John Leland and His Hymns

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John Leland was born in Grafton, Massachusetts, on 14 May 1754, and he died in North Adams, Massachusetts, on 14 January 1841. He was a leading Baptist minister and evangelist and a champion of individual religious rights and separation of church and state. His many writings include several hymns, of which the most widely published are "The day is past and gone" and "O, when shall I see Jesus". (These hymns and others are reproduced in **The Hymns of John Leland**, beginning on page 9.)

Leland's parents, James Leland, Jr. (1720-1807) and Lucy Warren (1721 -), were Congregationalists. "As my father had no library," John writes, "and I was fond of reading, the Bible was my best companion." He continues, "In the summer of 1772, I met with one thing singular. When I was returning from my frolicks or evening diversions, the following words would sound from the skies, 'You are not about the work which you have got to do.' " (**Greene**, pp. 10-12; this is a typical reference; see page 39. For a biographical sketch of Frances **Leland Greene**, see Appendix 1.)

At about that time, Elhanan Winchester (1751-1797) preached in Grafton "to the astonishment of the people." Leland was moved by the conversion and baptism of a friend, but he writes that for the next fifteen months, "a volume might be written on the views, exercises, and conflicts of my mind...if ever I was converted I should know it as distinctly as if a surgeon should cut open my breast with his knife, take out my heart and wash it, put it back again and close up the flesh." (Greene, pp. 11-12)

It was on 1 June, 1774, shortly after his twentieth birthday, that Leland was baptized by Elder Noah Alden (1725-1797) in Northbridge, Massachusetts. In October, 1775, Leland journeyed to Virginia, where he stayed for eight months. Then, having returned to Massachusetts, on 30 September 1776, he married Sarah (Sally) Devine (1752-1837), and the couple started for Virginia. He writes that from "November, 1779, to July, 1780, I baptized one hundred and thirty..." He continued preaching in Virginia and North Carolina, and in June, 1787, he was ordained. He recorded baptizing 400 people during October, 1787, to March 1789. During that time, Leland composed a hymn, of which the first of three stanzas appears here:

Christians, if your hearts be warm, Ice and snow can do no harm; If by Jesus you are priz'd, Rise, believe, and be baptiz'd. (Greene, p. 18)

Early in 1792 John and Sally Leland and their eight children moved to Cheshire, Massachusetts, where he resided for most of the rest of his life. His record for January 14, 1825 is shown here:

I have preached in four hundred and thirty-six meeting-houses, thirty-seven courthouses, several capitols, many academies and school-houses; barns, tobacco-houses and dwelling-houses: and many hundreds of times on stages in the open air. Not the place, but the presence of Christ, and a right temper of mind, makes preaching solemnly easy and profitable. My congregations have consisted of from five hearers to ten thousand. (Greene, pp. 30-35)

A few days after his wife died late in 1837, Elder Leland, as he was widely known, moved to the house of his son-in-law, James Greene and his wife (Leland's daughter, Fanny Greene, 1778-1842), in Lanesborough, Massachusetts, located about 142 miles west of Boston, 36 miles east of Albany, New York, and 5 miles southwest of Cheshire.

The Rev. John Alden (1806-1894, not a close relative of the previously mentioned Noah Alden) wrote this about Leland: "Being asked, very near his end, what were his views of the future, he exclaimed, with both hands extended upward, and a smile I can never forget, 'My prospects of heaven are clear.'" (Alden, "Funeral Sermon", p. 289)

Individual rights, separation of church and state, and anti-slavery

John Leland played a substantial part in the molding of the American tradition of separation of church and state.

In 1774, when Leland was converted to the Baptist faith, the Baptists were generally regarded as a set of ignorant enthusiasts, without social standing, without legal sanction for their religious services or for marriages performed by their ministers. In Virginia Baptist preachers were being regularly thrown into prison as strollers and vagabonds; mob actions breaking up their services went unpunished by the magistrates; their petitions to the legislature for relief from these oppressions were largely disregarded. In Massachusetts and Connecticut Baptists were fined and their property was distrained for taxes to pay Congregational ministers whose teachings were repugnant to them, and to build and repair meeting houses they would not attend. Much of Leland's sixty-seven year career as a Baptist evangelist was expended in fighting to remove these disabilities—not only for Baptists but for

persons of all faiths, Christian and non-Christian, and even for those who held no recognized religious faith. (Butterfield, p. 157)

At the outset of Leland's ministry in Virginia, the Episcopal Church (the Anglican Church before the American revolution) was the established, government-supported church in that state. Leland played a prominent part in the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. (Joint Commission, p. 487)

Leland was deeply opposed to slavery. In 1790, the Virginia Baptist General Committee asked him to write a resolution, which resulted in this statement:

Resolved, That slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature and inconsistent with a republican government, and therefore recommend it to our brethren to make use of every legal measure to extirpate this horrid evil from the land; and pray almighty God that our honorable Legislature may have it in their power to proclaim the great Jubilee, consistent with the principles of good policy. (Minutes, pp. 5-7)

However, the Virginia Baptists "abandoned their opposition to slavery and relegated it to the area of 'political problem.' Baptist spokesmen never proposed any specific plan for emancipation. John Leland, the most outspoken and articulate Baptist critic of slavery, was aware that he could formulate no program to implement the 1790 resolution of the General Committee." (Daniel, p. 67)

In Leland's "Letter of Valediction", penned on the occasion of his leaving Virginia in 1791, he writes, "And you, my black brethren, hear a word from your parting friend... Though our skins are somewhat different in color, yet I hope to meet many of you in heaven; where your melodious voices, that have often enchanted my ears and warmed my heart, will be incessantly employed in the praise of our common Lord." (Greene, pp. 174-5)

Stories and anecdotes

A contemporary of John Leland wrote that as a preacher, he was "probably the most popular of any who ever resided in this State [Virginia]... His opportunities for school learning were not great, but the energetic vigor of his ministry surmounted this deficiency... It is probable that his knowledge derived from books...is surpassed by few. His preaching, though immethodical and eccentric, is generally warm, wise, and evangelical...Mr. Leland's free and jocund manners have excited the suspicions of some that he wanted serious piety. His intimate friends are confident that these are groundless suspicions. They believe that among his other singularities he is singularly pious." (Semple, p. 155)

Leland's eccentricities are marked by stories and anecdotes. A few of these are listed here briefly with references to more detailed accounts.

