Athens Synod of the Pres-

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22 Ibid., no. 4 (October, 1847), p. 176.
23 Brownlow, Great Iron Wheel Examined, p. 102.
24 Ibid., p. 161.
byterian Church in passing resolutions of approval of Ross' work was made up either of liars or ignoramuses. So innocent was the Parson of all knowledge of the standards of good taste that he seriously concluded his challenge with the statement, "I will say nothing during the day, offensive to any Lady who may be present." Ross, though his sense of propriety was somewhat below the highest standards of his day, was not so foolish as to put his head in the lion's mouth, by going out and engaging in a rough and tumble bout with the terrible Parson.

Brownlow was by no means alone in his speech-making against Ross, nor did he hold the championship in a single endurance record. President Charles Collins, of Emory and Henry College, preached to an audience for seven hours without intermission, and then after allowing the multitude a short breathing spell, turned them over to Brownlow for an unstated time.

So easily did the Parson find it to attack Ross personally that he largely forgot all about doctrinal disputation; and likely he thought he had fought the battle of the Lord sufficiently when he had destroyed the reputation and character of the enemy. In answer to Ross' charge that Wesley believed in spooks, Brownlow declared that people generally believed in witchcraft in those earlier days, but he averred the Presbyterians still believed in it. He declared that Ashbel Green, a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman, "reflected upon the subject of necromancy and sorcery until he finally concluded that he was a veritable teapot, and so declared himself from the pulpit. He would place one hand on his hip, so as to form the handle—the other arm he would elevate to an angle of 45 degrees, and declare it to be the spout. The opposite leg from the spout he would give a tilt, and make an effort to pour out the tea!" Brownlow also knew another Presbyterian who sent to heaven by a dying man "a whole batch of local news from Blount County—as if the inhabitants of heaven cared more about Blount than any other county in the Lord's moral vineyard!" And Ross and many other Pres-

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27 Price, op. cit., IV, 121-22.
28 Brownlow, Great Iron Wheel Examined, p. 156.
29 Ibid., p. 157.
byterians believed in divining-rods which they used in attempts to find stolen money and silver mines. In fact Brownlow declared that Ross had recently set up in a Presbyterian Church festival in Jonesboro a fortune-telling wax doll which would predict the future for fifty cents. The Parson did not know what the doll had told Ross but he believed it must have whispered, "Frederick Augustus! in 1847 and '48, Brownlow is to get after you with a sharp stick, and such another time you never had in this life!" And as for James McChain, another Presbyterian and an editor of the Calvinistic Magazine, "I confess to you frankly, that I know nothing about the man, only that he is a WEAK BROTHER, having scarcely sense enough to practice the enchanted frauds of the marvellous believers in witchcraft." Brownlow felt that he had already sufficiently dealt with Presbyterian doctrines in his book Helps to the Study of Presbyterianism, which he had written while he was still riding the circuit. But he dedicated a verse in his Review to Presbyterian ministers:

"Vile Preachers!—Demons blush to tell,
In twice two thousand places;
Have taught poor souls the road to Hell,
Escorted by Calvinian graces!"

The Parson loved his God, his Church, and his country, and he and the church-going Southern Highlanders generally irrespective of creed stood up boldly for this trinity, each expressing that love in his own particular way. Their solicitude for the first two has been amply demonstrated; their regard for the last they almost instinctively expressed in their use of the word Tory. To call a person a Tory or the descendant of a Tory was to touch almost the lowest depths of abuse. Hence the glee with which the Presbyterians and Baptists charged Toryism against John Wesley. The Methodists, having great difficulty in defending Wesley, switched the argument as quickly as possible to the generally expressed charge that all Methodists were

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"Ibid., p. 159.

Tories, and here they let no one outdo them in testifying to their love for their country. Brownlow was quick now, as well as in 1861, to boast of his patriotic ancestry. His father and his father's five brothers had fought in the War of 1812, and his Gannaway uncles had also been soldiers.