(1) It had been written that "the credit of adopting the Constitution of the United States properly belonged to a Baptist clergyman, formerly of Virginia, by the name of Leland…"—that it was through his influence, and a sudden well-timed turn-about, that James Madison was elected to the Virginia Convention for the U. S. Constitution and cast a deciding vote. When this overstatement was brought to his attention, Leland explained his actual role. (Briggs, pp. 178-180)

(2) There was a dancing school of which Leland disapproved, so he opened one of his own where he "would fiddle the tune the angels sing, if [the people] would dance repentance on their knees. The dancing school gave way, and [his] meetings were thronged." (Greene, p. 27) Another version mentions that "Nearly all of that company were converted in the powerful revival that followed." He adds, "I tried the same thing in another town, and none were converted. The cause was, God was in the first trial, and only John Leland in the second." (Alden, "John Leland", p. 256)

(3) Leland writes, "In the south part of Orange [County, Virginia], a man took his gun, with the professed intention of killing me." (Greene, p. 27)

(4) Once, after Leland had opened a meeting with singing, an angry captain "came rushing into the house like a bear robbed of her whelps, extended his sword", and made a stroke at Leland. (Greene, p. 27)

(5) Leland was invited to preach after being advised that the congregation was not accustomed to long services. After preaching for about half an hour, he paused, and then he told the congregation about the advice. He then "gave those who were weary liberty to retire." No one retired, and he went on about an hour longer. (Smith, p. 245)

(6) "He never failed to preach the gospel. He would say, 'If I take my text in Genesis, my conclusion carries me forward to the third of John; and if I start in Revelation, I must run back to the same chapter.' " (Smith, p. 246)

(7) On one of Leland's preaching tours, he proposed to spend the night in a certain public house. "The landlord met him with a smiling countenance, and told him that having built a new barn he was nicely prepared to accommodate the clergy and their horses. 'I have', said he, 'a very elegant stable...for Episcopal horses; a comfortable [stable] for Presbyterian horses; while I keep the old barn for Baptist horses' ... 'Well,' Leland replied, 'everybody knows that *I* am a Baptist, but *my horse* is an Episcopalian.'" (Smith, p. 254)

(8) "Mr. Leland usually went dressed very plainly. He was anxious to spend the Sabbath in a large church in Virginia, where he had preached some years before. He arrived late Saturday evening. He called on the young fashionable minister, a stranger to him, and introduced himself as a Baptist minister, not giving or being asked his name, saying, 'I would like to spend the Sabbath with you.' The stylish pastor looked him over, perhaps thinking a man is known by the

coat he wears, asked him sundry questions, among which was, 'How many commandments are there?' "Leland replied, 'Eleven, I believe.' " The next day, in the afternoon Leland entered the pulpit, told the audience of the reception he had, "and among other things was asked how many commandments there were, and I told him eleven, and the eleventh is my text. 'A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another.' " (Alden, "John Leland", p. 258)

The 7 May 1874 issue of *The Baptist Weekly* includes an article captioned JOHN LELAND'S ORDINATION. The article is of notable because of (i) the extent to which it was reproduced in other publications; (ii) the absence of an author's name or reference to an earlier source; and (iii) its anecdotal portrayal of Leland's ministry. Regarding the first of these, the article soon appeared in Henry Ward Beecher's weekly paper, *The Christian Union* (20 May 1874, p. 397). Years later, it found its way into the writings of Emma L. Petticlerc in a history of Cheshire, Massachusetts. Regarding (iii), Leland's two ordinations are both described in Greene (pp. 19, 26), without any reference to the dialogue that is quoted in the article. A portion of the article is quoted here.

Readers of the *Baptist Weekly* who have heard of this eccentric, but successful minister will be glad to read the following account of his [second] ordination... In fact, on account of his departure from the usages of the churches in Virginia, he was not for a while in good fellowship... His brethren urged him most earnestly...to submit to ordination by the hands of the ministry; and finally, to gratify them, he consented that they might call a Presbytery for that purpose. Knowing all the questions which they would ask on his examination, and resolved in his own mind on the answers he would give, he felt confident that they would not ordain him.

Moderator. Well, well, brother Leland, you believe, at least, that it is your duty to preach the Gospel to every creature?

Leland. Ah! No, by brother, I do not believe it to be my duty to preach to the Dutch, for instance, for I can't do it. When the Lord sent the Apostles to preach to every nation, He taught them to talk to all sorts of people; but He has never taught me to talk Dutch yet.

Moderator. Brother Leland, do you not believe that God chose his people in Christ before the foundation of the world?

Leland. I know not, brother, what God was doing before He began to make this world.

Moderator. Brother Leland, do you not *believe* that God had a people from before the foundation of the world?

Leland. If he had, brother, they were not our kind of folks. Our people were made out of dust, you know, and before the foundation of the world, there was no dust to make them out of.

Moderator. You believe, brother Leland, that all men are totally depraved?

Leland. No brother; if they were, they could not wax worse and worse, as some of them do. The devil was no worse than totally depraved."

The council retired and reported, much to the surprise of Leland, who was compelled to submit to ordination. Leland's alleged surprise illustrates the point that in his view, the first ordination years earlier without the laying on of hands was sufficient. The *Baptist Weekly* article notes that after the hands-on ordination, Leland said, "Well, brethren, when Peter placed his hands on people, and took them off, they had more sense than before; but you have all had your hands on me, and before God I am as big a fool as ever."

An overall assessment of Leland's talents, including the many stories about him, is found in the autobiography of John Alden, who writes this: "The late Governor Briggs [of Massachusetts], after a long service as representative in Congress, enjoying frequent intimacy with the great men of the world, was asked, 'Who was the greatest or most talented man you have ever personally known?' and replied, 'Rev. John Leland.' " (Alden, "John Leland", p. 263)

The Mammoth Cheese

"When Jefferson was elected president in 1801", writes Barry Emery more than two centuries later, "Leland wanted to mark the occasion in a spectacular way." Leland, then living in Cheshire, Massachusetts, wished to allow everyone in town to participate in the making of a spectacular gift—a giant cheese. Accordingly, on 20 July 1801, curds from the milk of approximately 900 cows were left to settle for several months. Totaling about 1235 pounds, with a diameter of 4 feet and thickness of about 17.5 inches, the cheese was engraved with a phrase from Thomas Jefferson's seal: "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." (Emery, pp. 2, 31, 38-39)

Leland himself writes, "In November, 1801, I journeyed to the south, as far as Washington, in charge of a cheese, sent to President Jefferson. Notwithstanding my trust, I preached all the way there and on my return. I had large congregations; led in part by curiosity to hear the Mammoth Priest, as I was called." (Greene, p. 32)

The moving of the cheese from Cheshire to Washington attracted a great deal of national interest, especially on New Year's Day, 1802, when the cheese was presented to President Jefferson; see Appendix 2. The spectacular cheese is well represented online by such sites as these:

Monticello: https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/mammoth-cheese

National Portrait Gallery: <u>https://npg.si.edu/blog/big-cheese-presidential-gifts-mammoth-proportions</u>

Cheshire Cheese Monument: https://spectrumnews1.com/ma/worcester/news/2021/06/16/cheshire-s-mammoth-cheesemonument

Massachusetts Moments: <u>https://www.massmoments.org/moment-details/berkshire-town-sends-giant-cheese-ball-to-washington.html</u>

Publications by John Leland or about him

Philip Hamburger (b. 1957), in his *Separation of Church and State*, frequently mentions John Leland, whose style of writing he calls very personal and quirky. These characteristics match Hamburger's description of Leland as "the brilliant, delightfully eccentric Baptist leader" (p. 84), and they match the titles of Leland's many publications that were included in the 750 pages of Greene's *The Writings of John Leland*. The book includes (pp. 2-40) "Events in the Life of John Leland", first published in 1836 and then again in 1838. Greene supplements those events with "Further Sketches, &c" (pp. 41-72). The rest of the book consists mostly of short writings, numbered in the Contents from 4 to 83. Although these many titles can easily be viewed in an online copy of Greene, there are several titles not included there, such as these:

1. A True Account, How Matthew Womble Murdered His Wife (who was pregnant) and his four sons, on June the 19th, 1784. (Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 8 pages in verse, 1793). The account is mentioned in Leland's 'The Yankee Spy'. (Greene, p. 228)

2. Minutes of the Shaftsbury Association: holden at Bottskill, June 7th & 8th, 1797. (Waterford, New York, 1797, 14 pages).

3. A Storke [i.e. Stroke] at the Branch: containing remarks on times and things. (Hartford, Connecticut, 1801, 24 pages).

4. The Connecticut Dissenters' Strong Box: No. I. Containing, the high-flying churchman stript of his legal robe, &c. (New London, Connecticut, 1802, 40 pages).

5. The Result of Observation in Short Sentences. (Pittsfield, Massachusetts, undated, 28 pages).

6. The Flying Seraphim: an address delivered at the ordination of Rev. Lumon Burch...June 15, 1806. (Brattleborough, Vermont, 1806, 24 pages).

7. Politics Sermonized, exhibited in Ashfield on July 4th 1806. (Springfield, Massachusetts, 1806, 22 pages).

8. Van Tromps Lowering His Peak with a Broadside: containing a plea for the Baptists of Connecticut. (Danbury, Connecticut, 1806, 36 pages).

9. An Address to the Young Men of Cheshire, delivered July 4, 1808. (Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1808, 15 pages).

10. An Oration, Delivered at Bennington, August the sixteenth, 1808: being the 31st anniversary of Bennington Battle. (Bennington, Vermont, 1808, 22 pages).

11. A Short Narrative of a Five-hours Conflict, on the Night Following the 17th of October, 1811. (Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1811, 16 pages).

12. Strictures on the Consecration of Christ and the Rite of Circumcision. (Norwich, Connecticut, 1812, 23 pages).

13. Remarks on Holy Time, on Moral Law, on the Changing of the Day, on Sabbatical Laws: with a summary, in a letter to a friend. (Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1815, 24 pages). Mentioned in Greene, pp. 440, 690.

14. An Extract from Elder John Leland's Budget of Scraps, Carefully Revised. (Palmer, Massachusetts, 1810, 12 pages).

15. Appendix to the Preceding Letter, Containing 24 Essays. (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1822). This three-page appendix appears at the end of "First Fruit and Lump, Root and Branch", a letter from Justus Hull (1755-1833) to Henry Hull (1765-1834). The subjects of the appendix are circumcision and baptism.

Leland continued to write during his advanced years. One of his last pieces is a poem (Greene, p. 743), of which the first stanza follows:

Not much can be expected From one of eighty-three, Who has not much collected, As all may plainly see, But the old religious story, That Christ for sinners died, And laid aside his glory, To win himself a bride. John Leland wrote his own epitaph : "Here lies the body of John Leland, who labored years to promote piety, and to vindicate the civil and religious rights of all men." This epitaph is inscribed on his obelisk, in Cheshire, Berkshire. (Alden, "John Leland", p. 263)

The Hymns of John Leland

"The most important hymn writer among Baptists in America in the eighteenth century was John Leland. Leland wrote about two dozen hymns, which are scattered through his *Writings*. 'The Day is past and gone' was reprinted nearly 500 times in American collections, and other texts continued in use well into the twentieth century." (Music and Richardson, p. 147)

In the list presented here, the first ten hymns are preceded in Greene by a note that they were published as early as 1809. Actual first known dates of publication, meters, and other notes are given following each hymn. Titles shown here or "(Untitled)" are shown as in Greene. In hymnals, the titles may differ from those shown here.

The first 25 hymns listed here are printed as found in Greene, and one more hymn, attributed to Leland, is appended. Further details about Hymns 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, and 26 are in the Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology (https://hymnology.hymnsam.co.uk/).

1. EVENING HYMN.

The Day is past and gone, The evening shades appear; O may we all remember well The night of death draws near.

We lay our garments by, Upon our beds to rest; So death will soon disrobe us all Of what we've here possessed.

Lord, keep us all this night, Secure from all our fears; May angels guard us while we sleep, Till morning light appears. And if we early rise, And view th' unwearied sun, May we set out to win the prize And after glory run.

And when our days are past, And we from time remove, O may we in the bosom rests,— The bosom of this live.

6.6.8.6 Greene, p. 322. Possibly the earliest publication:

Richard Broaddus and Andrew Broaddus, *Collection of Sacred Ballads* (unpaged, Caroline Co,, Virginia), 1790.

2. INVITATION TO PILGRIMS.

Wand'ring pilgrims, mourning Christians, Weak and tempted lambs of Christ, Who endure great tribulation, And with sin are much distressed; Christ hath sent me to invite you, To a rich and costly feast; Let not shame nor pride prevent you,— Come, —the rich provision taste.

If you have a heart lamenting, And bemoan your wretched case, Come to Jesus Christ repenting; He will give you gospel grace; If you want a heart to fear him, Love and serve him all your days; Come to Jesus Christ and ask him; He will guide you in his ways.

If your heart is unbelieving, Doubting Jesus' pard'ning love, Lie hard by Bethesda waiting Till the troubled waters move. If no man appear to help you, All their efforts prove but talk, Jesus, Jesus, he can heal you, Rise, take up your bed and walk.

If, like Peter, you are sinking In the sea of unbelief,Wait with patience, constant praying, Christ will send you sweet relief;He will give you grace and glory, All your wants shall be supplied;Canaan, Canaan, lies before you, Rise and cross the swelling tide.

Death shall not destroy your comfort, Christ will guard you thro' the gloom; Down he'll send a heavenly envoy, To convey your spirit home; There you'll spend your days in pleasure, Free from every want and care; Come, oh come, my blessed Saviour, Fain my spirit would be there.