The great American eagle screamed loudest in his native haunts; the farther it was in the Highlands, the louder it screamed. It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that there were Highlanders who were either so ignorant or so patriotic as to believe that their Revolutionary forefathers had not only defeated Great Britain but that they had destroyed the British nation. When John Mitchell, the Irish patriot, banished to Van Diemen's Land by the British, made his escape and came to East Tennessee to live, some of the natives from far up the creek marvelled at the mention of the British government as still being in existence. One of them expressed his surprise with the remark, "I thought we had whipped that consarn out long ago."32

The active fighting in the Brownlow-Ross War ended in 1849, when the Parson moved to Knoxville. He ceased firing in April with the last number of the Jonesboro Monthly Review. He declared that he had won the victory, for soon thereafter Ross left East Tennessee and settled in Alabama. The Parson boasted that he had driven him out, and very likely there was much truth in this claim, for whether Brownlow's accusations against Ross were true or not, he had heaped such unrestrained abuse upon him that any person with sensibilities would rather flee them than involve himself in a defense.33

32 Humes, op. cit., p. 29.
33 Ross made his home in Huntsville and there died in 1882. He long remained an active figure. In 1857 he published a book called Slavery Ordained of God, giving the familiar argument that slavery was a divine institution, and bitterly condemning the North and its customs. In a speech at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church held in Buffalo, in 1853 he said, "I have little to say of spirit-rappers, women's rights, conventionalists, Bloomers, cruel husbands, or hen-pecked. But, if we may believe your own serious as well as caricature writers, you have things up here of which we down South know very little indeed. Sir, we have no young Bloomers, with hat to one side, cigar in mouth, and cane tapping the boot, striding up to a mincing young gentleman with long curls, attenuated waist, and soft velvet face—the boy-lady to say, "May I see you home, sir?" and the lady-boy to reply, 'I thank ye—no; Pa will send the car-
But no sooner was Brownlow out of one war than he was plunging himself into another. This was a battle of books more than of pamphlets and periodicals. As has been previously mentioned, religious disputes and clerical debates were characteristic of the development of sectarianism in America from colonial days. In some cases disputation went on orally in joint encounters and the speeches were published later in book form; in others, it was a contest of book against book. Back in 1829 a contest took place which is well described in the title of the book that was published as a record: *Debate on the Evidences of Christianity; Containing an Examination of the 'Social System' and of all the Systems of Scriptures of Ancient and Modern Times, Held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, From the 13th to the 21st of April, 1829 between Robert Owen of New Lanark, Scotland, and Alexander Campbell, of Bethany, Virginia.* In 1834, Campbell engaged in another bout which was recorded in the book, *A Debate between Rev. A. Campbell and Rev. N. L. Rice on the Action, Subject, Design and Administration of Christian Baptism; also on the Character of Scriptural Influence in Conversion and Sanctification and on the Expediency and Tendency of Ecclesiastical Creeds, as Terms of Union and Communion: Held in Lexington, Ky., from the Fifteenth of November to the Second of December, 1843, a Period of Eighteen Days. Reported by Marcus T. C. Gould, Stenographer, Assisted by A. Euclid Drapier, Stenographer and Amenuensis.*

Book war and sectarian debating continued unabated during the 1850's. In 1850, Alexander McCain wrote a book entitled *A Defense of the Truth, as Set Forth in the "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy," Being a Reply to John Emory's "Defense of our Fathers."* In 1857, a debate took place in the Baptist Church at Ghent, Kentucky, which lasted for three days. This debate, reported by George C. Steadman, "Phonographer," and published at Louisville the next year under the

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34 It was published at Bethany by Campbell, in two volumes.
title, *Debate on Some of the Distinctive Differences between the Reformers and the Baptists, Conducted by Rev. Benjamin Franklin and Elder T. J. Fisher*. In 1855, Jeremiah B. Jeter wrote *Campbellism Examined* and two years later Moses E. Laird replied in *A Review of Rev. J. B. Jeter's Book Entitled "Campbellism Examined."* Sectarian promotion also ran through a glorified fiction period with such books as *Thodosia Ernest or Heroine of Faith* and *Theodosia Ernest, or Ten Days Travel in Search of the Church*. These two books were described as "the most charming works ever published in America," but they did not charm William P. Harrison, who combatted them with his *Theophilus Walton; or, The Majesty of Truth*. In 1856, loyal Baptists were being urged to buy R. B. C. Howell's *The Influence of Baptists in the Formation of the Government of Virginia*, J. M. Pendleton's *Three Reasons Why I am a Baptist and An Old Landmark Reset*, and J. F. South's *Objections to Methodism*. A Baptist journal, set up in Louisville in 1852 and edited by John L. Waller, which fought the Methodists as well as the Presbyterians, was the *Christian Repository. A Religious and Literary Monthly*.

Parson Brownlow, beset by a journalistic war in Knoxville, might have withstood the various book-attacks being made on Methodism had it not been for the activities of J. R. Graves, who assumed the position of commander-in-chief of the Baptist warriors in Southern Appalachia. Graves was born in Vermont in 1820, of French Huguenot and German ancestry. He went to Ohio where he taught school for a time; then he drifted down to Kentucky to continue teaching, and there was ordained a Baptist preacher. In 1845, he moved to Nashville, preached in the Second Baptist Church, and edited the *Tennessee Baptist*. Aided by J. M. Pendleton he set up ten years later the *Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic*. These activities highly displeased the Parson, but the *casus belli* of the Brownlow-Graves War was a book which Graves wrote in 1856 and which he called *The Great Iron Wheel; or, Republicanism Backwards and Christianity Reversed*. In the same year Graves also furbished and
published *The Little Iron Wheel, A Declaration of Christian Rights, And Articles Showing the Despotism of Episcopal Methodism* by H. B. Bascom, D.D.\(^3\)

How the Parson pictured the duplicity of his religious and political enemy, J. R. Graves.

From Brownlow’s *The Great Iron Wheel Examined*.

It was *The Great Iron Wheel* which infuriated Brownlow. The contents of this work, previous to publication in book form, had appeared in the *Tennessee Baptist* in a series of forty letters addressed to Bishop Soule, senior bishop of the Methodist Church, South. But most of the material that went into these articles and that later made up the book had been first used by Frederick A. Ross in his *Calvinistic Magazine* in a series of eight articles as previously stated, and this fact maddened the Parson still further. Graves declared that he had written this book to ward off the attacks that the Methodists had been making against the Baptists in a deluge of books and tracts. He dedicated it “To Every American who loves our free institu-

\(^3\) As indicated, this book had been written by Bascom, a Methodist who was dissatisfied with Methodism and later joined the Episcopal Church. Graves added *Notes of Applications and Illustration*. 
tions and scorns to be degraded or enslaved in Church or State. . .”

The Methodist Church organization was an acute danger to the country. It was a great despotism which tyrannized its membership and threatened the stability of civil government. It was like a great iron wheel which had wheels within wheels. The bishops were the great outer rim which made a revolution every four years. There were twenty-eight conference wheels revolving around annually. To these were attached one hundred presiding elder wheels which moved 1,200 quarterly conference wheels revolving once every three months. Governed by these were 4,000 travelling preacher wheels revolving monthly and setting in motion 30,000 class leader wheels which whirled round weekly. These controlled between 700,000 and 800,000 member wheels which went spinning around every day like whirling dervishes.36

He also “assaulted the dead body of John Wesley,” and took up the familiar points of sectarian contention—all of which can best be discussed in connection with the Parson’s answers. Here it is pertinent to inquire what Graves’ standing was among Southern Baptists and what reception his *Great Iron Wheel* received.

This militant Baptist was one of the most powerful leaders in his church and was looked upon by multitudes of his co-religionists as “an eloquent speaker and a very handsome writer” and as their greatest hope on earth. Joseph E. Brown, governor of Georgia from 1857 to 1865, declared that Graves had done more for the Baptist Church than any fifty men living,37 yet it would be foolish to say that every Baptist agreed with him or supported his methods. The world is not ordered in such a fashion. Brownlow declared that Graves was a “sort of Hindoo leader of the warlike wing of his Church,” and that the better Baptists disowned him and his *Tennessee Baptist*, but the Parson’s statement here is subject to a heavy discount since he

36 J. R. Graves, *The Great Iron Wheel; or, Republicanism Backwards and Christianity Reserved*, pp. 159-60.
was in the midst of an argument. Yet this much is true, that a little later Graves’ pugnacity got him into trouble with his own Baptists and that as a result the Nashville church deprived him of its fellowship. He went off on an extreme angle of the Baptist religion, which was called Landmarkism, and in support of it he wrote a book called *Landmarkism—What is it?*