8.7.8.7 D Greene, p. 322. Possibly earliest publications:

Eleazar Clay, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, selected from Several Approved Authors, Recommended by the Baptist General Committee of Virginia (Richmond, Virginia: John Dixon, 1793)
John Peak, A New Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs. 3rd ed. (Windsor, Vermont: Alden Spooner, 1793)

3. THE INTERCESSION OF CHRIST.

Now the Saviour stands a pleading, At the sinner's bolted heart; Now in heaven he's interceding, Undertaking sinner's part; Now he pleads his sweat and blood-shed, Shows his wounded hands and feet; Father, save them, though they're blood-red, Raise them to a heavenly seat. Sinners, hear your God and Saviour, Hear his gracious voice to-day;
Turn from all your vain behaviour, O repent, return, and pray;
Open now your hearts before him, Bid the Saviour welcome in,
O receive and glad adore him, Take a full discharge from sin.

Now he's waiting to be gracious, Now he stands and looks at thee; See, what kindness, love and pity, Shine around to you and me; Sinners, can you hate that Saviour? Can you thrust him from your arms? Once he died for your behaviour, Now he calls you by his charms.

O be wise, before you languish
On a bed of dying strife;
Endless joy or endless anguish,
Turn, upon th' events of life;
Come, for all things now are ready,
Yet there's room for many more;
O ye blind, ye lame and needy,
Come to grace's boundless store.

8.7.8.7 D Greene, p. 323. Possibly earliest publications:

Richard Allen, A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: from various authors, (Philadelphia: T. L. Plowman, 1801)
Josiah Goddard, A New and Beautiful Collection of Select Hymns and Spiritual Songs (Walpole, New Hampshire: Thomas & Thomas, 1801)
Peter Leibert, The Christian's Duty: exhibited in a series of hymns collected from various authors designed for the worship of God, and for the edification of Christians (2nd ed.) (Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1801)

4. (Untitled).

Blessed be God for all, For all things here below, For pain, and grief, and joy and thrall, To my advantage grow.

Blessed be God for shame, For slander and disgrace; Welcome reproach for Jesus' name, And his redeeming grace.

Blessed be God for loss, For loss of earthly things; For every scourge and every cross, Me nearer Jesus brings.

Blessed be God for want Of raiment, health and food; I live by faith, I scorn to faint, For all things work for good.

Blessed be God for pain, Which tears my flesh like thorns, It crucifies the carnal man, To God my soul returns.

Blessed be God for doubts, Which he has overcome; My soul in full assurance shouts, Of being soon at home.

Blessed be God for fears Of sin, and death, and hell; When Christ, who is my life, appears, I shall in glory dwell.

Blessed be God for friends; Blessed be God for foes; Blessed be God whose gracious ends, No finite creature knows. Bless be God for life, Blessed be God for death, Blessed be God for all he sends; I welcome all this faith.

6.6.8.6 Greene, p. 324. No record of an earlier publication was found.

5. THE CHRISTIAN'S CONSOLATION.

COME and taste, along with me, Consolation running free, From my Father's glorious throne, Sweeter than the honey comb.

Wherefore should I seek alone? Two are better still than one; More that come, of free good will, Make the banquet sweeter still.

Saints in glory sing aloud, To behold an heir of God, Coming in at grace's door, Making up the number more.

Goodness running like a stream From the New Jerusalem, By its constant breaking forth, Sweetens earth and heaven both.

Sinful nature, vile and base, Cannot stop the run of grace, While there is a God to give, Or a sinner to receive.

When I go to heaven's store, Asking for a little more, Jesus gives a double share, Calling me a gleaner there. Then, rejoicing, home I go, From this feast of heaven below, Gleaning manna on the road Dropping from the mouth of God.

Heaven there, and heaven here, Comforts every where appear, This I boldly can declare, Since my soul receives a share.

7.7.7.7 Greene p. 325. (Stanzas 1-3 also appear on p. 28). Possibly earliest publications:

Richard Allen, A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: from various authors, (Philadelphia: T. L. Plowman, 1801)
Richard Allen, A Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns (Philadelphia: John Ormrod, 1801)
Josiah Goddard, A New and Beautiful Collection of Select Hymns and Spiritual Songs (Walpole, New Hampshire: Thomas & Thomas, 1801)

6. THE PREACHER'S LIFE.

How arduous is the preacher's fight! What pangs his vitals feel! To preach the gospel day and night, To hearts as hard as steel.

While some blaspheme and show their spite, And mock at all they hear,Others, in chase of vain delight, Like adders, stop the ear.

To heaven he turns his weeping eyes, To antidote despair, With broken heart, and longing eyes, He tries the effect of prayer.

If God, propitious, hear his cry, And some small fruit he see, How soon the hopeful prospects die, How short the jubilee. When sinners hear the Saviour's voice, And feel the power divine, The preacher's heart and soul rejoice, To see the gospel shine.

What courage, faith, and holy zeal, Transport his ravished breast, What inward joy his spirits feel, To see his labors blessed.

But ah! how short the shining day; How soon the night appears! All those of Asia turn away, How gloomy then his fears!

Good God! He cries, with anxious breast, Are all my labors vain? Must all the lambs and sheep of Christ, Turn goats and wolves again?

8.6.8.6 Greene, p. 325. No record of an earlier publication was found.

7. THE PREACHER'S ENQUIRY.

BRETHREN, I have come once more, Let us join and God adore; Joseph lives, and Jesus reigns, Praise him in the highest strains.

Many days and years have passed, Since we met, before the last, Yet our lives do still remain, Here, on earth, we meet again.

Many of our friends are gone, To their long, eternal home, They have left us here below, Soon we after them shall go. Brethren, tell me how you do, Does your love continue true? Are you waiting for your King, When he comes, his saints to bring?

If you wish to know of me, What I am, and how I be, Here I am, behold, who will, Sure, I am a sinner still.

Weak and helpless, lame and blind, All unholy, still I find, Worse than ever, all may see, Yet the Lord remembers me.

7.7.7.7 Greene, p. 326. Possibly the earliest publication:

Stith Mead, A General Selection of the Newest and Most Admired Hymns and Spiritual Songs Now in Use (Richmond, Virginia: Seaton Grantland, 1807)

8. THOUGHTS ON THE JUDGMENT DAY.

THINK, O my soul, the dreadful day, When heaven and earth shall flee away, When Christ in solemn pomp shall come, Upon his white majestic throne.

Then Gabriel, at the King's command, Shall take the trumpet in his hand, And sound alarm, so shrill and clear, That heaven, and earth, and hell shall hear.

The grand assize will then take place, On every soul of Adam's race; Both saint and sinner must appear, And all their final sentence hear.

The saints, in glittering robes, shall stand, In that great day, at God's right hand; The Lamb's rich blood shall be their plea, And they his smiling face shall see.

"Come, all the bless'd of God," he'll say, "My blood hath wash'd your sins away; "Come, take your golden harps and sing, "And make the heavenly arches ring."

But what will guilty sinners do, When all their sins appear in view? How will they tremble, cry, and groan, To see their Judge upon his throne!

"Depart from me, ye sinful race, "Ye broke my laws, abused my grace; "Go down to darkness and despair, "And dwell eternal ages there."

8.8.8.8 Greene, p. 327. No record of an earlier publication was found.

9. (Untitled).

CHRISTIANS, if your hearts be warm, Ice and snow can do no harm; If by Jesus you are prized, Rise, believe, and be baptized.

Jesus drank the gall for you, Bore the curse for sinners due; Children, prove your love to him, Never fear the frozen stream.

Never shun the Saviour's cross, All on earth is worthless dross; If the Saviour's love you feel, Let the world behold your zeal.

Fire is good to warm the soul, Water purifies the foul;— Fire and water both agree— Winter soldiers never flee.

Every season of the year, Let your worship be sincere; When the storm forbids you roam, Serve your gracious God at home.

Read his gracious word by day, Ever watching, always pray; Think upon his law by night; — This will give you great delight.

7.7.7.7 Greene, p. 328. Possibly the earliest publication:

Richard Broaddus and Andrew Broaddus, *Collection of Sacred Ballads* (unpaged, Caroline Co,, Virginia), 1790.

This is Leland's most widely published hymn. 'The occasion on which a part of [this] Hymn was composed, is related in his biography [Greene, p. 28]. The last three verses appear to have been afterwards added.'

10. (Untitled).

I SET myself against the Lord, Despised his spirit and his word, And wished to take his place; It vexed me so, that I must die, And perish too, eternally, Or else be saved by grace.

Of every preacher I'd complain; One spoke thro' pride, and one for gain, Another's learning small; One spoke too fast, and one too slow; One prayed too loud, and one too low; Another had no call.

Some walk too straight to make a show, While others far too crooked go; And both of these I scorn; Some odd, fantastic motions make; Some stoop too low, some stand too straight— No one is faultless born.

With no professor I could join;Some dressed too mean, and some too fine, And some would talk too long;Some had a tone, some had no gift;One talked too slow, and one too swift; And all of them were wrong.

I thought they'd better keep at home, Than to exhort where'er they come, And tell us of their joys; They'd better keep their gardens free From weeds, than to examine me, And vex me with their noise.

Kindred and neighbors, too, were bad,And no true friend was to be had;My rulers, too, were vile;At length, I was reduced to seeThe fault did mostly lie in me,And had done all the while.

The horrid load of guilt and shame, The inward consciousness of blame Did wound my frighted soul; I've sinned so much against the Lord, Despised his goodness and his word, How can I be made whole?

"Why, there is balm in Gilead,
"And a physician may be had,
"And balsam too most free;
"Only believe on God's dear son,
"Thro' him the victory is won—
"Christ Jesus died for thee."

O, Christ's free love, a boundless sea!

What! to expire for such as me?"Yes, 'tis a truth divine."My heart did melt, my soul o'er-runWith love, to see what God had doneFor souls so vile as mine.

Now, I can hear a *child* proclaimThe joyful news, and bless the nameOf Jesus Christ, my king;I scorn no sect—the saints are one;With my complaints I now have done,And God's free grace I sing.

8.8.6.8.8.6 Greene, p. 328. Possibly earliest publications:

Eleazar Clay, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, selected from Several Approved Authors, Recommended by the Baptist General Committee of Virginia (Richmond, Virginia: John Dixon, 1793)
John Peak, A New Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs. 3rd ed. (Windsor, Vermont: Alden Spooner, 1793)

11. THE RETURNING PENITENT

Once there was a precious season, When my Saviour smiled on me; Ev'ry groan his grace did sweeten, Ev'ry bond his love set free. Patient, I could bear affliction, Never murmur at the pain; Just conception, resignation, Cheerfully did me sustain.

Joyfully I heard his preaching, Read his word with vast delight,

While his spirit, gently teaching, Was my comfort day and night,

Sweet was Christian conversation,

Christ and grace was all my theme; Oh! These days of consolation!

How delighted I have been!

Had I guarded every passion, Watching daily unto prayer,
Of each sin made just confession, I had never felt this snare;
Now my Saviour's smiles are wanting, Now my groans perpetual rise;
Ev'ry hope of joy is falling, Now I vent my fruitless cries.

Just conception, resignation, From my breast are far removed; Now I murmur at affliction, Doubting whether e'er I loved. Oft I hear the gospel sounded, Oft I read my Saviour's name; Yet my heart, most deeply wounded, Still remains unmov'd, the same.

Now I've fearful apprehension, Whether Christ I ever knew; Tho' I made a great profession, Yet 'twas rather false than true. Oh! that Jesus was my saviour! This is all my soul's desire! A portion, Lord, within thy favor, Tho' I enter here thro' fire!

8.7.8.7 D Greene, p. 347. Possibly earliest publication:

Richard Broaddus and Andrew Broaddus, *Collection of Sacred Ballads* (unpaged, Caroline Co,, Virginia), 1790.

12. LONGING FOR THE APPEARING OF CHRIST.

How long, dear Saviour, O how long Shall we be left alone?When shall our hearts break forth in song, And say, "the Lord is come?" How long shall we on willows hang Our harps by Babel's stream? Once we rejoiced aloud and sang, And Jesus was our theme.

We long to see they smiling face, We long to hear the voice, We long to see a new-born race Aloud in God rejoice.

The day of doom is drawing near, We have no time to spare; Let every one attend and fear, And live a life of prayer.

Oh! Gracious God! appear this day, (night,)Make known thy power and grace,And let thy word of truth, we pray, (and light,)Fill every heart with praise.

8.6.8.6 Greene p. 682. No record of an earlier publication was found.

The first line also occurs in the last stanza of Isaac Watts's hymn, "Lo! what a glorious sight appears To our believing eyes!."

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13. DEATH

How solemn the sight we behold! How pale is the face of the dead! The body is lifeless and cold, The spirit that warmed it, is fled.

The eyes are now sealed up in death, The hearing and speaking are o'er, The lungs are deprived of all breath, The limbs move in order no more.

Farewell! fellow-mortal, adieu, The grave is prepared for your bed; Soon I shall be lifeless, like you, And numbered, like you, with the dead.

When thro' the dark valley I go, Oh, may my dear Saviour appear! His presence would banish my wo, His promise remove all my fear.

Let all who are living to-day, Remember they shortly must die; Which first will be summoned away? My merciful God, *is it I*?