As for *The Great Iron Wheel*, it received the endorsement and acclaim of Baptists throughout the country, North and South. It was endorsed by a great many Baptist associations, and some of them, like the State Line Baptist Association, included in their endorsement Graves’ *Tennessee Baptist*. The Baptist Publishing Society of North Carolina adopted it for sale and circulation through its agency, and the *North Carolina Biblical Recorder* in its fight against the Methodists used many texts from *The Great Iron Wheel*. North Carolina Baptists were particularly loud in their praise and zealous in their promotion of this book. When the *Richmond Christian Advocate* declared *The Great Iron Wheel* to be false, foul, and slanderous, the Baptist Publication Society challenged Leroy M. Lee, the editor of the *Advocate* to debate the question with Graves in Raleigh. On Lee’s refusal they challenged Charles F. Deems, of the North Carolina Conference, but he also refused the “degrading proposition.” Next they sought to bring out Dr. Smith, president of Randolph-Macon College, but he also declined to turn clerical gladiator.

The book had an immense sale and every day, according to Graves, its acclaim was becoming “more general, warmer and louder.” The sale of it during the first twenty months after its

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33 Brownlow, *Great Iron Wheel Examined*, p. 22.
37 Ibid., p. 298.
39 Ibid., pp. 259-61.
publication had averaged a thousand copies a month, and at no time had the supply equalled the demand. It was claimed that over 100,000 copies were ultimately sold. Graves boasted of many people being converted from Methodism by it, but he never stated the number of dollars it had turned toward him.45

Just as Brownlow had come to the rescue of the Methodists in his Review when Ross and his Presbyterians had attacked them, it was naturally to be expected that he would join the issue with Graves and his Baptists in their latest onset against the followers of Wesley. Again must the Parson buckle on the armor of the Lord and go out to do battle. He had written already five books of a controversial nature and he had hoped that it would not be necessary to write a sixth, but the enemy had forced it upon him.46 Amidst many other duties, he set to work and wrote The Great Iron Wheel Examined; or, Its False Spokes Extracted, and an Exhibition of Elder Graves, its Builder, in a Series of Chapters. He lost little time, for it appeared the same year in which Graves' book was published, 1856. It was printed in Nashville. He made a hostile demonstration in the dedication and then for 331 pages he fought Graves and the Baptists with fire and sword, not neglecting to make some of his worst assaults on Ross, who had afforded Graves so much ammunition. In this spirit he began:

TO

Every honest and impartial reader,
who loves Truth and despises Falsehood, whether perpetrated by a Priest or a Levite, for the sake of Fame, or money-making: To every Protestant Christian, who, to whatever sect or denomination he may be attached, is unwilling to see a sister Church pulled down by a collection of tales, fabrications, and blackguard insinuations, which a decent man should be ashamed to listen to, and utterly too disgraceful for a Minister of the Gospel to repeat and publish, this work is confidently

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45 Graves, Little Iron Wheel, p. 287.
46 Brownlow, Great Iron Wheel Examined, p. xii.
DEDICATED BY ITS AUTHOR:

Who here, most respectfully, as a Local Preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, apologizes to the Christian public for the seeming severity of this work, in some parts, on the ground that he has performed the painful task of refuting a series of the most scurrilous falsehoods, and a collection of the lowest abuse of the age!

He felt equal to the task and sufficiently informed on true religion for he had during the past twenty years read the whole Bible fifteen times and the New Testament twenty times. As was his custom in dealing with his enemies, he first disposed of Graves' character, charging among the crimes he had committed, slander for which he had been fined $7,500. And furthermore, at a service he held at Bowling Green, Kentucky, Graves' abuse of other sects had been so low and "his conduct so degrading, that a Baptist lady remarked that if anyone would hold him, she would cowhide him!" He had actually been horsewhipped on the streets of Nashville.

The Parson had been viciously inclined toward the Baptists, since the days when he first rode the circuit and had come into collision with Humphrey Posey. He charged most of the Baptist preachers with being illiterate and opposed to learning, claiming that they objected to "the use of any and all books except the Bible," that they "publicly boast that they have no 'edication' or 'human larnin'," and that they "announce to an audience such texts of Scripture as God reveals to them for special purposes and occasions, either after their arrival at the place of worship, or on their way thither!" With impatience the Parson exclaimed, "When will this denomination learn wisdom. When will the hide-bound clerical dolts of that order, acquaint themselves with the Scriptures."
Baptist preachers were not only innocent of common learning, but a third or a half of Baptists were superstitious, often giving “no other evidence of a genuine conversion to God than that of a dream, the hearing of a voice, the sight of a ghost, or the visitation of an angel, or of God himself!” Brownlow declared that a woman had been received by the Baptists in Carter County, Tennessee on the testimony that she had “walked out into the woods, where she met Christ and the apostles, in open daylight, under a large tree, singing a Baptist song!”