8.8.8.8 Greene p. 682. No record of an earlier publication was found.

14. FREE GRACE

IF grace could reach the dying thief, And persecuting Saul, Could give to Magdalene relief, And freely pardon all:

May not a sinner, such as I, O thou forgiving God, Who justly do deserve to die, Find pardon in thy blood?

Before thy throne of grace, oh God, Upon my bended kneed, I humbly pray this guilty load May be removed from me.

The joy on earth, and joy in heaven, Would be increased thereby; "The lost is found—his sins forgiven," Would echo thro' the sky.

8.6.8.6 Greene, p. 683. No record of an earlier publication was found.

15. LOVE OF JESUS.

JESUS who reigns in heaven above, His everlasting love flows free; Thousands have richly shared his love, And is there no a drop for *me*?

For sinners of the blackest dye, He groaned and bled upon the tree; "Father, forgive," I hear him cry!— Perhaps that prayer availed for *me*?

He seeks the ruined souls of men, And gives them life and eyes to see; And brings them to his fold again; — Who knows but what he'll gather *me*?

In all the sorrows of the saints, Their friend with them will always be, To ease their troubles and complaints; And will he not deliver *me*?

When Satan roars, or death draws nigh, They have a refuge where to flee, And when, like them, I'm call'd to die, O Lord, I pray, remember *me*.

8.8.8.8 Greene, p. 683. No record of an earlier publication was found.

16. ADDRESS OF ANGELS AT THE DYING BED OF A SAINT.

ATTENDING angels long have waited To convey their brother home; Thousands, thousands we've escorted, But in heaven there yet is room. We've been watchful o'er your dangers Guarded round your bed by night, Midst your friends and utter strangers We have had you in our sight. On the wild tempestuous ocean Thunders roar and lightnings glare, Heaven and earth in dread commotion, Still we had you in our care; On the bed of pain and sickness When death stared you in the face, We inspired your heart with patience, Cheered you with the hopes of grace.

Many dangers stood before you, Which you had no eyes to see, From those dangers we preserved you, Saved your life and set you free; To the heirs of God's salvation We administer relief, Give to God your adoration, We are brethren with yourself.

Now we've come with special orders, To convey you far away, Quit, oh quit these mortal borders, Stretch your wings and leave your clay, Attending angels wait no longer, Now they take the blood-washed prize Filled with heavenly joy and wonder.

8.7.8.7 D Greene, p. 711. No record of an earlier publication was found. Greene writes, just before no. 16, that these "lines owed their origin to the circumstances" described on page 710, dated July 21, 1839: "This day my daughter, Fanny, had a visionary dream in which she saw me sitting in a great chair, clothed in a white robe, and on each side of me a young woman clothed in white, somewhat reclining and looking on me, and singing in a strain more melodious than she had ever heard before." (Fanny was L. F. Greene's step-mother.)

17. ACROSTIC.

J ESUS is my God and Saviour,O for grace to love him more!H e's my hope and lasting treasure,

N one but Jesus I adore.

L et the rich enjoy their treasure, E arth has fading charms for me; L et me, Lord, enjoy thy favor, A ll I wish, is found in thee: N ever let me stray away, D ear Lord, remember me, I pray

8.7.8.7 Greene, p. 718. No record of an earlier publication was found.

18. ANOTHER

J OY is a fruit that will not grow,O n nature's barren ground;H ow vain are all things here below!N o fruit on them is found.

L et others rough the ocean rove, E ngaged for fame or store, L ord, grant me thy forgiving love, A nd I desire no more. N o joy can equal love divine,— D ear Jesus, tell me I am thine.

8.6.8.6 Greene, p. 718. No record of an earlier publication was found.

The first two lines are apparently borrowed from John Newton, found, for example in *The Christians Duty, exhibited, in a series of Hymns: collected from various authors, designed for the worship of God, and for the edification of Christians (1st Ed.)* (Germantown, Pennsylvania: Peter Leibert (printer), 1791. Newton's first stanza follows: Joy is a Fruit that will not grow / In Natures's barren Soil; / All we can boast, 'till Christ we know, / Is Vanity and Toil.

19. (Untitled).

WHEN the Saviour, all triumphant

Makes my heart his humble throne,

All my thoughts are acquiescent,

Then I have a constant home.

Wealth and honor, carnal pleasure, Fade and vanish out of sight; Jesus is my richest treasure, And my theme by day and night.

Discontent is then a stranger, All is right that God ordains; I sleep and wake, secure from danger, All my hopes the Lord sustains.

Loving God, I love my neighbor; Seek the good of all around; Watch and guard my own behavior, Softly tread on holy ground.

Dearest Saviour, help they servant To proclaim thy gospel word; Make him faithful, wise, and fervent, — Arm him with thy spirit's sword.

May he blow the trump in Zion, Sound the alarm to all around, Guard the lambs, and brave the lion, Laboring in the gospel ground.

Blessed Saviour, crown his labor, Let not all his pains be lost;While he preaches Christ the Saviour, Oh! send down the Holy Ghost.

Man can only teach the senses, God must change the sinful soul; Set before us our offences, Make the sin-sick sinner whole.

Gracious God! Bestow a blessing, May each soul receive thy truth; While backsliders are confessing, Pour thy spirit on the youth. Oh that sinners—hundreds—thousands, May return to thee, their God, —

Pluck them, Lord, like burning fire-brands,

Grant them pardon thro' thy blood.

8.7.8.7 Greene, p. 718. No record of an earlier publication was found.

20. (Untitled).

WHEN God revealed his grand design, To rescue rebel man,Thro' all the heavenly world's sublime, The joyful tidings ran.

But 'midst their joys a question rose, Which checked their songs awhile, "How can Jehovah love his foes, And look on them and smile?"

"Their pains, and groans, and deep distress Aloud for mercy call; But ah! must truth and righteousness To mercy, victims fall?"

So spake the friends of God and man, But none could light afford; The highest angel could not scan How man could be restored.

The Son of God attentive, heard, And quickly thus replied: "In me let mercy be revered, And justice magnified.

"Behold, my vital blood I pour, A sacrifice to God; Let angry vengeance now no more Demand the sinner's blood." He spake, and heavn's high arches rang, With his immortal praise; The morning stars together sang, In heaven's exalted lays.

The heavenly hosts fell on their face, And tuned their harps of gold, O'ercome with boundless, sovereign grace, 'Twas more than heaven could hold.

O'er heaven's high walls the angels crowd, The tidings to proclaim; "Glory to God," they shout aloud, "Good will to sinful man."

Let all the nations hear the sound, And raise their triumphs high, For Jesus has a ransom found For sinners doomed to die.

8.6.8.6 Greene, p. 719. No record of an earlier publication was found.

21. (Untitled).

THUS saith the eternal God; I sit upon my throne, The heavens I spread abroad, The earth I made alone, The heavens are my exalted seat, The earth I tread beneath my feet.

What house did e'er contain An omnipresent God? Attempts are all as vain To bind my holy word, All worlds, surrounded by my hand, Move round at my supreme command. The temple did contain The ark, that sacred chest; My presence there was seen; It was my settled rest. No more I give the Jews commands, Nor dwell in temples made with hands.

Yet will I look upon The Man of my right hand, Mine own eternal Son Shall in my presence stand; Tho' he is God, yet he was poor, Lowly in heart, tho' full of power.

In him the God-head dwells, All fulness there is found: Spring up, ye sacred wells, Let grace and truth abound. The temple once my presence blessed But was not my abiding rest.

Another house I have, The church is where I dwell, The humble poor to save, The contrite free from hell, The glory of these latter days Shall far exceed the temple's praise.

Lord, we have met to-day, To worship thee above; Descend from heaven, we pray, — Fill every heart with love. We dedicate this house to thee; 'Tis all thine own, —so let it be.

Preserve this house from fire, From thunder, wind and storm, Nor from this place retire, But every bosom warm. We leave our praise with thee, Thou great, sublime, eternal Three.

6.6.6.8.8 Greene, p. 721. No record of an earlier publication was found.

"Hymn composed and sung on the occasion of the dedication of the meeting-house, in Cheshire, on Christmas day, 1794." (Greene, p. 721)

22. HYMN.

"COME," said Moses, "and go with us, We will join to do you good;
Prospects bright are now before us, Thro' the promise of our God.
What good things the Lord shall give us, We'll impart the same to you;
You shall share the land of promise, When we've passed the desert through.

"Manna shall be rained from heaven, To supply you on the way; Horeb's flowing waters given, For your comfort every day; If by fiery serpents bitten, Only look upon the pole He who was for sinners smitten, Freely heals the poisoned soul."

We, like Moses, now invite you, Sinners, come and go with us;
You will gain a crown of glory; You will shun an endless curse.
Why put off until to-morrow, Works that should be done to-day?
This will fill your hearts with sorrow, When your souls are called away.

Lingring souls, how can you slumber, When the storm is at the door? Hark! and hear the rumbling thunder; — Soon the storm of fire will pour. O repent, and seek salvation, Christ stands waiting to redeem; He will every sinner pardon, Who believes and trusts in him.

If you feel your hearts lamenting, If your wills are rightly bent, If you come to Christ repenting, As the leprous sinner went, You will find a gracious Saviour, Full of pity, love, and grace; He will take you into favor, And salute with words of peace.

"I am Jesus, I will save you; All my blood your souls have cost, Power and grace shall cleanse and keep you: — None that come shall e'er be lost, Go and tell to all around you, What the Lord has done for you; Tell them if their hearts are broken, They will find a Saviour too."

PART SECOND.

Moses chose to bear affliction With the humble saints of God, Rather than the wealth of Egypt, Golden crown, and purple robe.

Come, good people, be like Moses, Choose the better part to-day; Come, for all things now are ready; — Come to Christ without delay.

Why put off until to-morrow? Dangers thicken all around; Length of time increases sorrow, Till you know the gospel sound. Hark, and hear the blessed Saviour, Hear, for now he calls for you;Will you, by your base behavior Grieve his love—your souls undo?

Oh, ye humble, wrestling Jacobs, Servants of the living God, Pray for sinners—pray most fervent, — Pray and plead Mount Calv'ry blood. Christ has promised to be with you, While this mortal world endures; — Plead his promise—do your duty— Fear not suffering—all is yours.

8.7.8.7.D Greene, p. 742. Possibly the earliest publication:

Richard Broaddus and Andrew Broaddus, *Collection of Sacred Ballads* (unpaged, Caroline Co,, Virginia), 1790.

23. LINES WRITTEN AT THE AGE OF 83.

Not much can be expected From one of eighty-three, Who has not much collected, As all may plainly see, But the old religious story, That Christ for sinners died, And laid aside his glory, To win himself a bride.

This theme resounds in heaven, And echoes through the earth, And shows how sin's forgiven And sinners sav'd from wrath;

But after all our labor,

We find the saying true, Without the blessed Saviour,

The priest can nothing do.

But O, thou great Redeemer,

A promise thou hast made; "I'll be with you forever, And be your constant aid; As long as years are rolling, The gospel trump shall sound, And mysteries be unfolding Of boundless love profound.

"Then go and preach the gospel, Nor fear what man can do; In doctrine and example, Be faithful, just, and true; From highways, lanes, and hedges, Compel them to come in, Put on the nuptial badges, And come before the king,"

O sinner! Be awakened To see your dreadful state Repent and be converted, Before it is too late; To-day you are invited, To-morrow you may die, And if the call is slighted, How bitterly you'll cry.

How can you tarry longer, And waste your time away? The enemy grows stronger, The longer you delay: Now is the time accepted,— Repent and turn about, Or you may be rejected, And finally cast out.

7.6.7.6.D Greene, p. 743. No record of an earlier publication was found.

24. (Untitled)

MUST I forever spend my years,

In darkness, doubts, and gloomy fears, No comfort for my breast? Eternal God, thy power display, Remove my guilt and fears away, Vain thoughts subdue, I humbly pray, And give my spirit rest. Come, my dear Jesus, fill my soul, O, make the leprous sinner whole; Let me be sure of pard'ning love, Ere death my spirit shall remove.

8.8.6.8.8.8.6.8.8.8.8 Greene, p. 744. No record of an earlier publication was found.

This hymn and the next are preceded by this note: 'The two following scraps were written for a young person who had enjoyed the comforts of a lively hope, but was, at that time laboring under darkness of mind:" (Greene, p. 744)

25. (Untitled)

I AM thinking while I'm spinning What the Lord has done for me; Did I make a right beginning? Was my soul from sin set free? Clouds and darkness rise before me, Yet I cannot give it up; Evil thoughts I find within me, Yet I have a little hope. O my Saviour, look with pity, On my poor, afflicted soul, Speak the gracious word, I pray thee, "Go, thy faith hath made thee whole." Tell me that my sins are pardoned, Let me know I'm born again; Keep my heart from being hardened Through deceitfulness of sin.

8.7.8.7 Greene, p.744. No record of an earlier publication was found.

26. O WHEN SHALL I SEE JESUS (as in Clay's 1793 collection, in the New York Public Library)

O WHEN shall I see Jesus? And dwell with him above? To drink the flowing fountains, Of everlasting love. When shall I be deliver'd, From this vain world of sin? And with my blessed Jesus Drink endless pleasure in.

But now I am a soldier, My Captain's gone before, He's given me my orders, And tells me not to fear; And as he has prov'd faithful, A crown of life he'll give, And all his val'ant sold'ers, Eternal life shall live.