As a blanket indictment, the Parson charged the Baptists “with selfishness, bigotry, intolerance, and a shameful want of Christian liberality.” They assumed to be the only true Church and the only way to Heaven, and as an example of their “combined bigotry and despotism,” he cited a recent meeting at Sinking Creek, in Carter County, which was typical of the Baptists in the South and West. At the meeting described, the preacher after informing the Methodists and Presbyterians, who had been invited to be present, why they should not be allowed to commune, announced that “all who were in good standing in their own Churches might occupy the front seats, and see the Lord’s people partake of his shed blood and broken body.” There were even some Baptists, known as Close Baptists, who prescribed other Baptists on various points.

Having disposed of the character of both Graves and the Baptists generally Brownlow began the defense of his Church against Graves’ charges. After rescuing Wesley’s good name from both his Savannah experiences and his subsequent career in England, he repelled the charges against the form of the Methodist Church government. As for the Baptists, they had no government, being “without form and void,” or, indeed, the most that might be said was that they had “a sort of Indian Council-ground form of government.” Against the charges that the Methodists were not Christians because they had been founded by a man, and that they were too young to be a Church and that

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62 Brownlow, Great Iron Wheel Examined, p. 96.
63 Ibid., p. 98.
64 Ibid., p. 181.
65 Ibid., p. 182.
they were dying out, the Parson hurled a table of statistics showing how fast the Methodists had been growing and he abused the Baptists as being "sectarian bigots," "pig-pen orators and whiskey-shop saints."56

The Parson found so many falsehoods in Graves' book that he scarcely knew where to begin answering them. With his flair for statistics, he announced that Graves had perpetrated twenty-five falsehoods in one chapter of twelve pages, being over two lies to a page.57 But the greatest subject for sectarian dispute in all the land was baptism. There was scarcely any one, no matter how lowly, who did not hold his immutable views on this subject and argue learnedly about it. The word Baptizo had as great currency in the Southern Highlands as it had had in ancient Greece; it was analyzed, parsed, declined, and conjugated from "Dan to Bersheba."58 This was the great rock on which the Baptist Church rested, and to budge an inch was blasphemy. Of course, the Baptists held that immersion was the only way

56 Ibid., pp. 27-90.
57 Ibid., pp. 243-44.
58 For the Parson's discussion of it see ibid., pp. 224-31. The Parson used this story to illustrate the importance the Baptists put on baptism; he also thought it would illustrate Baptist bigotry: "I am here reminded of two dreams by two preachers, the one a Baptist, the other a Methodist. They had been holding a protracted meeting together, which lasted for days, and which resulted in the conversion of a number of souls to God. The two preachers now agreed to open the doors of their respective churches, and gather in the fruits of their labors. It was agreed that the Baptist brother should lead the way. He stated to the audience generally, and to the young converts in particular, that he had had a remarkable dream, in which he had died and gone to hell! His Satanic Majesty received him very politely, and proposed to escort him through all the apartments of the infernal regions before assigning to him his position. He travelled extensively through the dark dominions, and met with quite a number of Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Catholics, but did not see one Baptist—their compliance with the ordinance of baptism having carried them all safe to God's habitation!

"The Methodist minister followed. He too had dreamed a remarkable but similar dream! He had died and gone to hell as he stated to the audience; and, like his Baptist brother, the Devil had conducted him through all his dark dominions. He saw 'lots and squares' of Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Catholics, but not a single Baptist. He inquired of the Devil, with anxious solicitude, if there were no Baptists there? His Satanic Majesty seized him by the arm, turned him suddenly around, and said, 'Come out here!' The Devil raised a large trap-door and pointed to a multitude, grappling in 'a lower deep,' and exclaimed, 'These, sir, are all Baptists holding close communion!'" Ibid., p. 217.
RELIGIOUS WARFARE RENEWED

to Heaven, and according to Parson Brownlow they held that people "could no more get to heaven without being immersed by a Baptist preacher, than they could arrest the sun in his course, or check the impetuous cataract of Niagara in its onward and terrible progress!"\(^59\)

The Parson objected to immersion for many reasons. In the first place he was opposed to the method, for it propelled the convert into the Church backwards. Most Christians entered the Church "face foremost," but "Our Baptist brethren are almost alone in their vulgarity in backing into the Church of God!"\(^60\) And they held even immersion was not efficacious unless performed by a Baptist preacher who must not be friendly to missions or friendly to any minister who was friendly to missions.\(^61\) But the Parson especially objected to immersion because of its vulgarity and to prove it to be thus he published an illustration of "Elder B. Changing Clothes Before the Ladies, After Immersion!"\(^62\) The process of immersion, he described thus:

The usual custom throughout the South and West is to bandage the forehead of a delicate and beautiful female, and tie a handkerchief round her waist, as a sort of handle for an awkward Baptist preacher to fasten upon; and thus she is led into the water, step by step, in the presence of a mixed multitude, who are making their vulgar remarks and criticizing her steps as she fights down her clothes, which rise to the top of the water, and float around her delicate and exposed limbs! She is taken by the preacher, who fastens one hand in her belt, and the other on the back of her head; and after planting his big feet firm upon the bottom of the stream, and squaring himself as though he were about to knock a beef in the head, he plunges her into the water!\(^63\)

Immersion was not only very cumbersome to perform but it was also contrary to the Bible John's form of baptism was not Christ's; it was merely "one of those divers washings in use among the Jews." And even at that it was not immersion, for

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\(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 183.
\(^{60}\) Ibid., pp. 202-3.
\(^{61}\) Ibid., p. 305.
\(^{62}\) Ibid., opposite p. 241. For the Parson's description see ibid., p. 241.
\(^{63}\) Ibid., p. 214.
One of the Parson's graphic arguments against the Baptists. The Baptist pastor, "after immersing several persons, came out of the water and changed his clothes in the presence of the multitude, as indicated by this engraving, and all in the presence of males and females. He was a very tall man, knockkneed and rawboned—anything but handsome when dressed." From Brownlow's *The Great Iron Wheel Examined.*
reasons that Brownlow ingeniously worked out. Again did he enter the realm of mathematics and now work out a statistical commentary on the Bible. Through a sifting process he determined that there were in the Holy Land “just three millions of human beings” whom John baptized. Estimating the length of John’s ministry at nine months (and that he continued longer “cannot be proven from the Bible, by all the Baptist preachers and writers in existence,” though the Parson would grant ten months), and allowing six hours a day given over to baptizing, the total number of hours that John devoted to this rite would be 1,300. The inexorable mathematical conclusion would be that John baptized 2,000 to the hour, thirty to the minute, or one every two seconds. Now common sense proved that he could not have immersed them at this rate. It was therefore inescapable that John sprinkled them—and likely with a sprig of hyssop, since that was an old Jewish custom. 64 Should further proof be demanded against the use of immersion by John, the Parson would cite all skeptics to the physical characteristics of the Jordan River. The banks of this stream were so steep and the current so swift that no person could hope to enter its waters and not be drowned. 65

Again, the Parson analyzed the great Biblical baptizing on the Day of Pentecost, and proved that immersion could not have been used. He estimated that the Twelve Apostles baptized 3,000 on that day, but not until they had preached to the multitudes long enough to leave no more than five hours to be devoted to baptizing. Dividing these 3,000 equally among the Twelve, the Parson reckoned that each Apostle would be forced to baptize fifty to the hour. To immerse at this rate would tax beyond the breaking point the physical endurance of anyone. Furthermore, the nearest stream was the Brook Kedron, which at this time of the year was almost dry. Manifestly no person could be immersed in such a stream; for not only was there little water in it, but what little existed was polluted. At the very thoughts of immersing a person there, the Parson’s anger welled

64 Ibid., pp. 206-11.
65 Ibid., pp. 231-32.
up: "If one of the apostles had taken a wife or daughter of ours, and plunged her into this filthy brook, he would not have immersed another female soon again." The Baptists placed much emphasis on the case of Philip and the eunuch, but both went down into the water, and if "going down into the water" meant immersion, then Phillip immersed himself at the same time he baptized the eunuch. Absurd, the Parson concluded.