Through grace I am determin'd To conquer tho' I die; And then away to Jesus, On wings of Love I'll fly; Farewell to sin and sorrow, I bid it all adieu; And you, my friends, prove faithful, And on your way pursue.

And when you meet with troubles, And trials on the way, Then cast your cares on Jesus, And dont forget to pray; Gird on the heav'nly armour, Of faith, that works by love; And when the war is ended, You'll reign with him above.

O do not be discourag'd, For Jesus is your friend, And if you lack for knowledge, He'll not refuse to lend,Neither will he upbraid you, Tho' often you request,He'll give you grace to conquer, And take you up to rest.

7.6.7.6 D not in Greene. Possibly the earliest publication:

Eleazar Clay, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, selected from Several Approved Authors, Recommended by the Baptist General Committee of Virginia (Richmond, Virginia: John Dixon, 1793)

Although it seems very likely that the text was written by Leland, it is noteworthy that Greene did not include it in Leland's *Writings*.

In Clay's 1801 edition, there are a considerable number of minor changes and two substantial changes: in the 1801 edition, line 13 is "And if I hold out faithful", line 16 is "Eternal life shall have", and lines 30 and 31 are "Of faith, and hope, and love. / And when your race is ended,"

As early as 1809, the word "reign" in line 1 replaced "dwell" in line 1, and this substitution (which matches line 32) is found in many subsequent publications.

B. F. White altered the hymn greatly in *The Sacred Harp** to fit his tune, THE MORNING TRUMPET, which has three stanzas and an added chorus (refrain). The word trumpet is not in the 1793 version, but occurs five times in the three-stanzas. Following is the first of those stanzas:

O, when shall I see Jesus and reign with him above, And shall hear the trumpet sound in that morning, And from the flowing fountain drink everlasting love, And shall hear the trumpet sound in that morning?

Chorus (sung after each stanza): O, shout "glory!" I shall mount above the skies, When I hear the trumpet sound in that morning.

Burrage, pages 232-233, lists twelve of Leland's hymns, including two that could be classified as poems rather than hymns. One, consisting of 228 lines, is entitled

'Poetic lines, on the death of Rev. John Waller' (1741-1802). They are represented here by stanzas 29 and 30, which by themselves can stand as a hymn:

Ready, my Lord, to come to thee, Mine eyes do thy salvation see, Oh! Send they chariot down; If any angel can be spar'd, O send a kind celestial guard To bear my spirit home.

But if I longer must remain, To prove may patience in my pain, Thy will, O God be done; If angels cannot now attend, When I on Jordan's banks shall stand, I'm sure they will come down. (Greene, p. 416)

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Appendix 1. Frances Leland Greene

The full name of the editor of *The Writings of John Leland* is Frances Leland Greene (1808-1858). She was a daughter of James Greene (1772-1842) and Olive Slade Greene (1774-1826). After her mother's death, James married Fanny Leland (1878-1842), daughter of John and Sally Leland. Although "Miss L. F. Greene" has been noted as a granddaughter—and elsewhere a niece—of John Leland, and although her middle name was Leland, the genealogical record and writings of L. T. Guilford indicate that she was neither a granddaughter or niece of John Leland.

Frances Leland Greene married Dr. Henry Howard Bagg, Sr. (1816-1864) on 20 September 1846 in Lanesborough. The couple left Lanesborough and eventually settled in Illinois. Frances died 22 April 1858 in Aurora, Illinois. Her ability as an editor is reflected in the record of her education and livelihood in Lanesborough:

In 1838, Miss Frances L. Green bought the house just north of Hillcrest for \$800, and, as principal, opened a "Select Family School for Girls." This was quite an undertaking for a young woman, but "Fanny" Greene, as she was affectionately known, was a remarkable woman. At the age of sixteen she began teaching in the district schools and continued for five years. In 1830 she worked in a tailor shop... After attending Emma Willard's Seminary at Troy [New York], she returned to Lanesborough and became governess in the family of N. P. Talcott [Nehemiah Talcott (1766-1848). When she opened her school the prospectus contained a statement from Mr. Talcott which referred to the excellent care and instruction she

had given his daughters the previous winter... She taught the higher and lower branches of English, Greek, Latin, French and Spanish. (Martin, p. 77)

Frances Greene's work on *The Writings of John Leland* was recalled by one of her admirers:

In the years 1844 and 1845 Miss Greene, besides her school duties, was occupied in collecting and editing the sermons, addresses and miscellaneous writings of Elder Leland—a task committed to her by her stepmother who died before it could be accomplished. This work of dutiful love, undertaken with reluctance and carried out through many disappointments and vexatious delays, was published by subscription in 1845. (Guilford, p. 230)

Aside from genealogical records that show that Frances Greene's middle name was Leland (her stepmother's maiden name), this middle name also appears in a family tree of her son, Henry Howard Bagg, Jr. (1853-1928), in a dissertation about his life and work as a prominent Nebraska-based artist; see https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/dissertations/AAI9734611/.

Appendix 2. Thomas Jefferson and the Mammoth Cheese

According to several sources, President Jefferson spoke the following words on New Year's Day, 1802, on the occasion of receiving the mammoth cheese from John Leland:

I will cause this auspicious event to be placed upon the records of our nation, and it will ever shine amid its glorious archives. I shall ever esteem it among the most happy incidents of my life. And now, my much respected reverend friend, I will, by the consent, and in the presence of my most honoured council, have this cheese cut, and you will take back with you a portion of it, with my hearty thanks, and present it to your people, that they may have a taste. Tell them never to falter in the principles they have so nobly defended...

It appears, however, that this is a fabrication, as no trace of this paragraph has been found among Jefferson's papers. It may have first appeared in 1864 in a newspaper. (Reminiscenses). Later it appeared in the autobiography of an American statesman (Burritt). Records written in 1802 by Jefferson and others acknowledge the event, but not in such a grandiose manner. (Editorial note)

Appendix 3. James Madison's authorization for Leland to perform marriages

Shown here is a document preserved in the archives of First Baptist Church, Cheshire, Massachusetts, presented here with permission:

may This is hall certify to a The Court held for 1 of October Alven ahn ind Crade ntials and with the Bapty look the this Co a 1 reap mes Madison

A partial transcription follows:

This shall certify to all whom it may concern that at a court held for the County of Orange on the twenty seventh Day of October, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty eight, John Leland produced credentials of his Ordination and also of his being in regular communion with the Baptist Church, took the oath of allegiance to this commonwealth, and entered into Bond...he is thereby authorize'd to celebrate the Rites of Matrimony... (signed) James Madison

James Madison served as President of the United States from 4 March 1809 to 4 March 1817.