Pictorial proof that sprinkling was the form of baptism in Biblical times. This representation, said to be the centre-piece in the dome of the baptistery in the Ravenna Cathedral, was used as an argument by James L. Chapman, a Tennessee Methodist minister, in his book *Baptism, with Reference to its Import, Modes, History, Proper Use, and Duty of Parents to Baptized Children*. Here John the Baptist is sprinkling water upon the head of Christ, while the mythological figure representing the River Jordan views the act.

To Brownlow’s way of thinking, immersion was impractical and foolish from any point of view. It was not only spiritually

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wrong, but it was physically dangerous—and surely the Lord
would not have doomed to damnation the 8,000,000 people
living in the Polar Regions. If immersion were correct, how
could it be done? The inescapable conclusion was that sprinkling
was the proper method of baptism: "And we defy every Baptist
on earth to produce explicit proof from the Scriptures of any
persons ever having been immersed in the primitive Church." The Parson also battled against the Baptists to save the infants
from eternal damnation.

Graves had attacked the Methodist Church for its schism in
1844, and attributed the cause to the form of Church govern­
ment and to the ambitions of a corrupt and designing ministry.
The Parson was as good a Southerner as he was a Methodist,
and forgetful of Nullification days, he called on John C. Cal­
houn as his champion. And he would inform Graves that it "was
a glorious act on the part of the Methodist Church, and a proud
day in her history," when she broke with the abolitionist North.
Brownlow declared that the separation of Southern Methodists
from Northern Methodists was "both inevitable and desirable,"
and he expected all other denominations in the South to break
with the North. Graves should be looked upon with suspicion
by a true Southerner, for he was born "north of Mason and
Dixon's Line," and he had written his Iron Wheel, of 570 pages,
and had not said "one word AGAINST ABOLITIONISM, or
one word in favor of SOUTHERN SLAVERY." He should
be "forced to define his position at once, or leave the South in
hot haste." The Parson saw a dark future:

We are on the eve of unconjecturable events, and every South­
ern man ought to show his hand. . . . A struggle of unequalled fury
is swiftly approaching us; and if the ties of our cherished Union
come out of it unrent, they are made of sterner stuff than the his­
tory of the past would seem to warrant! The bonds of the Union
have resisted political agitation, but can they withstand religious

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68 Ibid., pp. 238–41.
69 Ibid., p. 238.
70 Ibid., pp. 221–23.
71 Ibid., p. 283.
72 Jonesboro Whig, May 28, 1845.
fury? Abolitionism has travelled from political dominion to religious conviction, and has infected the whole mind and heart of the North. Under its palsyng touch, some of the strongest cords that held the Union together have snapped: others are now assailed, and I fear will give way!73

The Parson identified Methodist independence with Southern nationalism and pledged himself to support both with equal vehemence.

Having examined The Great Iron Wheel and removed its false spokes, the Parson believed he had performed his major task, but there still remained The Little Iron Wheel, which the Parson felt he could not ignore. So he proceeded to spin The Little Iron Wheel in a book he entitled, The “Little Iron Wheel” Enlarged; or, Elder Graves, its Builder, Daguerreotyped, by Way of an Appendix. To Which are Added Some Personal Explanations; and so the war was continued over familiar ground.74 Graves, for the most part, treated the Parson with silent contempt, stopping only to declare him “notorious and scurrilous” and a “foul libeller.” He stated that he had not read Brownlow’s attacks and had no intention of doing so.75

Undoubtedly all Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians were not as crude, impetuous, and contentious as were Brownlow, Graves, and Ross, but great numbers supported these three clerical gladiators and others like them who for their churches fought and gouged fairly and foully. The Southern Highlanders were pugnacious, manly, and brave; they enjoyed a fight religious or otherwise. The churches would not have been so foolish as to refrain from using one of the handiest devices for securing members, even if it had not naturally suggested itself. Many a Highlander could never have been induced to enter a church or attend a religious gathering if he were not assured ahead of time that there would be a great deal of excitement. Coming in unsuspectingly he might be made a member through guile. The public debate on religious questions was used to

73 Brownlow, Great Iron Wheel Examined, pp. 285-86.
74 This book was published by Brownlow in 1857 at Nashville.
75 Graves, Little Iron Wheel, pp. 244, 248. Graves also had a quarrel with Alexander Campbell.
gather in those who either could not read or did not care to make the effort, while the book war either brought in or strengthened the faith of those who were better educated. Graves sold more than 100,000 copies of his *Great Iron Wheel*, to be read and passed around among the Baptists; Brownlow claimed to have sold a like number of his *Great Iron Wheel Examined*, which delighted the hearts of at least an equal number of Methodists.78

It would, therefore, be a vain argument to say that those who served and received their religion in this manner were in numbers negligible. The pugnacious proselyting church members were respectable in numbers even if they might not be in religious character. And they did not act as individuals; conferences, synods, and assemblies stood back of their respective warriors and endorsed their methods. Graves said, “Look at the distracted state of christendom! . . . Methodists and Baptists engaged in an exterminating warfare. Presbyterians and Methodists in East and West Tennessee unchurching and unchristianizing each other, and pronouncing each other’s peculiar doctrinal teaching dangerous to the souls of men.”77 In East Tennessee the Methodists and Baptists were about equal in numbers, while the Presbyterians were a weak third. Primitive ideas lasted a long time in the Southern Highlands. As late as 1845 the Holston Conference declared that instrumental music in churches was “preventive of the worship of God in spirit and in truth.”78 At the same time this group of Methodists resolved that they would support “prudently conducted institutions of learning” yet they would disapprove and would “oppose any means tending to or savoring of the establishment of a theological institute or seminary.”79

In Southern Appalachia there were valley lands as beautiful and as fertile “as ever the sun shone on,” and inhabitants as cultured and as learned as could be found elsewhere in the South.

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78 These religious contentions were not peculiar to the Highlands. The plantation South played a minor part and in addition developed quarrels of its own, though on a somewhat different basis. Into them entered such names as Thomas Cooper, Horace Holley, and James H. Thornwell.
77 Graves, *Great Iron Wheel*, p. 16.
79 *Ibid.* The ban on theological institutions was removed by 1858.
These people were Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists like their less fortunate neighbors farther back in the mountains. They were a minority in numbers, yet their influence was great. Though they could not prevent these devastating religious wars, they could disapprove of them and hope that the day would come when religious denominations would not choose such methods by which to promote their growth. They founded and supported colleges and hoped that education and culture would direct into the souls of the people all the religion they were capable of truly absorbing. Parson Brownlow in the midst of his war with Ross stopped long enough to make the damaging admission:

There are many kind-hearted Methodists in the country who are opposed to all of this angry controversy, and who oppose it from correct motives. Their kindness feeds on reflection rather than impulse: they know that Christians cannot add to their graces by this busy, bustling spirit of controversy—this struggle to be seen and heard. They recollect that Elijah found not the Lord in the tempest, but in the quiet and calm—"Be still, and know that I am God."\(^\text{80}\)

Another Methodist objected to joint religious debates, declaring, "As feats of intellectual gladiatorship, they attract a gaping crowd of those who admire the pugnacious combatants, or who care nothing for them or the subject they are to fight about, and who are only a little less interested than they would be in 'seeing the elephant' and 'stirring up the monkeys' in a menagerie."\(^\text{81}\)

Without reference to how sincerely they embraced their religion or how efficacious it was, it can be said that a majority of the Southern Highlanders joined a church.\(^\text{82}\) It can also be

\(^{80}\) Brownlow, *Great Iron Wheel Examined*, p. 145.

\(^{81}\) Ibid., pp. 259-60, quoting from the *Richmond Christian Advocate*.

\(^{82}\) The United States census for 1850 and for 1860 did not attempt to give statistics on church membership. The most the marshals who took the census tried to do was to estimate the number of accommodations in the churches and school-houses, according to denominations. Virginia, whose population was in 1860, 1,596,318 had church accommodations for 1,067,840; Tennessee, with 1,109,801 population, had accommodations for 728,661; North Carolina, with 992,622 population, had accommodations for 811,423; and Georgia, with 1,057,286,
said that this fact was the result of a vast deal of hard preaching, hard fighting, and hard praying. If success was to be measured by the standard of numbers, then did Southern Appalachia well deserve the title of being a vineyard of the Lord.